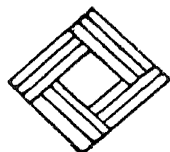


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MASARYK—THE PRESIDENT LIBERATOR

Servitude is the soul blinded. Can you picture to yourself a man voluntarily blind? This terrible thing exists. There are willing slaves. A smile in irons! Can anything be more hideous? He who is not free is not a man; he who is not free has no sight, no knowledge, no discernment, no growth, no comprehension, no will, no faith, no love.—Victor Hugo.

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE,
State University of Iowa, U. S. A.

THE passing of Thomas G. Masaryk, founder and first President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, is being mourned not only by Americans of Czech descent but by America as a whole. Masaryk was the George Washington of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia). The American metaphor is not incongruous. His life, his success after the passage of centuries in effecting the rebirth as a nation of the Bohemian people are linked in many intimate details with the United States.

Dr. Masaryk wrote the Czech Declaration of Independence in this country. He modelled the government of his native land in large part after the American. His wife was an American girl and his son, now Czechoslovakia Ambassador to London, also married an American. Dr. Masaryk was for a time a professorial lecturer at the University of Chicago and his daughter, Alice, was a Resident of Hull House, the famous settlement-house in Chicago.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that there might have been no Czechoslovakia—for all Masaryk's life-time of devotion—had there been no American Woodrow Wilson. There were many affinities between the two men. Both began as university professors. Both were consecrated with an evangelical fervor to what they conceived to be their mission. Both had at the very core of them faith in democracy, in the common people, and in the power of

reason. Of all the new states President Wilson helped into being at Versailles and of all the new statesmen created by the peace settlement, Masaryk and Czechoslovakia alone conformed to the Wilson ideal. No wonder that on the tenth anniversary of the Czechoslovakian Republic, President Masaryk presided at the unveiling of a great statue of President Woodrow Wilson in Prague and publicly acknowledged the share of Wilson in the launching of the new Republic.

INSPIRING LIFE

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was the father of his country. Rising from humble origins—son of a coachman and apprenticed to a blacksmith—he won both academic and political distinction in fairly early life.

In 1872 he entered the University of Vienna as a student of philosophy and later attended the University of Leipzig. It was there he made the acquaintance of an American girl, Miss Charlotte Garrigue, whom he married. Masaryk took the wife's name of "Garrigue" for his own middle name.

After his Leipzig days, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was appointed a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Vienna, and two years later, when the University of Prague was divided into a Czech and a German university,

He became professor of philosophy in the Czech University. For ten years his career was that of the scholar, but not isolated from life. He wrote several controversial books, in which he urged emancipation from the Germanic philosophy of Kant and his followers, and adhesion to the French and English positivist and evolutionary teachings of Hume, Mill, Comte, and Spencer.

He then became interested in politics. As a statesman and a philosopher, Masaryk ranked equally high. On numerous occasions he displayed admirable courage. As a member of the Austrian parliament, he incurred the displeasure of the Austro-Hungarian government, and quickly became known as one of the ablest political leaders of Bohemia. Indeed, he attained a dangerous fame as an advocate of the nationality and independence of the Bohemian people, then submerged in the so-called Dual Empire. From then on he was a "conspirator", an "agitator", a notorious *bad-mash*. A wrecker of empires? That he surely was. Progress ever demolishes with the left hand and builds with the right.

CHAMPION OF FREEDOM

When the Great War broke out, Masaryk became the champion of Czech independence definitely. In his now famous work, *The New Europe*, he made a strong attack on the Austro-Hungarian government, characterizing it as imperialistic, militaristic, pretentious and a senseless relic of the Middle Ages.

While he was a political fugitive, Dr. Masaryk founded propagandist papers in France advocating the complete liberty of his people from the Austrian yoke.

His knowledge of history was of great value to him in putting out his publications. He was a pronounced realist, rebelling against the typical Teutonic idealism and also against the Tolstoyan philosophy of non-resistance to evil. He stood for a unified conception of life, in which the spiritual and religious take their place with the intellectual and the political as aspects of an integral whole. Although his political success overshadowed his literary activities, Masaryk wrote important works on sociology and philosophy.

The Great War gave him opportunity to apply his personal philosophy to the affairs of his people. Even England aided the "rebel" from Bohemia. Lord Robert Cecil had declared that England was fighting for the freedom of small nations. Masaryk met two London Journalists then in position of power: Wickham Steed and Dr. Seton-Watson. These men

preached self-determination for all peoples—not including Indians, of course. That was self-evident!

The "conspirator" Masaryk roved busily through France, England, Russia, Siberia, Japan and America—everywhere that Czechs could be rallied to fight against the Central empires. He and his aides formed Czech legions from prisoners of war the Allies had captured. Soon these legions were fighting for the Allies on the western front. Masaryk exploited the feats of the Czech legions ably.

In 1918 the American Foreign Minister, Robert Lansing, issued the proclamation which expressed American sympathy with Czechoslovakia aspirations for independence. Then Austria sued for peace, expressing willingness to federalize its ill-assorted, ramshackle empire—a prison-house of nations. Masaryk promptly checkmated this mischievous move, which would have held his country within the cursed empire. He was not like one of those weak-kneed "moderates" of the Indian type, ready to sell his birthright for a mess of "dominion status." As between federation with the Austrian empire and Bohemian independence, Masaryk did not hesitate a split-second. He immediately issued a Declaration of Independence, which met with an enthusiastic public reception in America. That document was written in Washington.

Shortly afterward President Wilson's reply to the Austrian Foreign Minister adopted fully Masaryk's point of view on the future of Czechoslovakia. With allied victory, independence had been won by sponsorship of America.

As Masaryk's had been the most potent influence in the winning of independence, so it became the determining factor in the organization of the new republic. His election to the Presidency was as uncontested as George Washington's, and his motive in the acceptance of it as free from any suspicion of personal ambition.

He was a patriot above patriots. He continued in the Presidential chair for seventeen years because his people needed him, and would not let him go. Two years ago when he resigned the Presidential office in his 85th year, the title "President Liberator" was conferred upon him by the Cabinet.

Masaryk was often called "The Maker of a Nation". He seemed a wise philosopher-king beside the noisy swashbuckling posturers who dominate the European scene. Not only Czechoslovakia and America, but the world of democracy and liberty has lost one of its greatest sons.

THE HINDI BHAVAN AT SANTINIKETAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

My first words must lay stress on the great importance of this morning's function.* It will mark, I trust, one of those turning points, where we abandon once and for all that invidious word 'vernacular', and treat the living languages of India as one of the treasures of mankind.

Our Gurudeva, Rabindranath Tagore, has always kept before us the high ideal of encouraging research, not only into the languages of the past, such as Pali and Sanskrit, but also into the living languages which will mould the future. Our Vidyabhavan, which is his own creation, should combine all such language studies together.

Already we have a Chair of Islamic Culture, which includes Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and we have been very happy in our teachers. Our Maulana Sahib, Ziauddin, and our Arabic scholar Ajmal Khan are universally respected in our Asram. We have also a Chair of Zoroastrian Culture held by Dr. Manilal Patel from Gujerat. In the same manner, we have carried on research in Pali and Sanskrit and medieval Hindi literature. Here, the Head of Vidyabhavan, Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen, has done eminent work, which has won for him distinction among scholars all over the world. Last of all, quite recently, we have established (owing to the generosity of the people of China), a 'Cheena Bhavan' where Chinese and Tibetan literature are studied and ancient manuscripts are preserved. In Prof. Tan-Yun-Shan, Dr. Gokhale and Pandit Sujit Mukerji, we have a happy combination which has already proved its worth.

Up to the present, among the living Indian languages, we have only been able to obtain the necessary background for the study of Bengali as a modern subject, and that is chiefly due to the fact that we have its greatest living exponent, our Gurudeva, with us. But today we are going one step further and are founding a permanent home in our midst for the study of Hindi. If we succeed in our aim, the research in medieval religious literature, with its Hindi basis, which has been so remarkably developed by Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen, will be extended right up to the modern age.

For this Bhavan is intended to be a home, where Hindi literature will be studied in all its branches. Since the word 'Visva-Bharati' implies a world standpoint, we shall seek to do something in this direction, not merely because Hindi is spoken today by many crores of people, but much more because its religious and philosophic literature is unique.

As I have just said, we have already proved in our Asram the value of the study of Bengali literature and language. Santiniketan has been a true Academy for Bengal. The very fact that we have had such success in the study of Bengali, as a modern language, makes us all the more confident that we shall succeed with Hindi. It may not be known yet, in India, that one of the results of Prof. Winternitz and Lesny's visits to Santiniketan has been the formation of a School of Indian languages in Central Europe. I have also a hope that as one of the results of a visit which I paid to Australia a year ago the School of Oriental Studies in Sydney, New South Wales, may include Indian modern languages in its curriculum as well as Chinese and Japanese.

If we succeed in establishing the study of Hindi in our Asram, we may hope that, later on, other Indian languages may also find a place. All the while, we shall seek to develop the closest relationship between Urdu, with its Persian background, and Hindi, with its Sanskrit foundation, and thus carry forward the working knowledge of a simple *lingua franca*, called 'Hindustani', which shall combine both.

Perhaps, at this point, I may be pardoned for making a reference to my own experiences. The fact that I am talking in English at this function will show my trepidation even at the thought of speaking in Hindi and I would not venture to do so before a distinguished audience like this, since I know my own weakness. But Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, about whom I have written very often, revealed to me the beautiful courtesy of the Moghul period in Delhi, and taught me to appreciate the fact that some of the best Urdu literature was written by Hindus. He had his friends among them and used to send them presents on each great festival occasion. His own Urdu speech was never elaborately ornate; and it was easy

* Speech delivered at the laying of the foundation stone of the Hindi Bhavan at Santiniketan.

to pass from it to Hindi, and so to blend both in a common Hindustani. Thus through daily conversation with him in Urdu I was never far away from what Jawaharlal Nehru has aptly called 'basic Hindustani'; and when I went out into the villages I could easily follow what the villagers said to me. Furthermore in Fiji, Trinidad, British Guiana, and elsewhere, this same mixture of Hindi and Urdu has carried me through. I could never pass any examination, and yet it has been easy to make myself understood in Hindustani in every part of the world where Indians have settled. Thus it has become clear to me, that this blending of the two languages has great possibilities in it; and it will be one of the most useful tasks of this Hindi Bhavan to explore how far this intermingling of the two language currents may be carried.

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray has recently pointed out another pathway of research. He has shown the immediate necessity of framing a common vocabulary of the new words of modern science which are pouring into every language today. Benares University has already done something in one direction and the Osmania University in another. But what we need are words that all can use : and in the quiet atmosphere of Santiniketan we may be able to perform very useful laboratory work which may help to produce a new coinage of words for the whole of India. Urdu words must have a place in such a process side by side with Hindi and there must be no more pedantry about it.

In the same way a common philosophic and religious vocabulary is needed which will cover the ground of modern psychology, sociology and ethics.

One further pathway of research into the future is needed. For if Hindi literature is to meet the tastes and requirements, not of a coterie only, but of millions of people, it must become simple and terse and lucid, laying aside its archaic and ornate forms. Here, in this Asram, where Bengali has been brought into closest touch with modern life, this process whereby a living language can be made simple is already well known. It is just what Rabindranath has done with literary Bengali. It may thus be possible with such a Hindi scholar as Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi in our midst, to cultivate a pure literary style, which shall bring it near to the common people in the villages, as well as to the cultured circles in the towns.

But if we are to carry out this programme we shall clearly need, not only a building of bricks and mortar, but also some generous

donor or donors who shall come forward and endow a Chair of Hindi Literature, so that the work begun here may be adequately continued in the future.

More than three centuries ago in Cambridge University one such noble giver endowed a Chair of Arabic at a time when that language was little known in Great Britain. This Chair was filled, during the time that I was in Cambridge, by one of the most brilliant Oriental scholars,—a true lover of the East,—Edward Granville Browne. Another donor, at a later period, founded the Boden Sanskrit Professorship at Oxford. Only a short time ago, a new Chair, called the Spalding Chair of Eastern Philosophy and Ethics, was established, which Prof. Radhakrishnan is holding today with much distinction. May there not be some generous-hearted giver, in this country, who can realise the necessity for a Chair of Hindi Literature at Santiniketan? It would indeed be worthy of a great occasion, such as this, if the donation of a Chair of Hindi could be added to the gift of the Hindi Bhavan itself.

Let us for a moment visualise the future, when our building is complete. We shall have a Library and a Hall, where MSS and books will be kept, which go back to earliest times. Pictures by worthy artists will adorn the walls, showing the traditional portraits of the Bhakti saints and others who in days gone by set the standard of Hindi literature. There will be a lodging for the Acharya and his staff, and a set of rooms where a guest may be received. On special occasions there will be a festival in honour of Mirabai, or Kabir, or Tulsi Das, when friends from different parts of India will attend. All this would help to carry forward the Visva-Bharati ideal. Next door will be the "Cheena Bhavan" with its research into Buddhist culture; and not far away will be those who are studying Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature. The inter-relation of these and other studies is bound to be fruitful.

Now let us classify some of the uses to which the Hindi Bhavan will be put:—

(1) There will be research into the past history of Hindi language and literature.

(2) There will be the publication of a Hindi journal, summing up from time to time the fruits of our studies.

(3) There will be a close contact with other workers in the wide field of Hindi literature which ranges from Rajputana to Bihar.

(4) There will be writings which seek to place before the Hindi-speaking public, in

modern speech, the spiritual wealth of ancient India.

(5) There will be a serious attempt to remove all barriers between the Urdu and Hindi languages, and to emphasise the common element in each.

(6) There will be made available in Hindi the chief works of Rabindranath Tagore, and Hindi comments will be written upon them.

These are only some of the uses to which the Hindi Bhavan may be rightly put. Other speakers, who follow me, will enlarge upon them.

There are those who have helped us, most of all, as we have struggled on to reach our present position; and I would wish to mention their names before I come to others who have done much to obtain the building fund. Foremost among our earliest supporters are our own Gurudeva and Mahatmaji, who have inspired us by their sympathy and encouraged us to go forward. Next to them are our good friends in different provinces, who have found support for our Hindi teaching work. Rajendra Prasad at Patna, Shiv Prasad Gupta at Benares, Purushottamdas Tandon at Allahabad, and Jamnalal Bajaj at Wardha, have all helped us in various ways. Along with them I would mention our own Hindi teachers themselves—Bhudeo Sharma Vidyalkar, Jagannath Prasad (whose literary name is 'Milind') and Durga Prasad Pande. Last of all, we have been most fortunate in having with us our dear friends. Dwivediji and Bhagwati Prasad Chandola. Words cannot express what we owe to them for all their labours.

My last pleasant duty is to record the names of those who have been instrumental in getting for us the sum which this building required. Bhagirath Kanodia is one of those silent workers whose help in this matter has been always at our disposal whenever we required it. He is one of those whose left hand never knows what his right hand does, so unobtrusive is he in his charity in a good cause like our own. Then I would mention Sitaram Sakseria, whose daughter Panna visited our Asram and by her enthusiasm enlisted her father's aid in this service. Prabhudayal Himmatsingka deserves our thanks also for

obtaining, along with other friends, the grant from the Halvasia Trust. Ramdev Chokhany, who has helped our Asram in many matters, has been of great service to us in this matter. Pundit Rup Narayan Pande and Dhanya Kumar Jain should also be mentioned, who have translated the works of our Poet and thus popularised him in Hindi. Srijut Sripat Roy, the son of the late Prem Chand, the great Hindi novelist, has presented us with a copy of all his future works.

Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, who has been unfortunately prevented by illness from being present with us, has been one of our strongest supporters throughout. Though I am disobeying his strict injunction, that I should not mention his name, it would have been quite impossible to omit it, because his persistent and devoted energy has been the driving force which has carried things through to this happy conclusion. While I was lying ill at Simla, a letter from him which told me the good news about the Hindi Bhavan cheered me more than I can possibly say. His friend and colleague, the late Brij Mohan Varma, helped us right up to the time of his death by his self-sacrificing service.

To all those connected with the Halvasia Trust we would tender our most grateful thanks and it is our sincere wish that the fund which has thus been so liberally placed at our disposal may lead to fruitful results.

While I feel entirely unworthy to be called upon to lay this foundation stone, I realise that your wish that I should do so is a mark of your affection and I would offer my affection in return. If our Gurudeva's health had been such as to enable him to perform such a duty, the place I now occupy would then have been filled by him. But it is a joy to me to be able to relieve him even of the slightest burden. We have already received his blessing in what we are undertaking, and we would offer him our reverence and affection in return.

With these words I would ask you to join with me by your presence while I lay this foundation stone.

Santiniketan,
January 16, 1938.

DEFINITION OF BENGAL*

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.,
Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University

IN connection with the projected History of Bengal to be published by the University of Dacca, the first problem that necessarily arises is the demarcation of the territory which should form its subject-matter. The problem does not admit of an easy solution, but has to be faced and solved, if necessary, even arbitrarily, before we can proceed with our task. For the different writers collaborating in this work must have a very definite idea of the country whose history they are going to relate.

Popular notions on the subject are sometimes wildly extravagant. An extreme instance is furnished by the famous song of the late Mr. D. L. Roy in which even the birthplace of Buddha has been claimed to be a part of Bengal. Views like this need not be seriously considered.

Unfortunately, previous writers who dealt with the history of Bengal, do not appear to have made any serious attempt to tackle the problem. The author of *Gauḍarājamaḷā*, the first critical history of Bengal, did not discuss the question in all its bearings, but simply referred to *Rāḍha*, *Puṇḍra* (Varendra) and *Vaṅga* as the constituent parts of Bengal (p.1). His treatment of the subject shows that he regarded *Gauḍa* or *Vaṅgadesa* as roughly equivalent to the modern political province of Bengal.

Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Bāṅglār Itihās* did not discuss the connotation of Bengal, but attached almost equal importance to *Magadha* and Bengal in his detailed treatment.

Rai Bahadur Dines Chandra Sen, the author of the latest book on the history of Bengal, has, after referring to the varying boundaries of the Kingdom of Bengal in different historical periods, accepted the physical features as the chief guide in settling the question. He regards as Bengal the country bounded by the Himalayas on the North, the

sea on the South, the hills of Arakan on the East and the plateau of Chota Nagpur on the West. He omits to specify the eastern, the north-eastern, north-western, and south-western limits of the country, but evidently includes Assam Valley and Midnapore in Bengal.

If we look upon the question from an abstract point of view, the boundaries of Bengal, like those of any other province, can only be determined on the basis of historical, linguistic or geographical considerations. Let us discuss them one by one.

1. To an ordinary man the simplest definition of Bengal would be the modern political province of the name. But the difficulty of such a course is obvious. Within the present century three separate territorial units were denoted by Bengal, one up to 1905, a second between 1905 and 1912, and a third since 1912. During previous centuries, both in British and Muhammadan periods, political boundaries of Bengal varied at different times.

Such a course is open to objection from another point of view. If modern political boundaries are regarded as the basis, how are we to write the history of such important countries as Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra?

If we go to ancient history, the difficulty remains equally great. A small part of Bengal was called in ancient times *Vaṅga*. There is no doubt that this name was afterwards applied to a much bigger country. Similarly *Gauḍa*, originally the name of a part of Bengal, at one time signified a larger part of the Province and is now used as a synonym of Bengal. To make matters worse it now appears that there were two small territorial units in Bengal called *Vaṅga* and *Vāṅgālā* and the present name of *Vāṅglā* (Bengal) might have been derived from either of them. We are thus equally ignorant about the origin as well as the gradual extension of the name which was ultimately applied to the whole province. It is certain, however, that the name *Vaṅga* was not applied to the Province as a whole even down to the last days of Hindu rule. It may also be asserted with some degree

* As the Editor of the First Volume of the projected History of Bengal, I raise here an important question in the hope that others would take it up and a general discussion would lead to an agreed solution.

of confidence that no general name for Bengal was in use during the Hindu period. Even Gaṇḍa, which probably stood at one time for the largest part of Bengal, was distinguished from Vaṅga, and certainly never included Sylhet, Chittagong, Comilla and other neighbouring tracts which few would be disposed to exclude from our Province. On the other hand the Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevi implies that Aṅga or Bhagalpur was regarded as part of Gaṇḍa in the eleventh century A.D. It would thus appear that no definition of Bengal that would be regarded at all satisfactory is possible on historical grounds.

It is needless to add that the history of Bengal cannot mean the history of Vaṅga (assuming that this was the origin of the modern name) any more than the history of Rāḍha or Suhma, and Gaṇḍa or Puṇḍra. To trace the rise of Vaṅga and the gradual extension of the name to the whole Province would automatically leave out of account a considerable part of our Province, at least during the Hindu period.

2. Failing historical basis, we may turn to geography for the definition of Bengal. So far as the northern and southern boundaries are concerned, there is no difficulty. But what about the Western? The Ganges would form a natural boundary but it would exclude the whole of Burdwan Division. Any other boundary further west will be somewhat arbitrary. There is nothing to choose between the Dāmodar, the Rupnārāyan, the Suvarṇarekhā and the Vaitaranī, and, north of the Ganges, between the Mahānandā and the Kosi. On what definite grounds should we include Midnapore and Maldah in Bengal, but not Balasore and Purnea?

3. The only possible answer is linguistic. We do not include Balasore and Purnea in Bengal as the people of these provinces have Oriya and Hindusthani as their vernacular, whereas the people of Maldah and Midnapore speak Bengali.

It would thus appear that consciously or unconsciously we are more or less guided by linguistic considerations in fixing the boundary of Bengal. Of course the idea has not been rigidly followed in fixing the boundaries of the modern province of Bengal. For, even leaving controversial issues, it is obvious, that on linguistic considerations, a large part of Darjeeling district should have been excluded

from Bengal while Sylhet and a part of Bihar should have been included in it. It is, however, noteworthy that Bengal has never been reconciled to the separation of these Bengali-speaking tracts and there is a persistent agitation for reconsideration of the boundaries of Bengal.

There seems to be no doubt whatever that linguistic consideration appeals to us, Bengalis, as the most reasonable basis for the demarcation of Bengal as a territorial unit.

Of the three bases stated above, *viz.*, historical, geographical and linguistic, the first lacks in stability and the second in precision, and both are unworkable in the case of Bengal. So, by the process of exclusion also, we have to fall back upon the linguistic basis for defining the boundaries of Bengal. It gives us a definite basis, easily intelligible and possessing both precision and stability. But if the linguistic basis has certain advantages, it has also its disadvantages, specially when we have to deal with the history of ancient times. For we have no definite knowledge of the area which had a common vernacular (the Bengali, Proto-Bengali, or the Prakrit or Apabhramsa from which the Proto-Bengali was derived) during the successive periods of history. There is also a great possibility that such areas varied in different ages. It is very doubtful, for example, if the whole of the tract where Bengali is spoken today, possessed a common vernacular throughout the Hindu period. So, although we start with community of language as our basis, we may in fact include in our historical review of the Hindu period territories where there was no such common language. On the contrary we may exclude certain areas which did possess a common language in old times but no longer does so.

But even while admitting this anomaly, it is difficult to formulate any satisfactory principle for defining the boundaries of Bengal except on the basis of language as it prevails today. It is somewhat arbitrary no doubt, but more satisfactory than any other scheme or principle that can be thought of.

By a practical application of this principle Bengal for the purposes of our history should include not only the whole of the modern province of that name, minus some hill tracts at the foot of the Himalayas in the north, but also a few additional territories both on the east as well as on the west. In the east, the majority of the people in the Goalpara and Cachar districts and more than 92 per cent of the people in Sylhet speak Bengali. As regards Bihar, "81 per cent of the inhabitants of the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum speak Bengali".

In the subdivisions of Dhalbhum, Jamtara and Pakaur, the proportions are 36, 30 and 25 per cent respectively. So, the whole of Manbhum, and the eastern fringe of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas in the west, and Goalpara, Sylhet and Cachar in the east should be included in Bengal.

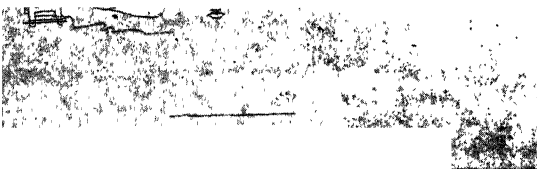
There is some element of doubt about the two feudatory states, Saraikela and Kharsawan in the Chota Nagpur plateau. The following table gives the number of people per 10,000 speaking the different principal languages :

| | | | | | |
|------------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Bengali | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2,431 |
| Ho | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,844 |
| Oriya | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2,744 |
| Santali | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,649 |
| Hindustani | .. | .. | .. | .. | 548 |

Here no language is spoken by a majority of the people and Bengali-speaking population forms nearly one-fourth of the total. Though Oriya is the language of the largest number, Bengali comes a good second. The States border on Manbhum and Singhbhum and touch a fringe of Mayurbhanj. There are, therefore, almost as good grounds for including them in Bengal as in Orissa.

In conclusion it should be remembered that

according to the latest Census Report from which the figures quoted above have been taken, Bihar and Orissa contain nearly two millions of people whose mother-tongue is Bengali; and these are mainly centred in the border-districts of Purnea, the Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Balasore, and the feudatory States of Mayurbhanj, Saraikela and Kharsawan. Although they may not be included in a technical sense, in the history of Bengal, they cannot be altogether ignored when the main currents of the history of Bengal touch upon these fringes. Old history and tradition alike associate them more closely with Gauda (Bengal) rather than with Magadha (Bihar) or Kaliṅga, the only two neighbouring provinces that have left any abiding impression on the ancient history of India. While, therefore, the 'History of Bengal' must necessarily restrict itself to the modern province together with Manbhum, Sylhet, Tippera, and the eastern border of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas, it cannot be reasonably objected if occasionally it widens its horizon so as to include the districts in Bihar and Orissa, named above, which touch upon the borders of Bengal.



The Captive : By Kiranmay Dhar

Pipe of Peace : By Kiranmay Dhar

THE CHINESE PEOPLE ARM THEMSELVES

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THE Japanese imperialist army, equipped with all the mechanized forces of mass slaughter, has been proudly rolling forward over North China, mowing down the Chinese armies as a threshing machine mows down wheat. Not only have they moved steadily southward over Hopei Province, slaughtering the Chinese armies, but the masses of the Chinese people have stood helplessly, their arms hanging by their side, and watched them roll. It was the same along the whole north-western front also until the latter part of September.

The tide began to be turned, at least to some extent, when the famous Eighth Route Army—formerly the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army—reached the battle front of North Shansi Province. In the famous battle at Pinghsiangkwan, a strategic pass on the Great Wall commanding one of the routes southward to the city of Taiyuanfu, the Shansi capital, the Eighth Route Army dealt the Japanese the first staggering blow they had received from any Chinese army of the north and north-west. In a series of swift flanking movements, the Eighth Route smashed the Japanese at Pinghsiangkwan, killing from two to three thousand of them.

With this battle as a lever, and with their whole sincerity of purpose, a representative of the Eighth Route Army and an official representative of the Chinese Communist Party, talked with General Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of Shansi Province and commander-in-chief of the north-western armies. These Communist representatives, one military and one civilian, argued that the salvation of China from subjection is the business of the entire Chinese people, and if the people are not mobilized and armed, China cannot be victorious. The Chinese armies, however vast, have not the equipment to match the huge war machine of the Japanese. The entire people and the national resources of China must be mobilized, they argued.

At that time the Central Government at Nanking did not permit the mobilization and arming of the people. But General Yen agreed to some extent with the Eighth Route Army and Communist Party representative, and gave them the right to mobilize and arm all the people near the battle front. This territory was largely

controlled by the Japanese, so it was not a concession of much value. But the Eighth Route Army took the offer gladly. They were already in the rear of one of the main Japanese positions (Sinkow and Yuanping), while the other main Japanese line was along the Peiping-Suiyuan railway to the north. Between these two battle lines of the enemy the Eighth Route Army had penetrated and had begun guerilla warfare on a huge scale, their forces split up into small units and operating from the western border of Shansi right to the east and over into Hopei Province to the Pinghan railway, then southward and all around the Sinkow-Yuanping positions and, a little later, right up into Chahar Province. They later knocked at the walls of Tatung, but that is a campaign to be waged at a later date.

It was in late October that I, the writer of this article, talked with the body of men known as the General Mobilization Committee for the Front, in Taiyuanfu, the capital. At that time, this Committee, was in charge of the general work of mobilizing and arming the people, in thirty *hsien*, or districts, of northern Shansi. These *hsien* extend in a zig-zag line across northern Shansi, even a little below Taiyuanfu, but not taking in Taiyuanfu *hsien* itself. The Committee had also just extended its work to Suiyuan and Chahar Provinces, and to every region in Shansi occupied or threatened by the Japanese. The Mass Mobilization Committee consists of twenty-nine men, as follows: 4 from the Eighth Route Army, 5 from Shansi Province, 5 from Suiyuan, and 5 from Chahar Provinces. Apart from this, each Army fighting in the north or north-west has one representative.

The Committee is divided into six committees at present: Organization, Propaganda, Organizing and Arming the people, the Department to Eliminate Traitors, the Department for the Distribution of Work, and the General Department. With two Chinese newspaper men, I talked with four members of the General Mobilization Committee about their work. They spoke as follows:

"Our duty is to carry out our anti-Japanese policy, and our chief work is the mobilizing and arming of the men into partisan groups for partisan warfare. In places

under Japanese occupation, we still continue work, but the methods of work differ, of course, from those places controlled by the Chinese armies. In occupied regions the work is very difficult, and our plan cannot be fully realized. In those regions we devote ourselves entirely to training men for partisan warfare, while in other regions our work is much broader in nature. In regions still controlled by our own armies, we can quite openly carry on propaganda by a variety of methods, but we can openly train men for partisan warfare. We also train first-aid workers for the battlefield, and we ruthlessly hunt down traitors. We have a training school for partisans here in Taiyuanfu, and we have just sent two hundred men to the rear of the enemy. We shall soon send another group of two hundred, now under training. Apart from this, we have workers everywhere in the thirty hsien, lecturing and organizing and arming and training the people. Our work just began twenty days ago, so we do not have so much to report just now. As soon as the Central Government in Nanking gives us the right, we shall extend our work to all Shansi and to every other place where we may legally operate.

"Here in Taiyuan, we gave but one week's training to men in partisan tactics. That is enough here, though in other places the training is generally two weeks. Political training is also given the partisans at the same time as they receive military training. Our volunteers here in Taiyuanfu were chiefly students, and soldiers from the regular armies. In other regions, the mass of our partisan volunteers are peasants. In regions controlled by the Eighth Route Army, there are more partisans than elsewhere, and the work goes with great rapidity. In the one hsien of Wutai, in the rear of the enemy our workers all come from the Eighth Route Army. In Wutai-hsien we have already trained and armed 1,500 partisans. We also have organized village Self Defence Associations, of men whose business it is to defend their villages with arms. In Wutai-hsien alone there are 800 already organized. They are nearly all peasants and many of them are older, or younger men, whereas the partisans are actual fighters against the Japanese at the front. The whole people are organized and trained to gather news about the enemy and to transmit it to our armies. The partisans do the same work, also, as well as creating disorder in the rear of the enemy, cutting their communications, and attacking their transport units. The regular armies, of course, do the heavy front fighting, whereas the partisans harass the rear of the enemy and their transport forces.

"The hunting down of traitors is an important work of our organization, and we do constant work amongst the people to this end. We find that traitors are chiefly of two kinds—the richest men and the poorest men. The richest work for money and power, and are without principles or national consciousness, the poorest, many of them the local ruffians—work for money. Sometimes the poorest men get one dollar a day from the Japanese to give reports. Many of the rich traitors have Japanese wives also. The traitors supply the Japanese with information of our armies and plans, and they give Japanese airplane signals by which they can locate positions to be bombed.

"Our propaganda committee has sent men to all the thirty hsien, in small groups, to do propaganda. They lecture, give lessons in political knowledge to the people, collect funds, organize the people to transport and help the wounded. In this department is a section to help the refugees from the war zones. Where the wounded pass, this committee sends people to help them, to give them water and food, and to change their bandages. This committee also helps the wounded and the other soldiers by writing letters for them. Most of our people

are unfortunately still illiterate, and this is an important service. Many refugees themselves have entered our work, and devote their entire time to it. They are very glad to do this. They receive their food and lodging, but beyond this nothing."

Later on, the two Chinese newspaper men and I went to Wutai-hsien, a district in the mountains between the two lines of the Japanese. Here the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army was for a time located. In one town through which we passed, we were put up for the night by the Mass Mobilization Committee. They were young, cheerful and even enthusiastic men from the Eighth Route Army, whose special work was the organizing and training and arming of partisans. They verified what the general committee of their organization had told us in Taiyuanfu. They had about 1,500 organized partisans under training so far. But, unfortunately, they have only about 50 per cent enough arms. In groups of 100 men, there were 50 rifles only, all of them given by General Yen Hsi-shan, though some were captured from the Japanese. From this village alone, two groups of partisans had been sent to harass the rear of the enemy. The men without rifles all carried hand-grenades, but they did not have sufficient hand-grenades. So each man carried only five or six. The main problem is arms. The men are willing enough to be armed and only too willing to fight. But the problem of guns is an urgent one.

From this town, which had been repeatedly bombed by the Japanese, we went into the Wutai mountains, to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army. There we found the partisans have their own big headquarters where they receive political military training. We watched the training of about a hundred new volunteers, and talked with the local Mobilization Committee. This local committee consisted of seven men, all of them from the local population, and all except one peasants. The oldest member was 73 years of age. He was a tall, handsome and even picturesque old peasant who proudly led us into the fields where new volunteers were being trained. He proudly introduced us to them. A man from the Eighth Route Army was patiently training a group of volunteers, helped by a local civilian. We took pictures of them, and some of them stood very straight and stern. One little fellow was only thirteen, and he was so conscious of it that he was especially severe in his bearing. Then up stepped an old man sixty-five years of age and asked that he be photographed. He was a member of the village Self-Defence Corps, and this Corps had just made their own khaki

uniforms. Was the old man proud! Around him stood the young men in the gray uniforms of the partisans, proud of their village.

We took photographs of the partisans as they trained in the late afternoon each day. Here we saw these tall, strong, north Chinese farmers who so reminded me of American farmers at times. Some of them were long and lanky, with moustaches, and with long necks such as so many poor farmers of America are pictured. There was something about their lanky frames and their protruding Adam's apples that was typical of farmers of the poorest class everywhere. They are also very tall in North China. Some of the younger men were stocky and as strong as bulls and it was certain that all of them would give the Japanese more than one bellyful of shot and shell. Straight from their ploughing or their hoeing, they know the meaning of hard labor and almost super-human endurance. They trained with the most intense seriousness and patience. One evening we watched a unit of about a hundred under training. Half of them carried rifles and had already received considerable training. The other half were new Volunteers who had just come in that day. The new Volunteers could not keep step, even with the constant shouting. It was interesting to watch the ambling gait of the peasant, with his heavily clad feet. But before the week would pass he would be able to lift his feet rapidly, and perhaps before a year is passed he will be in the regular Eighth Route Army. For some of the partisans go over into the Army—that is, their units are transformed into regular military units. But up to now they are not. They remain farmers and fighters.

The old man, 73 years of age, who was a member of the Mobilization Committee was a remarkable old fellow. He was very eager and proud and he talked as we walked along. He was the treasurer of the local Committee. He collected and disbursed funds. He could read and write a little. He owed seven mou of land—about $1\frac{1}{4}$ acre, so he was a poor peasant. He did recruiting of volunteers, he said. He would go to the homes of the people and tell them what the Japanese have done in every place they have occupied—how they have killed the people, looted and raped. If the Japanese come, the people cannot live at all, but will be homeless slaves, he argued. No, he said, he met no opposition at all from the families with sons. The women are still backward, but they also raise no objection, but urge their sons to go. How proud the old man was. Then he added: "My own son is a partisan.

He is thirty-five years of age and he is already fighting the enemy. I would like to call him back and send him to protect you, because you are a foreign friend of ours. It is a great honour!"

In the last few days of October and in early November, the general headquarters of the Eighth Route Army marched from north Shansi down to eastern Shansi to the eastern front. I went with them. We passed through villages where the Mobilization Committee had its representatives. In one town there were hundreds of Eighth Route Army wounded, all being nursed by the local population. There was but one trained nurse to care for the hundreds. The people had brought their own and often only quilted quilts to cover the wounded. They were proud and eager to help. Everywhere we saw the slogans put up by local partisan organizations on walls and trees: "Every good man into the partisans!" Or, "Every good man get ready for the front!"

One night in a village, at about nine o'clock, we heard a big tin pan being beaten in the streets. It halted at the gate of our courtyard and the voice of a man shouted twice: "All partisans come out to the grove!" Two rooms in our courtyard were thrown open a second later and two peasant men of the household, carrying rifles, went silently out of the gate.

When we crossed the Chentai railway line, and marched to the south of it, we entered a region in which the Eighth Route Army has just come. This is a region in which the Mobilization Committee has only now received the right to mobilize and arm the people. We spent the night in villages where there were no partisans at all and where the people had never heard of the Eighth Route Army. The women had all fled! If we remained for two nights even—which was often the case—the people came streaming back. The women and girls, with children, would come. I talked with some men and women who had fled from their villages when they heard an army was coming. They had fled 100 li away—over 30 miles. Then they heard that the Eighth Route Army had come, and that it was a revolutionary army of the people, who protected and organized the people. They picked up their pitiful bundles and their padded quilts and came home. They sent delegations to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and asked them to leave men behind to protect and tell them what to do. In all these villages south of the Chentai railway the Army headquarters left behind two armed men whose business it was to organize local Mobilization Committees, organize and

arm the people. Small bands of roaming defeated troops who rob and rape are to be talked to and argued with and re-educated if possible. If not, to be imprisoned. And if they do not learn sincerely, to be shot. In some villages, the people ran to the Eighth Route headquarters to tell of such men, and to ask for their arrest. The Headquarters sent armed men and arrested the looters. One night one such arrested man, an officer from Szechuen troops, was housed in a room in a courtyard right across from mine. He had thrown away his military uniform, and robbed clothing of the common people. But, stupidly enough, he had kept his army papers.

Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army, is very enthusiastic. When he speaks of the "*lao pei shin*"—that is, the common people—his voice softens and his face becomes tender. "The *lao pei shin*—ah, what people!" he says softly, turning his head away. Then, with gleaming eyes, he said to us: "We have already organized 5,000 men into the partisans in North Shansi alone. Give us one more month, and we will have from 20,000 to 30,000 partisans in that region. Give us another month here on the eastern front, and the Japanese will be destroyed."

Arms! Arms!! Arms!!! Arms for the people! Arms for the *lao pei shin*!

The Eighth Route Army bases its strength on the strength of the people. We move for hundreds of miles, right within two or three miles of the enemy lines, and the people never betray us! They come streaming home, come to their protectors, and come saying: "Leave men to tell us what to do!" The Eighth Route Army is telling them. As Chu Teh said, calmly and smilingly, "even if the Japanese occupy Taiyuan or other big cities, it will not matter. We will destroy them. We will organize and arm the people and every man, woman and child, will destroy them."

Days of Warfare

FROM MY DIARY

November 3, 1937.—The battle of yesterday has ended with the Chinese troops retreating from their positions at Yangchuen and retreating to Chang Chin Chen further west on the Chentai railway. The chief concentration of the Japanese is now at Pingtingchow, about halfway from Niangshihkwan to Tiyanfu.

I talked with Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army. He was perfectly cheerful, perfectly calm. The defeat of the

Chinese troops (not the Eighth Route) yesterday did not mean much, he said. "If the Japanese want to march on toward Taiyuanfu, let them," he said. "It does not matter. This should be the tactics of the Kuomintang, instead of their present positional warfare. If they do this, and adopt the tactics of the Eighth Route Army, the Japanese can be defeated. We will then cut off their rear, destroy all their communications, split them up in small groups and destroy them. The enemy advanced today, but the Kuomintang troops need not have retreated. Instead, they must change their tactics. Then it will not matter if the Japanese advance. The Chinese forces are much more than the Japanese, and we can surround them on all sides. The Chinese troops are now concentrated at Showyang."

Day before yesterday we crossed the railway tracks at Showyang. Yesterday, throughout the day, six Japanese bombers simply "scraped the skies", so to speak, in search of the newly-arrived Eighth Route Army. They know we have come, but they do not know where. But already two of the units of the Eighth Route have attacked their flanks at Yangchuen, while Liu Peh-chen, commanding another force down on the Shansi-Hopei border, has destroyed the Chentai railway for a long distance. It will take the Japanese a long time to repair it, and then it will be cut again either there or in a dozen other places. We have reports that the Japanese troops are very tired. That means little. They are obedient soldiers, and they will march on. Now, with the Eighth Route on both sides of the Chentai railway in their rear, they will have to march on. They dare not retreat. The Eighth Route Army is at work with its famous flanking and rear attacks.

The Japanese are moving in Shansi province on this eastern front from three different directions now—along the railway, which is now cut and where the Eighth Route is harassing their flanks and rear; from Pingtingchow they have sent out four regiments to the south-west; and they have sent two full regiments—about 6,000 men—along a road, some 50 li south of the railway on the border, to Yangchuen. So they are driving into the province by the roads, also.

At Tungyingtow, a strategic mountain near Yangchuen, Chen Ken, Eighth Route Army commander, commands a force of strong Communist troops, and has just built defences. He has just arrived there. An Eighth Route unit, commanded by Chen Kwen, a Hunan peasant military leader, arrived at the mountain

range, Mataling, south of Pinlingchow, day before yesterday and met the four regiments of enemy troops coming from that direction. The battle continued all day yesterday, and the Communist forces killed about 1,000 of the enemy and captured supplies.

Day before yesterday the Eighth Route Army, and also the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, issued separate manifestoes to the Japanese soldiers, calling upon them to cease the robber war they are waging at the commands of their militarists who are enemies of both the Chinese and Japanese people. Chinese fliers from the Central Government, of whom there are a few in this region, eagerly took to the air and dropped the manifestoes over the Japanese lines. But we have only a few airplanes in this region.

Well, the Japanese know at last that the Eighth Route Army is in this region. They felt this army yesterday. They know that the Eighth Route is not only here on the south of the railway line, but that it is on the northern side also, and is closing in on their rear with a pincer movement. They know it by the cutting of the railway in their rear, and they know it because 1,000 of them lay dead after yesterday's battle. They know it because some of the Chinese troops have not retreated, but have met them in merciless warfare and have not retreated. They know it from the two manifestoes.

On the northern front, were the Japanese glad! They were so happy that the Eighth Route Army had left the northern front for the eastern front—so they thought—that they tried to take supplies down to their main concentration point at Sinkow, where Shansi and Central Government troops are holding their main forces, bombarding them each day. The enemy thought they could at last send shells and ammunition through to Sinkow. So they sent down 70 to 80 military trucks, heavily laden with shells and other ammunition, and also supplies. And 200 of their soldiers rode on the trucks, bowling along like gentlemen. A unit of Ho Lung's troops, helped by peasant partisans, fell upon the trucks like a few tons of brick. They stopped six of them with handgrenades, and destroyed 10 of them in the fighting, and stopped the whole lot by destroying the roads. The 200 Japanese soldiers were all killed. Among them was a company officer and his deputy. The Chinese forces got large quantities of arms and ammunition, including two light machine guns, rifles, pistols, and many other supplies. The Japanese tried advancing along another route. An army partisan route

mined the earth and destroyed two enemy trucks on November 2.

The town of Whenyuan, which has changed hands a number of times, has been taken back by the Eighth Route Army once more. That is on the northern front, outside the Great Wall. It was recaptured from the Japanese on November 1st, and a number of enemy soldiers killed.

The Chinese forces still hold the Japanese at Sinkow. There is no change in the Sinkow situation. The enemy hopes to break through the Eighth Route forces now holding the north, and get reinforcements to their troops at Sinkow so they can advance to Taiyuanfu.

We are now at a small village south of the railway, and some 65 li from the place we were yesterday. We were told to be prepared to march at midnight to this place. We prepared. But the manager of our group is so determined to get at the Japanese, it seems, that he awoke us at 10, just three hours after we had gone to bed. I argued that it was not twelve, but he argued that my watch was wrong, and so we got up and prepared. By eleven o'clock we were ready to march. Headquarters had not even arisen! One hour later the bugle call awoke them, and later their breakfast bugle call sounded, and then later still the bugle to prepare to march. It was two o'clock when the bugle call for marching sounded! And the last hour we spent standing amongst the animals and lines of men on a road beyond the village. There was a hell of a noise, as usual, with the braying of donkeys and mules, the neighing and stamping of horses, and the shouts of men, with men cheering up everyone by singing. But when we began to march, silence fell upon us all, and all we could hear was the clank of hoofs on the stony and treacherous and narrow mountain paths. The little hsiao kweys, given to all kinds of laughter and pranks, whispered lest the Japs, some three to four miles away hear them! No one talked. The order came to use no flash lights. We marched by the faint light of the stars. I watched the great dipper over my shoulder to the left, and the polar star below it. Sometimes it was directly to my left, sometimes a bit behind me. As we advanced, our eyes became used to the darkness.

The paths down which we went were so terrible that I dared not ride. So with my two guards on either side of me, I went down and up, down into stony riverbeds through which icy rivers tumbled, then up terrible stony paths again, and down again. And so through the whole night. Dark mountain sides loomed on either side. Now and then there was the quick flash of a flashlight, as suddenly turned off, as the

advance searched for the right path. We began to straggle in units after a few hours. Then we watched the roadside for the bits of paper left to guide us. The bits of paper often a figure—30, 20, or 10 or such on them,—telling us how many more li we had to march. There were few or no bridges over the broad, icy rivers, and nearly everyone had wet feet. But they crossed without complaint and marched on and on. When the dawn came, many men were limping and all were weary. But they went on and on and I heard snatches of song. I was able to ride along the good stretches of road, and across the rivers. I at least kept my feet dry. Later we saw that the skin of Li Po's feet is split open down to the raw flesh, all along the soles. The long and hard marching, and the freezing water is the cause of this. But he has not complained. He has walked more slowly at times, and, with a far-away look, has replied to my questions: "It does not matter."

In the darkness I lost track of my horse a number of times. But he found me. Two or three times I heard the low rumble that is a horse's talk of satisfaction, and then his nose nudging me. I felt like throwing my arms around his neck each time. But when the dawn came, and I rode along level roads, I cursed him soundly. For he tried to tear up the earth "running after the women," so to speak. There is in our column a little bay mare, jealously chaperoned by a boy about eighteen years of age. For this lady my Yunnan has conceived an affection. Her reply to his indelicate advances was to lift her hind legs and strike out at him in a way that belied her meek appearance. But she carried a pack and it fell off. For my Yunnan responded to her attack by whirling around and trying to kick the stuffings out of her. It did not matter that I was on his back. Not in the least! And now, that chaperoning guardian of the little mare carries a club just for use against my Yunnan. I have almost fallen to sleep at times, but I was brought back to full consciousness by the glaring eyes and ferocious face of that lad coming toward my pony. Realizing that we are in for another fight, I turn around and seek a more secure position in the column.

There is an old Hindu book which, if I remember correctly, is something like the *Karma Yoga*. It is a book telling of the ways and means of what we may call the "man-to-man business." One passage in that book says, it is bad luck for a couple to become morous at a cross-road. Bad luck, indeed! is, instead, most dangerous. I thought of this book today. But, as the Victorian poets

used to say, alas and alack, my Yunnan has not read the *Karma Yoga*.

It was nearing nine in the morning, when a small straggling group of us picked our way across a riverbed filled with stones that someone seems to have sharpened to knife-like edges. Before us lay the village which was to be our headquarters for a day. Then, from the east, coming up the valley around a mountain, we saw a long column of slow-moving soldiers. They moved slowly, wearily, as if they had marched all night. We halted and watched and I took some pictures. This was the Third Army, moving from a position where the Chinese troops have been defeated, to the west, where they are to be reorganized and fight again. They had no animals at all with them, but carried all their arms and ammunition. As they passed, voices amongst them cried out. Once we heard: "We have no overcoats! We have no overcoats!" There were a few people in the village ahead of us watching from a stone wall. The weary soldiers seemed to be crying their complaints to the morning air, and to no one in particular. Then their commander gave an order, and it was shouted down the line from man to man: "Order to rest! Order to rest!" They marched on. The resting place had not yet come. Then came the strange cries again: "We are tired! We are tired!"

This is one of the best armies of the Central Government, I am told. They are good fighters. They carried no packs on their backs, they had no overcoats. I wondered how they sleep, how they keep warm. But I could not find out. When they saw a foreign face their cries ceased and in astonishment they gazed at me, and some of them smiled and halted to have their pictures taken.

We came into a village entirely deserted of women and girls, and of at least half of the men population. The people heard that troops were coming, and ran away. We found two empty rooms in the home of what appears to be a middle peasant house. Since three doors of the mud and stone buildings were locked with iron Chinese locks and chains, we went into the two empty ones and occupied them. Later we found one peasant man who lives in one of the padlocked rooms. He told us we could live in the two rooms. His wife and daughter, who occupy the poor room, have fled with the other women to the mountains. He is a poor peasant, as are the other families that live in the other rooms. The men returned and talked curiously with us. We tried to get them to bring their women back, but they are afraid of armies. It will take another day or two for the Political Department

of headquarters to convince them that the Eighth Route Army is not an ordinary army, and that it is the protector of the people. The women will be returning in another day or two, just as they have at other places. And here we will leave men to organize and arm the people into partisans, just as we have in other places. We left two armed men in the village where we spent the two nights before this. This was the request of the people, who sent a delegation to our Military Headquarters.

We leave here tomorrow morning for a new position.

I wonder at the Chinese people. Our only food is millet or rice, and one vegetable. Today we had rice and turnips. Sometimes it is squash, or potatoes. And on this we live. There is no fat, no sugar, and for days no meat at all. I have a little money left which I borrowed from a friend to prepare for this march. So I am able to buy an occasional chicken. My whole group of six eat it. This gives us a little protein and a tiny bit of fat. The guards' shoes are nearly worn out and they have no others. Nor can we buy anything. There is absolutely nothing to buy. This region seems very, very poor. They have millet, kaoliang and squash, and a few potatoes about as large as walnuts. Even the chickens are very few and very thin. We bought one today but it had no fat at all. We bought a squash from the poor peasant. But there are many armies in this region, and I wonder what the people will live on during the winter. We buy everything we take, but much of our rice is transported on donkeys and mules with us. It is many days' march over terrible roads to Taiyuanfu, and the problem of feeding and clothing an army during the winter months, in this region, is almost unbelievably difficult. There are no motor roads—and no motor trucks. It is almost impossible to find any man in these villages who has enough money to change one Chinese dollar. We could not change a dollar to buy one chicken, but had to buy another chicken this afternoon, a squash, and some corn for my horse and mule. For I am using the little money I have left to keep my horse and mule in good condition. If either dies, I do not know what I shall do. For our future marching is very hard. I shall have to walk much of the time also. Today my two companions and I stripped our luggage down to the barest essentials. We each have the one suit we wear, our winter coats, an extra pair of socks or so, and we are rich in having one extra pair of shoes which we bought in Sian. My luggage consists almost entirely of my typewriter, my type-

writing paper, carbon paper, my camera, films, and typing ribbons. I even had to give up my first-aid medicines. My camp bed I give to the peasant here. The camp bed was a great thing for me. I could sleep alone, and it freed me from the almost certainty of getting lice. For the k'angs of the poor peasants often have lice in them. And now I know I shall get lice. This morning, when we arrived here, I watched some of our armed forces sitting in doorways, stripped to the waist, picking lice out of their coats. They already have them. Yet up to now they have been clean of them. Lice in north China in winter means typhus. Lice in wartime is always a typhus danger. And I fear we face this very serious danger. For northern Chinese typhus does not generally mean death. They are practically immune to it. But our army is mostly of southern men, and I fear they are in the same danger as foreigners from typhus—and that means death in 99 per cent of the cases. We cannot afford anti-typhus vaccine. It costs \$9.00 for one injection series. I have not received injections either. I tried it a year ago and nearly died of heart failure. But still I cannot take my camp bed. From now on I have one donkey, and my little mule, to carry everything for my party of six. My luggage is the heaviest. It is typewriting and camera supplies. In these regions we cannot buy any kind of paper whatever. Whatever we intend to use we must carry with us.

Later: Today the two other peasants in the locked rooms returned. One was a very poor man. He came into our room and asked politely and humbly for something. We could not understand his dialect at all. Not one of us could understand. Finally he dared point at something and we saw it was an old rope hanging on an inside door. He wanted his rope but he had been afraid to come and take it, or ask for it and point. For our guards are armed men! And he has his experience with armed men! How terrible it is. We laughed and gave him his rope. On his head was a bloody cut, as if he had fallen. I disinfected it with iodine and then he said he would of course pay. He made a gesture of payment and we assured him that we did not want payment. He watched us with suspicion—this strange, strange army that gave back a man's rope or treated his injury free. Ten minutes later he came back and asked us to treat his injured foot. It was useless. His foot is worn to the flesh through a hole in his old cloth shoes. He needs a new pair of shoes. And we have none even for ourselves. One of my guards took him to our doctor who bound up his foot and told

him to put a patch over his old ragged shoe.

The peasant men have returned—but not yet the women and girls! What problems China has! It seems that all the problems of thousands of years rest upon the shoulders of the people. I even think that these problems rest on the shoulders of the Communists! For what other force in all China comes from the heart of the masses, burdened with the full consciousness of the problems of the masses, and conscious of China's historic struggle and the possibilities of a new world struggling with such anguish for birth? What other army in all China really and truly protects the masses of the people? What other army in all China demands the reduction of taxes, the end of usury, the redivision of the land, and general improvement of the livelihood of the people, the democratisation of the entire country? What other force in this vast land, but the Communists and their army, truly and deeply trust the people, trust them so deeply that they would organize and give them arms? The Chinese armies are fighting for the first and most essential of all necessities—national liberation. But

that is only the beginning, and even the pre-requisites for the victory of the Chinese armies is not yet fulfilled—that is, the adoption of such democratic, social, economic and political measures that the masses of the people really feel that they have something to fight for, something to die for if necessary but, above all, something to live for. Again and again as we go through the country, I am deeply, irrevocably convinced that the principles embodied in the heart of the Eighth Route Army are the only principles that will guide and save China, that will give the greatest of impulses to the liberation of all subjected Asiatic nations, and bring to life a new human society. This conviction in my own mind and heart gives me the greatest peace in myself that I have ever known. I suffer from an injury that exhausts me. There seems little chance of it being cured until our present manner of existence, with constant marching. It does not matter so very much, that injury of mine. My injury is less than that of the ordinary Chinese about me. This is my solace. If they can fight on, so can I, in my own way.

THE PLUNGE

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

Friends, let us sail
Beyond the vale
Of shadows, for the shoreless deep
Whence wing love's melodies that never sleep
Calling the soul
To the far goal.
Hark to their pledge: "Who breaks his gyves,
Arrives".

Refrain:

O Pilgrim heart!
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams:
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams!

In the hurtling rapids of desire
The masque of foam and dance of fire
Dazzle: mind floats
Alas, on phantom-boats,
Hailing the songs of brittle waves as His
Starry symphonies.

Refrain:

O Pilgrim heart!
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams:
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams!

There surge the diapasons of the Far
Which earthly tumults cannot mar:
Slumbering chords of life
Thrilling respond, still rapture-rife:
Hush! there sings
The King of kings!

Refrain:

O Pilgrim heart!
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams:
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams!



Girls' Dormitory, Nanking University, in ruins



Chemistry Building, Central University, Nanking



Shanghai North Station



A searchlight battery of the Chinese
19th Route Army



Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the 8th Route Army
in conversation with a member of the National
Advisory Council



The Chinese 8th Route Army



The Occupation of Nanking by the Japanese



Japanese "Victory March" in Shanghai

1937 : A RETROSPECT

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

WE are now at the beginning of another year and it is perhaps fitting that we should take stock of the position in which we find ourselves and see how far we can anticipate what lies before us in 1938.

During the year that has passed Japan has waged a barbarous, though undeclared, war on China. "Incidents" in which foreign powers were involved, including the shooting of the British Ambassador to China, and the burning and sinking of American and other ships, have occurred with appalling frequency. These incidents have been followed by the usual apologies and, at the time of writing, Japan has apologised no less than *twenty-seven* times.

Italy has left the League of Nations. This makes little difference, in fact as for two years she has taken practically no part in the work of the League. Indeed the manner of her leaving is almost more important than the matter. For in his speech announcing the withdrawal of Italy from Geneva, Signor Mussolini surprised outside observers by his bitterness. They had not realized that the imposition of sanctions, and the non-recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia, meant so much to him. But after all the iron has entered into his soul.

The Berlin-Rome axis has grown into the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. This looks formidable, but is really much less so than would appear. For the Berlin-Rome axis was more an agreement of Dictators than of peoples—and the Germans who have no love for the Italians have just about as little for the Japanese.

Germany clamours for the return of the colonies she lost in the Great War and Italy now backs her in this policy. Signor Mussolini even goes so far as to rope in a cousin of the King of Italy, the Duke of Pistoia, and induces him to sign an article on the subject in his newspaper the *Popolo d'Italia*. But does all this hoodwink Germany? Can she overlook the fact that after the War Italy extended her boundaries (just beyond her northern frontier) to take in some 400,000 German-speaking people whose treatment by their conquerors leaves much to be desired.

In Russia M. Stalin seems to have got rid of practically everyone of his old comrades who

were responsible with him for the inauguration of the present Soviet regime. In consequence of the execution of most of the leading Generals in her Army Russia is not in the same strong position as she was to assert herself against Fascist aggression. Still there is little doubt that if it came to a war of *defence*, Russia would be able to give a very good account of herself.

Moreover signs are not lacking that all is not well in the Fascist countries. In Italy and Germany the people are far from being wholeheartedly behind their Dictators. Japan, too, has found it necessary to round up and imprison all those of a socialistic tendency and even Members of Parliament who might be expected to oppose her present policy. The cost of living in Germany, Italy and Japan is rising. Japan has not got from Manchuria the material wealth that she had hoped for. Nor has Italy from Abyssinia. All three countries seem to be heading for bankruptcy. In such circumstances the possibility of the present regime remaining in power for very long in any one country should be unlikely. But bankruptcy of course is no deterrent to war. In fact rather than face defeat at home Dictators are the more likely to risk the adventure of war.

The greatest tragedy and the greatest enigma of 1937 is perhaps Spain. The Civil War drags on and on. Germany and Italy have openly intervened there and yet they have not succeeded in winning the war for General Franco. Why? Why do they not once and for all, as they could, bomb loyalist Spain out of existence? Can it be that they are not yet ready for a show-down with England. Meanwhile they have done harm enough. It is appalling to look at a map of Spain and to see how equally it is divided amongst Government and Rebels. At its present pace, when will the war ever end?

A show-down with England . . . Many people in this country believe that sooner or later there must be a show-down between the Fascist and Democratic countries. The Fascist countries at any rate have no reticences that might hinder such a belief. Italy inflames opinion against us in the Near East and spreads abroad the idea that we are decadent and that

it is better to follow the Italian star. In the Far East, Japan says plainly that the real enemy is not China but Great Britain. (And, knowing that her great neighbour, Russia, is allied to France, throws in for their benefit the slighting opinion that "France today is still France only because of the existence of Great Britain and is making her presence known only by clinging to John Bull's coat-tails.")

And what about Germany? Germany has no need to trail her coat. She is playing a far more dangerous, far more sinister, waiting game. And the luck seems to be all on her side. The Little Entente is dissolving before her eyes. Italy is buying off Jugo-Slavia with trade concessions, thereby robbing Czecho-Slovakia of a market and weakening her economically and politically. Rumania has gone Fascist and although the extreme Fascists, the Iron Guard, are not yet in the saddle, it is plainly the German brand of Fascism with its persecution of the Jews and other attendant cruelties. And there is the possibility that Italy may collapse. If she does so, what will become of Austria—and the whole Danube basin? Will it not be a matter of time before it is *Deutschland uber alles*?

Germany indeed, to such English eyes as are unclouded by prejudice, is the greatest tragedy of present-day Europe. A few years ago, when Herr Stresemann was in power, and Remarque was writing his *All Quiet on the Western Front*, we could, if we had had the courage, have met Germany half-way and sought in amity a solution of the problems which are now grown so great that they threaten to engulf us all in war. But France was still frightened, and stifling Europe with her alliances, and screeching her everlasting parrot cry of "*Securite, Securite, Securite!*" And we listened to France. But it was our own fault that France was so cautious. If at the end of the Great War we had agreed, as we nearly did, to join with America in guaranteeing French security, France would never have cast her net over Europe—and Herr Hitler's evil genius would never have triumphed. Our fault, our's and America's.

There are people in England now who would yield to Nazi Germany what they would not even consider when Germany was still living under the Weimar Constitution. How explain this mentality? The only explanation seems to be that the only god they worship is the god of force. How can we possibly, knowing that a terror exists in Germany, look on while Czecho-Slovakia, and possibly Austria, is exposed to that terror? How can we

give up colonies to a Nazi Germany, knowing that

"it is undeniable that the Nazi doctrines make it impossible for the natives in any future German colony to be admitted to full German citizenship. No black or yellow man can be a Nordic."

As regards the terror in Germany, a writer in this week's *Time and Tide* deserves to be studied. She says:

"Apologists of the Nazi revolution, pretend that the 'few excesses' committed in 1933 were quite 'natural' in a time of political upheaval, and that they ceased when the new regime had settled down. The fact is that they neither were few, nor did they cease when the regime had settled down. The terror in Germany today is as bad as it has ever been (readers of *Mein Kampf* can hardly be surprised, for in that book Hitler preaches the most sanguinary terrorism in the most open and truculent manner). The abominations that went on in the German concentration camps are still going on. Political suspects are habitually put to the torture, and political offenders are executed now as before. The persecution of the Jews is as bad as ever, and the persecution of the Churches threatens to grow worse."

She adds that although almost all Europe east of the Vosges is under a terror—there is a terror in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Lithuania and so on—

"there is something peculiarly shocking in the German terror. Russia, after all, has never been without a terror, but Germany has. The German is not inferior to the Frenchman or the Englishman in civilization. What happens to Germany happens to civilization as such."

Civilization in Germany is in fact, in the words of Ophelia, quite, quite down! How could anyone, outside a madhouse, solemnly affirm the following:

"The National Socialist revolution has corrected the false view that men are individual beings. There is no liberty of the individual. There exists only the liberty of peoples, nations, races."

And this is Dr. Dietrich, Reich Press Chief, speaking to university students. To take away the taste of this I opened Robert Bridges' collection, *The Spirit of Man*, and came on this near the end:

" well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms
 for this was all they care
To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverse."

Who single hast maintained the cause of truth . . . though worlds judged thee perverse. Milton's words have come down three centuries. But Dr. Dietrich prefers *Mein Kampf* to *The Better Fight*.

The people in this country who believe in the argument of force rather than in the force of argument, the great mass of Conservative

opinion that is, are reversing their policy now towards Japan just as they would reverse it towards Germany (if France wasn't their conscience). In 1931, when Japan began her adventure in Manchuria, and when it would have been a far easier proposition to check her, Britain held aloof. She washed her hands while Japan burnt Chapei and forcibly annexed the territory of a fellow member of the League. Sir John Simon, our then Foreign Secretary, flatly declined the offer of Mr. Stimson, America's Foreign Secretary, to co-operate with Great Britain in counteracting Japan's aggression in China.

But the worst of it all was that the Conservative Press presented our part in the Sino-Japanese dispute as a matter of self interest and not a matter of principle. The *Times* was most insistent that there was no reason to assume that British interests would suffer by Japanese victories in China, that British trade would face exclusions or a closed door. The *Observer*, and with it all the popular press with the largest circulations, exhibited the worst feature of power psychology—the desire to fraternise with a bully and join in in discrediting his victim ("He must be wicked to deserve such pain"). The Chinese, declared Mr. Garvin, "have harassed and hindered Japan" and Japan, said he,

"does not really seek extension of sovereignty on the mainland. Nor does she dream of keeping her troops in Manchuria indefinitely 'out of bounds' in defiance of civilized opinion." (*Observer*, 15th November, 1931).

And now, only seven years after, Mr. Garvin himself is looking on the ruins he and his kind have made! And he actually has the nerve to write:

"Far bigger in every way than the Italian annexation of Abyssinia was Japan's original conquest of Manchuria although so much less noise was made about it."

Although so much less noise was made about it! Whose fault was that—the fault of the Conservative Press who thought they could flatter and cajole Japan by admitting her to the titles of civilized opinion. . . . The fault of the Conservative Press which denounced those who did make a noise about the business in Manchuria as "curious pacifists" and "inflamed enthusiasts for League coercion." Well, they have their answer now. And Mr. Garvin has discovered, what was never in doubt from the moment that we flatly refused the American offer to go out with them and grasp the nettle, that we are in danger in the Far East.

"In China, where we have built up vast interests and a famous repute by the continuous work of generations, we are in a position more humiliating and damaging

than we have ever endured since we won the name of a great people."

And in Tokio, we might add, they speak of *powerless England*—and in Shanghai nearly four hundred children among the refugees have died every day during the past three weeks. . . . That is what happens when a nation follows the line of least resistance. How many people in their heart of hearts shared the complacency of Sir John Simon when he went about congratulating himself that he had kept England on friendly terms with both China and Japan? What a difference it might have made if we had been told instead of the American proposal.

Should we not have been told? The whole question of the way in which foreign affairs are conducted is, we are coming to see, a very vital one. The present Government has changed its Foreign Secretary twice—and now it has made an entirely new departure and appointed a Chief Diplomatic Adviser. Sir John Simon is associated with debacle in the Far East, Sir Samuel Hoare with debacle in Abyssinia. Progressive opinion in this country forced Mr. Eden on his Government. Is the Government's new move an attempt to put a spoke in the wheel of its Foreign Secretary—a Foreign Secretary they have frustrated, in any event, from the very beginning (and who could not even get a mention of the League of Nations into the last King's Speech). There might be something to be said for the appointment of a Chief Diplomatic Adviser, but on the face of it the choice of the first holder of the office seems to be an unhappy one. Sir Robert Vansittart has been permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs for the past eight years. But it is precisely during the past eight years that our foreign policy has got lost in the sand—and the Dictators have put about the idea that we are decadent. Rumour associated the name of Sir Robert Vansittart with the Hoare-Laval Pact. The Pact which was a betrayal not so much of Abyssinia (which might have come out better if it had been adopted) as of the *League*. Whether that rumour was just or no one could wish that the new Diplomatic Adviser were not the man who has kept watch over so many failures.

But to return to America. If in 1931 the Hoover Administration, in accord with its commitments under the Kellogg Pact, was prepared to concert action with England against a Power which was using war as an instrument of national policy—in 1938 the Roosevelt Administration, in face of the threat which Japan is making to the very existence of China as a separate political entity, is preparing to

take action and has the entire backing of American public leaders. Mr. Stimson, Foreign Secretary under President Hoover, has written a three column letter to the *New York Times* in his support. And the Republican Leader, Mr. Landon, has sent Mr. Roosevelt a telegram. Dealing with the Landon telegram the Scripps-Howard chain of papers makes a comment which Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and all those who share his view that it is dangerous even to express an opinion, should study. Peace, they maintain, largely depends on "whether the Japanese war lords believe they can get away with it."

But even more important to us and to everyone is the reply which the President sent to Mr. Landon. It has almost the Gettysburg touch.

"I believe an overwhelming majority of our countrymen, regardless of politics, creed, race or colour, from the days of Washington to this hour, have desired to pursue the even tenor of their way at peace with all peoples. But throughout our long history *we Americans have rejected every suggestion that ultimate security can be assured by closing our eyes to the fact that, whether we like it or not, we are part of a large world of other nations and peoples. As such we owe some measure of co-operation, and even leadership, in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the ultimate goal of general peace.*"

America speaks of leadership but our language is the language of non-intervention. No it isn't . . . It is only the language of politicians and the poor little street-bred people who are nourished on the popular press and veer with that press.

Mr. Roosevelt seems to have the leaders of all parties behind him in the matter of foreign policy. It would be gratifying if the same could be said in the sphere of domestic relations, and especially of his relations with big business. It is very difficult for outsiders to understand what is going on in New York. References are made to a phenomenon unknown in this country, "trust-busting" (though it might be a good thing here), and it is pointed out by Mr. Jackson, the Assistant Attorney-General, that in America the greater part of the nation's wealth is controlled by about 2,000 men who "before 1929 owned the Government body and soul." These 2,000, presumably, are the men behind the recent sudden slump in Wall Street. The American capitalists, comments Mr. Lloyd George in an interview, are deliberately keeping back orders because they are out to defeat Roosevelt. And then he made the astonishing assertion that capitalism in America is challenging democracy and *in some respects it is of greater moment than the challenge in Europe.* Be that as it may it is hard to understand why

there should be a slump at this particular time—and how things can deteriorate at quite such a pace. Says the *Cleveland Trust Bulletin* :

"The hard-won economic gains of the past three years have been largely cancelled in three short months."

And in Christmas week Miss Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labour, reported that the total of workless increased by 570,000 the previous month while payrolls declined by £5,180,000, the sharpest decline recorded since 1920.

And yet, to return to Mr. Roper again, trade in America has increased 31 per cent over last year—and the total of imports and exports showed an advance of 118 per cent as compared with 1932.

We in England have reason to be worried at the employment figures. Indeed in a survey of 1937 one writer says that

"the biggest shock of the year is provided by December's unemployment figures: 108,000 up. A shock because even in 1929, at the beginning of the world slump, the corresponding increase was only 73,000, and because this new increase is a culmination to rises in the previous two months."

France has been having strikes, America has been having a slump, and we have been increasing our unemployment in spite of the vast rearmament programme to which we are committed (Sir Thomas Inskip has just informed us that it will cost us £150,000,000 more than we anticipated). This simply will not do. France and America and Britain must get on with the good work of arriving at an economic understanding—and put a jerk into the recommendations of the Van Zeeland Report (on economic appeasement) when it appears.

If only there was not a Chamberlain at the head of England's Government. Only this last December he declared the establishment of Imperial Preference between the Ottawa group of countries to be "a fixed and unalterable part of our Imperial policy." Fixed and unalterable . . . But if he is enslaved to his father's fixed idea, other statesmen, and especially in the Empire, are not. Canada has fought an Election on Ottawa and repudiated Ottawa. The Ottawa Agreements are the chief stumbling-blocks to an Anglo-American Trade Agreement. And in Africa General Smuts has also something to say. "The new tariffs," he declares, "have proved a greater impediment to world peace than the ideologies."

Ponder that well Mr. Chamberlain and be quite certain in your own mind, as you bind England to fixed and unalterable policies, that these policies are the policies of peace—and not of war :

3rd January, 1938.

CIVIL SERVICE IN A FOREIGN DOMINION

By BOOL CHAND, M.A.
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No student of Indian history, however careless, can fail to notice one outstanding feature of the gradual change in the spirit of British administration of India. In the earlier phases of the British connection, British administrators of India were, on the whole, allowed a fair amount of freedom of thought and expression, and were usually guided by liberalistic ideals; while in the later epochs, the spirit of British administration became definitely reactionary and retrogressive.

II

This change in the tone of British administration of India is so patent that it is unnecessary to elaborate the point at any great length. It was, for instance, Sir Thomas Munro, whose passionate love for the Indian people is still commemorated in certain parts of Madras Presidency in songs and ballads, who was one of the earliest British administrators to give a definite expression to the view that the purpose of the British government in India was primarily to promote the growth of self-governing institutions in the country. In a minute, dated 31st December, 1824,¹ he wrote :

‘It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but under a foreign government there are so many causes that tend to depress it that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old saying that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does those of a freeman: it loses the privileges of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration or in the internal government of the country . . . It is not even the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but the subjection to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit . . . It would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people.’

A more forceful expression of sympathy with India's independence and a clearer enuncia-

tion of the Liberal creed in relation to India, it is difficult to find in the whole history of British connection. Underlying this was a nobility of spirit, and what is still more important, for it helps to explain the real cause of the present-day change in the attitude of the administration, a determined sense of justice, unshaken by the possession of power and unobscured by the poison of self-interest. In the later periods, there grew up the tendency to view Indian interests through different glasses from those employed in determining the British; but at this time there did exist an unmistakable inclination in a good many of the British administrators of India to apply uniform ideals and uniform standards of behaviour to the two countries, and what is distinctively significant, they were able to give expression to that inclination with perfect freedom and impunity, at times even with a little, and praiseworthy, lack of restraint.

Of this inclination to apply uniform ideals to India as to Britain, the records of the Foreign and Political consultations of the Government of India of the early 19th century afford ample and rich evidence. Regarding the proposal to navigate the river Indus in 1830, under the pretence of ferrying through it a present of dray horses from the King of England to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sir Charles Metcalfe, at that time a member of the Governor-General's Council, said in a highly condemnatory minute² that

‘it seems mere wantonness to vex and alarm our neighbours by surveying their lands and rivers by deceit or force without their consent . . . The scheme of surveying the Indus under the pretence of sending a present to Maharaja Ranjit Singh seems to me highly objectionable. It is a trick in my opinion unworthy of our government, which cannot fail when detected, as most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it.’

Undoubtedly, Metcalfe's view did not prevail, the navigation of the Indus was undertaken in spite of his strongly expressed opinion; but the fact that he was able, even from his subordinate position in the administrative

1. Refer A. J. Arbuthnot: *Sir Thomas Munro, Selections from his Minutes and other Official Writings*, I, 237-276.

2. Minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated 25th October, 1830.

[Bengal Secret Consultations, dated 29.10.1830]

machine, to freely criticise a proposal emanating from such a high authority as the President of the Board of Control, does prove that, on the whole, there was less grounding and controlling of opinion and more freedom of thought and expression in the government of India at that time. Unsatisfactory, from the Indian point of view, and even perfectly reactionary, policies were pursued in this period as in any other period of British rule. These policies emanated from the heads of the government as often as from the other factors in the administration; but our point is, that in the counsels of the government, as well as in the ranks of the administration, there prevailed at this time a freer atmosphere, which permitted the retention and unrestricted expression of personal sentiments by the administrators.

As member of the Police Committee of 1837, Mr. (later Sir Frederick) Halliday, himself an official of the Government, condemned³ the system of combining prosecuting and judicial powers in India in the same hands as an 'absurd and mischievous' system, proclaiming that

'the evil which this system produces is twofold: it affects the fair distribution of justice, and it impairs, at the same time, the efficiency of the police. The union of magistrate with collector has been stigmatised as incompatible, but the function of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied.'

Or again, Mr. (later Sir John Peter) Grant, member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, in 1854, took up cudgels⁴ in defence of the separation of the offices of collector and magistrate against the clearly expressed opinion of his own chief, the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, and refuted the latter's plea of an oriental theory of government as distinct from the occidental, as untenable and bad.

About the administrative discussions of this period there is a definite parliamentary ring, a sense of intelligent responsibility, which was born of the cool and impartial atmosphere in which the discussions took place. No administrative official seems to have suffered in his promotions or grades by reason alone of his having taken an attitude critical of the policy of government. As yet, the government of

India had not hardened into one solid frame, actuated by one solid opinion. As yet the policy of the government was not conceived in the narrow spirit of mere self-interestedness, but was guided by the broad principles of justice and good of the governed, in the interpretation of which mutual differences of opinion among the administrators were quite inevitable.

It is no wonder, then, that the government reports and minutes of this period make a comparatively charming reading. They do not bear about them that unbroken uniformity of opinion and outlook, which is such a marked feature of government documents today. They do not give the impression of having been incubated in one and the same mental frame; they are, on the whole, living expressions of living minds, each with its own ideas and sentiments and sympathies.

There was room in these government reports, as there was possibility in the governmental process of the time, for a certain amount of self-criticism; and this opportunity was, as a rule, freely availed of. In its report of 1854, the Torture Commission of Madras was able to sum up without prejudice that

'the mental effect of the present system of British administration on the Indian was to make him look upon complaints as useless.'

The Commission had received many complaints from people who had never complained to the local authorities, for they were afraid of 'the banded body of the *amlā*',⁵ believing that 'all *amlā*, under one head, whatever their names, were in reality one band', ready at all times to support each other, right or wrong, so that any expectation of justice from them against their compeers was useless and impossible. A statement, so bare in its truth, which was then made by three European administrators who constituted the Torture Commission,⁶ has now become an exceedingly rare occurrence, except from the mouth of the advanced nationalistic section of the Indian people.

III

The reason is that during the third quarter of the 19th century, there came about a sudden change in the character of the British administration of India. From being a liberalistic government, seeking to combine whenever possible its own interest with the interest of its subjects, it became manifestly a foreign domination. This formal change in spirit brought in

3. See F. J. Halliday's minute of dissent (pp. xviii-xlvi) in the *Report of the Police Committee* [Calcutta, 1838].

4. See R. N. Gilchrist: *The Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions*, pp. 44-72 [Calcutta, 1923].

5. *Report of the Torture Commission* [Madras, 1855], p. 60.

6. Messrs. E. J. Elliot, H. Stokes, and J. B. Norton.

its train also the disappearance of the earlier freedom of thought and outlook in the service. There came into being gradually a clear definition of the government view—in its scope extremely narrow, admitting of no variation, and in its tone, partisan, selfish, and generally hostile to Indian aspirations.

The great event that heralded this change was, of course, the Mutiny of 1857. Let meticulous historians go on analysing whether the Indian Mutiny was primarily a military revolt or a fight for national independence, whether as a military revolt it was an organized effort or merely disorganized local risings, synchronising only by accident. One thing, indeed, is true and beyond all dispute, that the Mutiny did produce upon the minds of the British rulers of India a very deep impression, which could not be easily washed away. After all, it was a rising against constituted authority, and if it was an unorganized effort, all the more ominous for the government, for it might well be the precursor of a regular organized mass rising in the future.

Even to the ordinary Englishman the Mutiny became a veritable reminder of bloodshed and murder. It inspired in him a feeling of horror, and perverted his whole outlook in relation to the Indian people. How the Englishman's vision was generally warped by this incident may be judged from an unexpectedly bigoted estimate that was made of the Indian character by a man of John Ruskin's culture, in the year 1858 :

'Since the race of man began its course of sin on this earth, nothing has ever been done by so significative of all bestial, and lower than bestial, degradations as the acts of the Indian race in the year just passed by.'

Horror-striking stories of the Mutiny, some true and many false, were circulated and carefully cultivated amongst the English people by professional gossip-mongers, so that the slender chain of understanding that existed between the British administration and the Indian population was completely snapped. The slight sympathy that some of the British administrators of old had felt for Indian aspirations was now more or less entirely gone, either naturally killed by reason of the occurrence of the Mutiny, or unnaturally suppressed by the action of the government, which now started to enforce uniformity of opinion in the administration, as a necessary part of its policy of repression and fear.

This policy found its acme in the work of

7. *The Two Paths*, p. 262.

[Consult *The Works of Ruskin*, ed. by Cook and Wedderburn, vol. xvi, (George Allen, 1905)].

Sir James FitzJames Stephen. 'An eminent lawyer and jurist, he left his individual mark in many places'⁸. He certainly did leave it in the realms of Indian administration, although it was wholly in a reactionary direction. Immediately on taking charge as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council in the year 1872, he prepared a masterly minute⁹ on the administration of justice in India. The decisive importance of this minute, however, was far wider than the sphere of justice alone. Sir James Stephen's achievement in this minute was to give a clear-cut expression to the sentiment that had already been prevailing in the atmosphere for quite a decade. He formally created the technique of the 'maintenance of British rule in India'; and as a natural corollary to it, he started the fashion of 'wishing to investigate the true circumstances and needs of British India'. Whenever, after this, there was any question of formulating a new policy for India, it was done on the basis of 'India's true interests', and all criticism of it by the administrative functionaries was suppressed on the plea that such criticism of the policy of government was antagonistic to the maintenance of British rule in India.

As a result, the government reports and documents took up a new reactionary tone. They became dogmatic and matter-of-fact in their wording. The spirit of thoughtful criticism and mutual discussion of the earlier period gradually vanished; and the process of government finally and once for all became the process of giving commands without the necessity of having to justify those commands to anybody, not even to themselves. The tradition, thus generated, has lasted down to the present times. Its evil effects were noticed in 1918 by Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, during his Indian tour, when he had to tell Mr. (W.) Marris, who was charged with the task of drafting the report :

"I told him that I had never met a man with a better natural style and a more real command of language. But he failed, like everybody else in India failed, from having no political instinct . . . the I. C. S. had been so long accustomed to state their conclusions without reasoning them."¹⁰

In the whole period of British rule after the Mutiny, one does not meet even one solitary instance of a British administrator or

8. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, vol. 21, p. 386.

9. Government of India selections, No. 89. (Home, 1872).

10. E. S. Montagu : *An Indian Diary* [London, 1930], p. 358.

civil servant expressing himself genuinely sympathetically towards the Indian point of view. A number of them did, indeed, take up India's cause after retirement from service. All the subscribers to the Hobhouse Memorial of 1899¹¹ were retired civil and judicial officers in India. If they were prepared to express themselves so strongly in condemnation of one of India's greatest grievances, the combination of executive and judicial functions by the district officers, after their retirement from service, surely they could not have lacked a sympathetic attitude towards India's aspirations even while they were in the service; but the tone and spirit of the government had changed in such a way as to make it impossible for these people to utter their sentiments so long as they were in the service of the government. The old liberty of opinion and liberty of thought had been replaced by a system wherein there was an active enforcement of uniformity of sentiment, and if possible, of belief, within the administration.

IV

It is not difficult to find out the reasons for this change in the spirit of the British administration of India after the middle of the 19th century. Such development was inherent in the very fact of foreign rule. As the political consciousness of the subject people would show signs of growing, the administration was bound to become increasingly reactionary. As the demand for a certain amount of relaxation of political control would become visible, the government was bound necessarily to begin to think in terms of the maintenance of that control. As there would come into being in the subject country a public opinion which was able to visualise their ultimate independence, in the ranks of the administration there was bound to develop the technique of 'wishing to look at things according to the circumstances and the interests of the subject country.'

The development of British administration into a well-knit organization, having common interests against Indian nationalism, was, therefore, natural, in view of what was taking place in India herself. So long as there was the period of territorial expansion, there could be no danger even in dangleing with liberalistic ideals. So long as there did not seem much possibility of a real demand for independence, there was no risk even in allowing the talk of self-government. But as, with the occurrence

of the Indian Mutiny, the possibility of an Indian struggle for freedom came into sight, everything had to be done to prevent that possibility. Any show of internal differences in the administration, or a show of sympathetic attitude on the part of any administrator in opposition to the policy of the government, might serve simply to encourage the people. Therefore, such personal sentiments could no longer be allowed to come into play.

This, then, is the underlying idea that controls the policy of the British government in India during the period after the Mutiny. With the growth of Indian nationalism and with the organisation of Indian public opinion, the necessity for showing a united front to the people became paramount. In such circumstances, no rifts could possibly be permitted in the lute of the administration. It is at this time, therefore, that there developed the tradition of a uniform civil service attitude in India. 'Sun-dried bureaucrat' or whatever one might call him is a description of the Indian civil servant, the factual basis of which had its birth at this time. It is again at this time that there developed that remarkable *esprit d' corps*, which is such a noticeable feature of the Indian civil service, and which succeeded in making the Indian civil service a caste, such as it remains even to this day.

With the coming of the Government of India Act, 1935, the facts of the situation have altered a little. The constitution of nationalist ministries in the provinces makes it possible, at least within certain limits, to run the government now truly in the interests of the people. Will the civil service be able immediately to change its attitude to bring it into line with the change of the times?

Transition from the first type to the second type of attitude, explained in this essay, took at least a whole period of a generation, and that in spite of the fact that the composition of the civil service was a feature helpful in the task of transition. The European structure of the Indian civil service made the identification of the mental outlook of the administrators with the underlying policy of the government just after the Mutiny, on the whole, an easy and convenient proposition. That very fact today would stand as a great stumbling-block to the adjustment of the traditional mental attitude with the changed policy of the new governments. The traditions of the civil service in India so far have been the traditions of a civil service

11. See the text and the names of subscribers, in P. C. Mitter: *The Question of Judicial and Executive Separation* [Calcutta, 1913]. Part iv, p. 19.

in a foreign dominion. Will it be able to transform those traditions overnight into ones of a civil service in a national state?

The experience of civil service in other countries does not enable us to give a ready reply. As a matter of general experience in the countries of Europe, response of the civil service to technical changes commanded by the government in the process of administration has been,

on the whole, more rapid and sure than the response to changes of political outlook in the government itself. The present change in India is eminently a change in political outlook, and that too one of the greatest in magnitude that history has ever known. How far the civil service of India will be able to respond to this change is a question which only actual experience would answer.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By PROF. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, PH.D.

II

ENTHUSIASTIC feminists may hold that it is even better to be a tenth rate imitation of man than a mere woman, at best an object of man's pity, and argue with Professor Jethrow Brown that :

"There is something better than the reverence for weakness. It is the reverence for strength."¹

Without however claiming on my part any right to advise the feminist as to the best attitude for them to adopt I would like at this place to clear a misconception involved in the mental attitude which views the consideration or respect shown to women as only a 'reverence for weakness'.

The reverence shown to woman are not based on her weakness (though the patent fact regarding her physical inferiority is not denied). for mere weakness can never give rise to reverence, or else, the tiger will have revered the stag. The basis of reverence shown to woman will have to be sought for elsewhere than in her weakness. It is founded, I submit, on the solid bed-rock of her extraordinary sex-function, *her maternity*—the soundest of human relationships. Since the dawn of time woman is the central focus of life—the primordial creatrix (*Adya-Mahamaya*). It is no doubt found in human history that man has in times of excitement, irritation and jealousy enslaved, belaboured and otherwise ill-treated woman. This certainly is a proof of woman's physical weakness, a fact which we have all along admitted. But that is not the all important fact about the life of the human race, that does not and cannot obliterate

the 'Mother-Child' relation binding the two sexes, just as we often come across in life cases of hatred but that does not disprove the fact that the central law of life is love not hatred.

Admitting (as we do the physical inferiority of woman) we maintain that she is the central focus of our life-activities and not the central doer herself. *Not she herself but it is round her that society has evolved, civilization has grown up, tradition has taken root and culture has blossomed forth. The moments when man ill-treats her are the moments when he loses sight of the central focus of his existence.* The moments of the preponderance of the brute in man over his rationality are the moments when he very nearly approaches his moral annihilation—when he ceases to be a man. More than the physical weakness of woman such moments emphasises the moral weakness of man—the animal. It is no wonder that the animal man amidst the weaknesses of the flesh loses sight of his moral self and takes advantage of his stronger physique but *the wonder is that amidst all the tumult of his raging passions he unerringly comes back for fresh vigour and inspiration to this sheet anchor of his stability, the central focus of his life—woman.* And every time he comes back to hide his face in her bosom, he has come back ashamed and repentant at his own impetuous conduct and woman with the unerring mother-instinct of correcting a child through affection has received him as a naughty and tired child without refusing him solace and shelter, so that every wound that he inflicted on her redounded ten-fold in his own heart-ache. *This, in a word, is the process of human civilization and as the major*

1. Jethrow Brown : *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*. London, 1917, p. 84.

contributor to this process has woman established her claim to reverence for strength.

Much as I wish to see all differences of rights and privileges between the sexes to disappear within the shortest possible time, I cannot persuade myself to believe that that reverence for strength women can earn and retain simply by making man admit her claim to the full development of all her faculties, physical and intellectual, on lines along which man has developed and found his strength. Because reverence of strength can be achieved by woman only in a field in which she can prove herself stronger than man and the domains of physical and intellectual achievements are domains in which her inferiority to man is too patently established. *This field I submit is the spiritual field and in this field she is by the very fact of her sex superior to man.*

This moral superiority of woman over man is reflected in the very process of the physical union of the sexes. The motive for man's sexual union is carnal. It begins and ends in coition. That is its highest consummation. In woman coition or the very first stage of her sexual union may be an outcome of carnal desires but from impregnation till the end of her days she is governed by motives most ennobling and divine, for motherhood entails most selfless suffering and sacrifice. *The woman is the first martyr on the altar of love and on the unshakable bed-rock of this martyrdom is based her reverence which therefore is founded* (as will now be seen not on her weakness but) *on her strength.* The mythology of ancient India and Greece are replenished with expressions of this veneration for woman in the conceptions of Mulaprakriti, Durga, Jagaddhatri, Hera, Athena and Themis.

It may be argued that the mother-concept and the martyrdom of woman belong to the domain of sentiment and that no martyrdom can be claimed for women who, being physically weak are obliged to go through the ordeals of motherhood against their volition and will. *Sentiment it undoubtedly is and the noblest sentiment that ever swayed the human heart withal.* The moments when man had been blinded to such sentiments by giving a free play to his brutal instincts had been the moments of his spiritual death. They emphasise, as I have said above, man's weakness more than woman's. The very fact that we are capable at times of violating the sanctity of womanhood by thrusting an unwilling motherhood on women is the greatest argument in favour of encouraging the sentiment of motherly veneration towards women and fostering the growth of the Mother-cult.

And even in cases of forced motherhood the divine glow inherent in the concept *Mother* is difficult to be lost sight of nor the martyrdom which a woman is obliged to suffer for the sake of her motherly sex functions be denied. Who would not have viewed with the utmost reverence that the maternal love of Tess for her illegitimate baby for whose sake she would rather end her own life than forsake it and seek readmission in society?²

As civilization advances women come to realize more clearly the real source of their strength—their spiritual superiority. Knowing that men's superior physical might can never be curbed by their own physical strength which is inferior and knowing also that their sexual disabilities will neither enable them to compete successfully with men in the domain of intellectual pursuit; women, more or less in every civilized country have tried and succeeded in creating a firm hold on their men folk by giving proofs of their moral superiority, which in brief, consists in their greater power of endurance and of sacrificing personal comforts for others, greater abhorrence to cruelty and bloodshed and a greater measure of faith in the forces of goodness and love (than man). Women who are aware of this source of their strength never make a show of it knowing that it is having its civilizing effects in silence. Indeed among peoples of ancient culture women will even like to hide their superior strength under cover of the mantle of man's superior privileges, knowing that ultimately men will have to pay them the tribute of greatness at heart. Let me illustrate.

(i) Let us consider self-restraint first. Much has been said against the practice of compulsory widowhood among high caste people in India and no condemnation can be too strong for such an undesirable practice. The fact however remains that to most high caste women the idea of a second marriage is loathsome (in their up-bringing also counts for much). It is unusual to find one who would like to remarry after becoming a mother. It is not at all unusual to find very young widows (say from 18 to 30 years of age) arranging marriages for their widower elder brothers having children. It is taken for granted by them that the man is capable of remarrying and should do so. Why, they will say, he is a man and there must be somebody to look after him. *Apparently it may be interpreted as the superior (more favoured) status of men in our society but if the underlying psychology of women when they say such things is analysed it will be found*

2. See Thomas Hardy's novel *Tess*.

that they were only asserting thereby the superiority of their own sex and what is more, the decisive moral inferiority of the males. They were conceding that handicap to the male on the moral plane which was asked for by Mlle. Lenglen from Tilden on the tennis court.

(ii) Again take the case of physical endurance (apart from the travail of motherhood) in which in this country at least the women through a systematic process of cultural education have decidedly created a record which it would be impossible for men to surpass. From early youth till the end of her days women are taught (by women themselves and not by men : often rather in spite of the protest of men) to consider it ignoble, shameful and unwomanly to take food before *men and children*. The mother of an Indian household is always the last person to take her food. And it is not an uncommon occurrence that after the day's toil of feeding perhaps a score of family members, servants and guests little food is left for poor mammy and lest it would disturb the peace of mind and the comfortable mid-day siesta of the other well-fed members of the family she would remain unfed or insufficiently fed unless she is fortunate enough to possess an elderly daughter or daughter-in-law who would make it a point to see that mother is properly fed. Indian women have turned this exercise in endurance into a systematic culture through their custom of keeping thousand and one religious fasts (often observed for the benefit, in health or prosperity of male relations, specially son or husband) throughout the year. On the few occasions when men also try to earn some religious merit (on their own austerity) like the Shivaratri day, almost all of them break their fast by the evening, often at the insistence of women folk who will then remind *men and children* that they do not want them to fall ill and spoil their health by trying to do things which are not meant for them but for women only. Women on the other hand would keep up their fast, in spite of their household works, throughout the night and break it after bathing and much ceremony (which invariably consists in feeding *men and children*) the morning following.

Careful observations reveal that this mode of treating men as grown up children by their women folk finds currency in other civilized countries as well. The following will illustrate my point.

A young couple entrained an early morning train at railway station for spending a Sunday at a holiday resort 50 miles away from the metropolis. As the train moved on the man

brought out a packet and asked his wife if she was not hungry. "No," she replied, "but it's time for you—to take something." The man obediently agreed. (Man's defeat No. 1). The man brought next a loaf and in the process of cutting it into slices he thoroughly disfigured it. The wife only smiled at it. (Defeat No. 2). He then opened a packet of butter and while trying to take out some with the help of his knife he made the towel absolutely greasy and in a last attempt to save the lump of butter from falling down on the floor spoilt his coat with his knife besmeared with butter. With a fresh knife the woman scraped his coat clean. (Defeat No. 3). Having buttered his shapeless slices of bread he next brought out three hard boiled eggs. In trying to take out the shell with his finger nails he seemed to slightly hurt himself and was about to spoil the egg by trying to break it at the middle when in a twinkling of an eye the woman snatched away the egg, gave two, three masterly strokes on the top end of it with her knife, cleared off the shell of about half the size of the egg and with the help of a spoon fed him with the eggs one by one. (Defeat No. 4). When the train stopped at the station at which they were to get down the man got down at the platform and with an air of great importance was awaiting at the door to help his wife out of the carriage. A little later to the annoyance of her impatient husband (who was afraid that his wife would be over-carried) she came down after collecting in her hands the morning newspaper, a spectacle case, a pair of gloves and a couple of apples. (Defeat No. 5). I am sure the man, throughout the excursion, had thought that he was guiding and escorting his wife. What the woman thought is better left undiscussed.³

This tendency among women of making concessions to men for their inferior moral strength I would like to term "female chivalry." It is chivalry in the strictest sense of the term because it makes concessions for the weakness of the opposite side. In a society which is so primitive that its women have not yet developed in their conduct with men this moral chivalry, no doubt the woman is an inferior and subordinate member, an object of masculine pity. But the moment she brings into play upon the field of our social behaviour her superior moral strength (manifested through the developments of her inherent powers of sacrifice, endurance and self-discipline) she not only qualifies herself for equality of treatment but records a moral victory of first magnitude over the opposite sex.

In her affectionate gallantry she may not make a capital out of her victory but the fact of her victory nevertheless remains unaltered. When my young widowed sister (to whom the very idea of remarriage is unthinkable) tries to persuade me (a widower) to remarry and I succumb to her pleadings *I may pride in my superior privilege as a male member of the society but the fact of my moral defeat at the hands of my little sister gets irrevocably recorded in undying letters in our racial history.*

Our eminent novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterji has delineated the chivalrous aspect of our womanhood, particularly through the heroines of his two best works *Srikanta* and *Charitrahn*. The vagrant, introspective philosopher Srikanta rejects Rajlaksmi's love (perhaps mistaking it for something else) and in spite of it all Rajlaksmi like the goddess of love with the unerring instinct of a mother comes times and again to help him in days of distress and to nurse him to health when suffering from illness and despair and all this she does with the fullest consciousness of the realities of her life for the woman is supremely intelligent. Who can forget her clever yet affectionate taunts at Srikanta in connection with his repeated and unsuccessful attempts to renounce the world and become an ascetic? Perhaps she tries to teach him thereby the utter futility of searching the light without and she teaches it never so well as when (being transfigured by her love for Srikanta) she ultimately takes her residence with her preceptor at Benares and takes to widow's garb and poor Srikanta inflicted with the agony of this unbearable sight takes flight towards the railway station, his shattering heart echoing in tune with the rattling noise of his wheeled, wooden conveyance. In *Charitrahn* Sabitri wins Satish's heart through her selfless love and friendship but gently declines his proposal for marriage saying, "This heart is always yours but this contaminated widow's body is not a fit offering to worship you with, O god of my pure love." She arranges her lover's marriage with a young virgin bride, blesses them and goes away to nurse Satish's friend Upen in his death bed. Here is a record of woman's superiority over man—an instance of true feminine chivalry.

Chivalry indeed! But chivalry like any other virtue to be genuine must be voluntary and not imposed upon by the superior force of an outside authority. Of late it has become fashionable among a certain feminist group to take an attitude which amounts to suggest (a) that women have suffered untold miseries because the conduction of the human society

has been in the hands of men, (b) that given facilities and opportunities women can prove their equality with men in every sphere of activities (including of course intellectual and also perhaps physical), (c) that they have been treated as playthings in the hands of men, and (d) that all the sacrifices which women have undergone has been done at man's dictation. It is not difficult to see the utter hollowness of these charges. As to (a) and (b) it is enough to say that the very fact that men have conducted the administration of society for millions of years though nobody cared to create extra opportunities for them and excelled women everywhere without exception in physical and intellectual attainments is a proof of man's superior calibre in these fields. Even if it is admitted that to further their domination and preponderance men have *systematically* deprived women from taking part in reputation earning occupations their ability to coerce in this fashion is a sure sign of men's strength. Moreover, it is not true that they have so systematically deprived women of opportunities in all reputation producing pursuits. Women's failure to compete with men in the fine arts proves to the hilt the baseless nature of such a charge against men.

As to (c) my answer is that it is an argument of despair and betrays an inferiority complex. In woman's pleasure-giving ability to men there is nothing to be ashamed of. It only denotes her utility and use for man. Man also gives certain pleasures to woman and that is exactly why she has any use for him. *May be that the types of pleasure which man gives to woman are different from those which woman gives to man.* If to refresh a tired husband or a father (when he comes back home after a hard day's toil) by a snatch of music on the piano or a few sweet words of mouth be construed most dishonestly as woman's servitude and thralldom for the gratifications of man's pleasures, how much more honestly cannot man's day-to-day labour and sweating to provide his dependents (mostly women and their children) with the necessities of life and to take them to an outing on Sundays be interpreted as man's galley-slavery at the feet of woman!

This dishonest attitude I guess appeared as an aftermath of the Industrial Revolution in Europe when women were for the first time systematically and on a large scale dethroned from their homely occupation and began to work with men in mills and factories. Her taking part in the performance of works till then reserved for males created in her mind a false sense of identity of functions of the

sexes. She did not realise that what the change signified was not the obliteration of the interdependent and complementary nature of the sexes but only a demand (necessitated by the pressure of greater economic struggle for existence) on women to engage in more money earning occupations than she had hitherto done. This created in her mind a false sense of "social equality" and under the influence of a misguided propaganda she came to think that this equality consisted in the *masculinisation of her sex*. No wonder she cut a sorry figure.

Women may of course say, "Well that does not matter, we know our business and do not want to be instructed by men who have misused our goodness and extracted services from and enforced sacrifices upon us which we never meant nor in future mean to perform." This would no doubt be a serious allegation and if true must meet with the misapprobation of every right-thinking man. Instead of looking at our mothers, wives and sisters as angels who cheer our homes with sweet, affectionate and spontaneous service of love, we are, in the light of these allegations, asked to look upon them as so many slaves groaning under our tyranny and serving us under compulsion. *Such a state of things if true must come to an end without a moment's delay.*

Fortunately for mankind such has not been the story of human history which as we have already shown in spite of man's aggressiveness and occasional fits of impetuousness (the brunt of which of necessity fell on his nearest female relations) has been in the main a story of mutual understanding and co-ordination between the sexes (but for the short period commencing with the large scale industrialization of the world during which some women lost their head through a mischievous sense of equality mistaking it for identity of functions and responsibility in society between the sexes). *It would be inflicting an insult of the first magnitude upon all those vast majority of women (the noblest flowers of world womanhood) who have realized the greatest worth and happiness of their innate radiant motherhood in undergoing infinite willing and cheerful sacrifices for making man's struggleful and worriful life more bearable and pleasureable, to degrade their self-dedicated labour of love to the level of forced labours of concubines and slaves only because a handful of hysteric feminists would like to interpret their lives in this fashion.* Two errors are responsible for giving encouragement and currency to this kind of thinking :

(1). Some well-meaning men, while stating the age-long truth (that it would be better for

women as well as the human race if they confine themselves more to the works for which they are better fitted by nature and through which they can serve society more efficiently than by competing with men in more manly pursuits) have couched it in a language which is rather too paternal and authoritative for the modern age and which may be cited as a sample of masculine dictation specially by those who are out to create mischief. An apt illustration is to be found in the presidential address to the Chemistry Society of the British Association in 1909 of Professor Armstrong. Referring to the important topic of the 'future of our race' the learned Professor remarked :

"The subject has been brought before the chemical world in England recently by the application of a large number of women to be made Fellows of the Chemical Society. Many of us resisted the application because we were unwilling to give any encouragement to the movement which is inevitably leading women to neglect their womanhood, which is in itself proof that they do not understand the relative capacities of the two sexes, and the need there is of sharing the duties of life. If there be any truth in the doctrine of hereditary genius, the very women who have shown ability as chemists should be withdrawn from the temptation to become absorbed in the work, for fear of sacrificing their womanhood. They are those who should be regarded as chosen people, as destined to be the mothers of future chemists of ability."

It is the repetition and recurrence, I submit, of the same mistake committed by Manu, Rousseau and Dr. Gregory who in the atmosphere of their old-fashioned days did not anticipate the feminist view-point and temper. It is dangerous to try to give advice in a suspicious atmosphere where the adviser is regarded as an enemy and oppressor. The danger is magnified tenfold when he comes to advise with an air of authority (an old habit with men which has *acquired the rigidity of an ancient tradition*). Since the days of Manu men have been under the disadvantage of being in the necessity of determining the boundaries of the range of woman's activities, the limits of her womanhood. In his arrogance (perhaps not disliked by our ancient ancestresses) he couched his rulings in language which had the appearance more of commands than that of a mutual arrangement. An impartial scrutiny however is sure to reveal to one who looks to the spirit and disregards the letter of the man-made laws that the division of functions between the sexes made by man was never ungenerous in the allotment of works to women. Unfortunately for our law-giver there was no feminist in the days of Manu to warn him that if due regard was not paid to their susceptibilities the letter of the law will

be misconstrued to paint the spirit of the law relating to woman in black. The laws of Manu relating to man is also couched in the language of commandments but then no exception is taken to that by any feminist because to mention it will be as good as to admit in them a sense of equity which they are out to disprove. (The defects and drawbacks of Manu's code are not denied, they are *inevitable in such an ancient code*).

It may be argued that in a modern society where every man has the right of choosing his own occupation what right have men to bind women to a restricted field of activities which they do not like? Legal rights? Absolutely none or rather if any such right does exist it is absolutely void of any ethical justification and therefore should cease to exist this very moment. To admit such a right would be putting a seal of sanction on the worst type of despotism. Any statute or law which exists in any society debarring women from any lawful occupation in terms of equality with man should be forthwith repealed. Their right of free choice of occupation (including the right to avoid wifehood as a career) has also to be unconditionally conceded. That is admittedly the barest justice.

But what is not just is to uphold that men have no extra-legal right to protest against and record their disapproval of the unwomanliness of certain section of women which arises out of their engaging themselves in a certain type of work. Will women like to forfeit their right to grumble at our unmanly conduct or their privilege to inspire us to be manly? What Rajput woman did not refuse her favour to her lover who fled away like a coward from the battle-field? What woman of the meanest station does not reproach her man who does not mind his (God-given?) business (we should of course never say that it is a

sort of slavery) of supporting her and her off-springs? If the woman has the right to register her disgust and to reproach man when she does not get what she expects from the physical and intellectual company of man the admission of the same right of registering protest at not finding his expected satisfaction from woman's company by man is simply irresistible.

(2). The second error is that through a vigorous interpretation of the phrase "freedom of occupation" feminists came to mean and include in its meaning the freedom of having no occupation at all (unless the art indulging in wild rhetorics pointed against the very men who by the sweat of their brow have afforded this opportunity of exhibiting their oratorical talents be considered a socially profitable occupation). A woman should undoubtedly have the right to take to a professional career in preference to wifehood or motherhood so long as she gives service to society in some useful form but a woman who neither takes to a professional career seriously nor minds her work as wife and mother is a drone whose existence in society is difficult to justify. In addition when she makes a grievance of the ill-treatments of a man-managed society she only helps to make herself a public nuisance. Even such a sympathetic philosopher as H. G. Wells has been constrained to remark :

"It is one of the entirely unforeseen consequences that have arisen from the decay of Normal Social Life that great numbers of women while still subordinate have become profoundly unimportant. They have ceased to a very large extent to bear children, they have dropped most of their home-making arts, they no longer nurse or educate such children as they have, and they have taken on no new functions to compensate for these dwindling activities of the domestic interior."⁵

5. Wells in *The Great State*, p. 44. Quoted by Brown. *Supra.*, pp. 251-52.



THE SECONDARY SCHOOLMASTER IN THE BALKANS

By JOHN BROWN

EDUCATIONAL facilities were extremely limited in most Balkan countries before the Great War, but in recent years there have been several remarkable bursts of energy. Yugoslavia, for example, has now no less than 168 secondary schools, and in the Education Ministry in Belgrade I listened to grandiose but rather unconvincing plans for doubling this number within two years.

According to Yugoslav law all secondary schools may be co-educational, but I always found separate schools for boys and girls, and one Belgrade assistant master told me that Serbian and Bosnian public opinion would be against the experiment. I realised the force of this point in Serajevo, where the teachers are having an uphill fight against semi-Oriental traditionalism. In the Moslem household where I stayed, my host told me that many of his friends had had grave doubts about sending their daughters to school, and had only agreed when a girl from the local secondary school made a singularly brilliant marriage!

Until recently headmasters of Serbian secondary schools were appointed only from the list of graduates of the Teachers' Training Colleges at Zagreb and Belgrade, but a spanner was thrown into the promotion machinery when Premier Stoyadinovich was fired on in the Skuptshina. He and his colleagues, alarmed at the terrorist threats of the military "White Hand" league, have brought pressure to bear through the various Ministries to debar all suspected opponents from key posts. In practice, all men are considered opponents who have not been members or have not contributed to the funds of the controlling party.

Naturally, this has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, especially in the provinces, and this is not lessened by the new "regional inspectors"—some of them illiterate political demagogues—who descend on secondary schools "out of the blue", for their powers are wide and indefinite.

But one Belgrade secondary schoolmaster at least is untroubled by these developments. He is only too glad to be away from Macedonia, where he was appointed some time ago at a higher salary. The Macedonians look on all Serbian officials as interlopers and foreigners,

and he had hardly arrived before he was advised by an agent of Imro (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) to demand a recall on grounds of ill health. Some of his colleagues who refused the advice were murdered by the Imro gunmen shortly afterwards, and as the agents of the society were everywhere in the district he and most of his friends left for the north. Today Imro has been temporarily submerged, following military action, but in Skopje and Gorna-Djumaya, capital of Bulgarian Macedonia, I heard many rumours of a resurrection being planned in Anatolia, where the leaders have gathered.

Imro, however, is only one of the societies which menace the liberties of Balkan school masters. In Bucharest, any secondary school master who has lived in the same house or shared a meal with an Iron Guard supporter is liable to dismissal, and the government is organising a careful "comb out" of all suspected opponents. This investigation is directed by agents of Madame Lupescu, the green-eyed, red-haired Jewess who infatuated King Carol at a chance meeting a few years ago, and who is the main target of the Iron Guard propaganda. The Iron Guard leader, Stilesco, has been murdered, and there is no doubt that reprisals will be ordered by the terrorists. In Kishinev, the chief town of Bessarabia, I found that the Iron Guards had the backing of a section of the garrison, and as the province is under martial law this gives them some control of public affairs, in spite of Bucharest decrees. Secondary school teachers in the town are placed between two fires, and most of them are taking the line of least resistance—denying membership of the Iron Guards while at the same time they pay a secret levy to the local "Blue House".

Promotion systems based on merit or seniority have never survived for long in Rumania, and in the secondary schools masters applying for better appointments must be well supplied with cash or have friends in government circles if they are to succeed. In the areas inhabited by racial minorities, such as Transylvania and the Bukovina, masters are expected to act as agents for the government in the work of denationalisation, and to report any traces of anti-Rumanian sentiment in the work of their

students to the authorities. The system caused a revolt in a Cluj school, where the masters were pro-Hungarian, but the objectors were soon dismissed and replaced by government nominees.

Hours are long in secondary schools, but salaries are high in the upper grades, and a nation-wide pension scheme has been drafted. There are still vast tracts of the country which have never been touched by the Education Ministry's activities—Bessarabia being one of the worst examples of this neglect—and when the department is reorganised there will no doubt be a lack of qualified masters. Meanwhile, those men who have been dismissed by the present government are being approached with offers of paid employment by the Iron Guards. At their Blue House at Jassy, where I was received with Nazi salutes and the Nazi greeting, I met an adjutant of Codreanu, the chief Blueshirt, who is at present in gaol. This man told me that the few teachers already enlisted in their ranks were proving excellent propagandists. He reminded me with a smile that Mussolini had once been a teacher! As I expected, he denied the Berlin subsidies his party is alleged to receive, but it is significant that the swastika has been adopted as the official armband emblem of the fighting squads, while the new policy includes a close alliance with Germany.

In Bucharest, Jewish headmasters are receiving threatening letters from the terrorists, and although these have been disregarded in the past, the recent outrages have changed the atmosphere, and there is a constant stream of callers at the Ministry and at Madame Lupescu's apartments demanding government action.

Albanian secondary school masters are free of these worries, but are faced with special problems of their own, which require delicate handling. Thus in the northern mountains, where I stayed among the Gheg clansmen, the habit of carrying arms survives, and the blood feud tradition is still strong. This means that the task of maintaining class discipline is rendered doubly difficult for masters who are

Tosks, from southern Albania, for a boy complaining of punishment might precipitate bloodshed. Many of the blood feuds, which have caused the loss of scores of lives, have started over much more trifling arguments!

One master, a Moslem Gheg, told me that his salary was so low that it took years of saving to accumulate the price of a new European suit from the Zagreb factories. Many of the secondary school masters receive less than twenty shillings a week, and when complaints are sent to Tirana about the rise in the cost of living it is pointed out that the Minister himself has less than £250 a year!

For centuries the clansmen have fought against Turk and Slav, and the military tradition dies hard, in spite of the suppression of banditry and the new 'bus services. A man who is not a good shot or who does not at least possess a good knowledge of weapons is despised, and one of the first things newly appointed masters must do is to demonstrate their prowess with a rifle. Otherwise they are socially ostracised, and in a community where the word of the clan chief is law, this is more serious than it sounds. Some masters sent north from the capital with excellent scholastic records have returned after a few unpleasant months.

Illiteracy is widespread among the older people, but they have their own ideas about the subjects that should be taught in the schools, and one clansman confessed to me that he was disappointed in the local secondary school, which did not include military map-making and reading in its curriculum! When he served in the war, he added, his lack of this knowledge was the only thing that prevented his promotion. Apart from this, he had never felt the absence of an education!

In the southern and central provinces of Albania conditions of work are better for secondary masters, and the country is comparatively free from the corruption prevalent in other Balkan countries. But salaries remain pitifully small in view of the qualifications demanded, and it is no wonder that they feel envious pangs when they hear of British secondary school masters enjoying Balkan holidays.



NANDA DEVI

Empire's Highest Peak Climbed

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

"DOUBLE crowned Ushba in the central Caucasus is the only mountain which I can compare for beauty with Nanda Devi. But the surroundings of the latter are more beautiful even than in Svanetia. Nanda Devi was my goal years before I set foot in the Himalaya. After six visits to the snows I still believe that Garhwal is the most beautiful country of all High Asia. Neither the primitive immensity of the Karakorum, the aloof domination of Mount Everest, the softer Caucasian beauties of the Hindu Kush, nor any of the many other regions of Himachal can compare with Garhwal. Mountain and valley, forest and alp, birds and animals, butterflies and flowers all combine to make a sum of delight unsurpassed elsewhere. The human interest is stronger than in any other mountain region of the world, for these anciently named peaks are written of in the earliest annals of the Indo-Aryan race. They are the home of the Gods. For two hundred million Hindus the shrines of Garhwal still secure supreme merit to the devout pilgrim Nanda Devi reigned over the most supremely beautiful part of the Himalayas and the climbing of this peak would be a sacrilege too horrible to contemplate."

Thus writes Dr. T. G. Longstaff, the famous mountaineer, in *The Ascent of Nanda Devi*.

There can be few regions of the Himalayas, providing topographical problems of more absorbing interest than that lying in Garhwal. For centuries it had inspired worship and propitiatory sacrifice as the 'Blessed Goddess' of Hindu philosophers and scribes. There is probably no other region in the whole world where such rich mines of knowledge await the investigator. The superstition, myths, and traditions, relating to mountains, are mostly thrilling. The mountains of Garhwal are particularly rich in such stories, because Garhwal is the fountain-head of the Hindu religion, the traditional home of most of the Gods of the Hindu Pantheon, and the terrestrial scene of their exploits. Every mountain and river, almost every rock and pool, is associated in legend with the life of some God.

The Himalayas are the Olympus of India. The two most sacred rivers of India, the Ganges and the Jumna, take their rise in the Garhwal Himalayas. From Vedic times down to the present, the Himalayas have been held in the highest reverence by the Hindus. The snowy peaks of Garhwal have a peculiarity of forming distinct groups, a fact which is absent in other Himalayan tracts. In stupendous sublimity, combined with a magnificent and luxuriant beauty, there is no other part that can be compared with the Himalayas. The average

elevation of the snowy range of Garhwal and Kumaon is nowhere surpassed. For a continuous distance of some 200 miles the peaks constantly reach a height of from 22,000 to more than 25,000 ft. These holy peaks have been receiving great veneration from the Hindus from the earliest period. 'In a hundred ages of the gods,' writes one of the Sanskrit poets, 'I could not tell thee of the glories of Himachal.'

It is here that the Empire's highest peak, Nanda Devi, stands magnificently in the centre



The two images of the goddess Nanda Devi

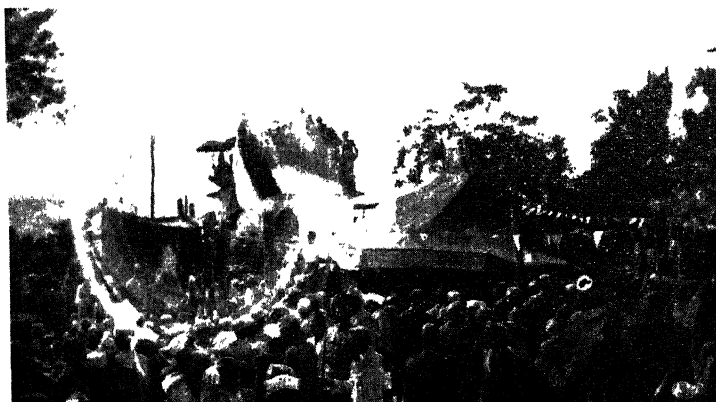
of the great Himalayan range. It is situated in British Garhwal at 80° east longitude and 30° 20' north latitude. The peak is surrounded by a vast amphitheatre of mountains. It is seventy miles in circumference and twenty in diameter. Nanda Devi is guarded, as Mr. Hugh Ruttledge has said :

"A seventy mile barrier ring, on which stand twelve measured peaks over 21,000 feet high, which has no

depression lower than 17,000 feet, except in the west, where the Rishi-ganga river, rising at the foot of Nanda Devi, and draining an area of some two hundred and fifty square miles of snow and ice, has carved for itself what must be one of the most terrific gorges in the world. Two eternal ridges, converging from north and south respectively upon this river form, as it were, the curtains of an inner sanctuary, within which the great mountain soars up to 25,660 feet. So tremendous is the aspect of the Rishi-ganga gorge that Hindu mythology described it as the last earthly home of the seven Rishis. Here, if anywhere, their meditations might be undisturbed."

MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY

According to a legend, the hand of the Princess Nanda, the beautiful daughter of a Hindu King of Kumaon, was demanded in



A view of the Nanda Devi fair held at Almora marriage by a Rohilla Prince. It was refused and war followed. Nanda's father was defeated and the future Goddess fled, and after many vicissitudes, took refuge on the top of Nanda Devi. There are two other mountains in the vicinity which also are affixed by the name of Nanda. Nanda-ghunti to the west is supposed to mean 'the halting-place of Nanda'; it is only 19,893 feet high and was probably used as a stepping stone to Nanda Devi. To the east is Nanda Kot, 22,500 feet, which means 'the strong hold of Nanda,' and south is Trisul, 'the trident,' a defiance to the rapacious Rohillas.

Nanda Devi, the daughter of the Himalaya and the consort of Mahadev, is worshipped by the hill people as the 'Guardian Goddess'. To them Nanda Devi is something to be feared and loved. She is a merciless Goddess. She loves blood and knows no pity when her devotee betrays her. Woe unto the man who swears by her and tells an untruth or cheats another in her name. The Goddess rules the hearts of the Kumaonies in a hundred ways. A big fair is held in her honour, when buffaloes and

hundreds of goats are sacrificed to propitiate the Goddess. Over a mile below the summit a religious festival is held every twelfth year, starting from the village of Nauti in Talla Chandpur, but access to the spot is so difficult that it is reached by scarcely fifty of the pilgrims who make the attempt.

Her position and altitude was determined as long ago as 1845. Nanda Devi had for over fifty years repulsed all attempts not only at scaling but even of approach as the series of peaks encircling her constitute themselves unrelenting guardians of the great mountain to defeat any penetration. This sacred mountain of the Goddess Nanda had remained unassailable until E. E. Shipton and H. W. Tilman first explored and mapped the basin in 1934. By forcing a passage up the tremendous gorge of the Rishi-ganga, they entered the remarkable meadow-spread basin out of which Nanda Devi rose to the heavenly heights.

There are three main ridges: on the east that on which stands the Nanda Devi, in the middle that of Kamet, 25,447 feet the second highest peak, and on the west that of the Badrinath - Kedarnath group of peaks, in formation much more complex than that of the other two.

The Nanda Devi group itself, presents unusual features. The main ridge runs from north to south and in the southern half three arms project to the west. At the southern extremity, a long one leads up to Trisul, 23,360 feet, which is nowhere less than 20,000 feet in elevation for a length of ten miles to the west and culminates in Nandakana, 20,700 feet, and Nanda-ghunti. About ten miles north is a shorter arm marked by Dunagiri, 23,184 feet and between the two short parallel spurs lies the shortest arm of Nanda Devi.

EARLIER EXPLORATION

Few developments in world exploration during recent years have been more interesting than the increasing interest and enterprise shown in climbing the Himalayan mountains and naturally so grand a mountain drew many climbing parties. The names of those who made the attempts earlier from almost every direction are: T. S. Kennedy and W. W. Graham in

1883 ; Boeckh in 1893 ; T. G. Longstaff in 1905 ; Longstaff, G. C. Bruce, and A. L. Mumm in 1907 ; Ruttledge, Howard Somervell, and R. C. Wilson in 1926 ; Longstaff and Ruttledge in 1927 and Ruttledge in 1932.

Mr. Traill, the first Commissioner, crossed a pass between Nanda Kot and Nanda Devi in 1830 for the first time. In 1855, the same route was taken by Adolph Schlagintweit and his brother Robert and both explored the great Milam glacier and travelling to the west they reached Kamet and climbed to an altitude of 22,239 feet, which was then the greatest height attained.

Colonel Edmund Smythe, in 1861, crossed the Traills pass and T. S. Kennedy, the great Alpine climber, explored the Milam side of the range in 1883.

This goddess peak then attracted the attention of W. W. Graham in 1883 who reached the Rishi gorge, accompanied by two Swiss guides, near the junction of Rishi and Dhaul rivers. Mountaineering into the Himalayas was then partially unknown and it is only during the last few years that the lure of the Himalayas has spread widely over Europe and abroad. In 1893, Dr. Kurt Boeckh with an Australian guide, Hans Kerer, made his way to Milam glacier but he was deserted by the porters before he could go very far. He however crossed the Untadhura pass (17,590 feet) to the north and descended through the difficult gorge of the Girthi in the Dhaul valley. In 1905 Dr. Longstaff and two Italian guides trekking through the Gori valley made a serious start from Milam and got on to the rim of the Basin at 19,100 feet and were the first to look into the Sanctuary although on account of extreme steepness, descent was out of the question. Not undaunted by this excursion, Dr. Longstaff returned back in 1907 with General Bruce, Mumm and three Alpine guides and crossing the Bagini pass, descended and got into the Rishi gorge at the point reached by Graham. But finding it not possible to go beyond it, he took the opportunity to scale Trisul, 23,360 feet, the highest summit trodden by man until that period.

In 1926, Mr. Ruttledge, accompanied by Dr. Howard Somervell and Major General R. C. Wilson attempted an approach by the Timphu

glacier to the north-east but failed. Mr. Ruttledge came again in 1927 with Dr. Longstaff and climbing at the head of the Nandakini valley, reached the crest of the wall at its lowest point 17,000 feet but their further progress was barred by bad weather.

1934 EXPEDITION : BASIN REACHED

In 1934, Messrs. Slipton and Tilman with three Sherpa porters tried a route through the tremendous gorge of the Rishi-ganga and succeeded in forcing their way into the remarkable meadow-spread sanctuary of the Blessed Goddess. Not only this, they discovered a practicable route up the sacred peak and quitted the basin over the inner rim to the south by the difficult Sunderdhunga Col. It was considered to be a magnificent achievement of what may be accomplished by two



Pilgrims and visitors watching sacrificial rites

resolute mountaineers at an almost negligible cost.

BRITISH-AMERICAN EXPEDITION (1936)

The British-American Himalayan Expedition at last succeeded to scale the peak in 1936. It consisted of eight members, namely (British) T. Graham Brown, N. E. Odell, H. W. Tilman, Peter Lloyd and (American) A. B. Emmons, C. S. Houston, W. F. Loomis and Adams Carter. They were drawn from the Universities of Cambridge, Wales and Harvard.

Professor Graham Brown of Cardiff University has done much Alpine climbing and has made the first traverses of some very difficult routes. He was also a member of the first party to climb Mount Foraker in Alaska.

Odell was the last man to see Mallory and Irvine before they disappeared on their fatal effort to reach the summit of the Everest in 1924. Before the last Everest expedition he

had also stayed longer than anyone else at a height of 27,000 feet. He has climbed in Greenland and Canada.

Emmons took part in the magnificent Sikong expedition and climbed the Minya

Professor Graham Brown has described the gorge as the 'grandest, longest and most difficult hill scramble in the world and formidable for a heavily-laden party.' The wild grandeur of the view of the gorge, he says, is impossible to express in words. As regards actual climb, he adds, "of the loads raised to Camp I the amateurs carried a little more than half the number, of the loads raised from Camp I to Camp II, the amateurs carried 23 and the Sherpa porters four; of those between Camp III (21,200 ft.), the amateurs carried all but one." In the remaining three Camps, IV, V and VI above this, the loads of about 30 pounds each had to be carried by the amateurs alone.

Seven members reached Camp V (23,500 ft.) and Odell and Houston were commissioned to form the first party to the summit while others returned to Camp IV (21,700 ft.). But violent sickness seized Houston during the night and he was replaced by Tilman. Camp VI was established at 24,000 feet and the modest party of two British members reached the summit on August 29, the twenty-second day of the climb and the fifty-first from Ranikhet. Climbing over snow was

apparently so difficult that eight breaths had to be taken at each step, short halts being necessitated after every ten.

Tilman has graphically described an account of the top in his book *The Ascent of Nanda Devi*:

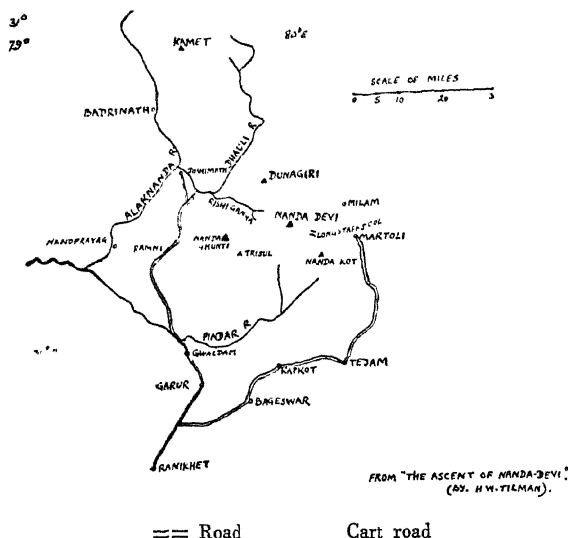
"It was difficult to realize that we were actually standing on the top of the same peak which we had viewed two months ago from Ranikhet, and which had then appeared incredibly remote and inaccessible, and it gave us a curious feeling of exaltation to know that we were above every peak within hundreds of miles on either hand. Dhaulagiri, 1,000 feet higher, and two hundred miles away in Nepal, was our nearest rival.

"After the first joy in victory came a feeling of sadness that the mountain had succumbed, that the proud head of the Goddess was bowed.

"At this late hour of the day, there was too much cloud about for any distant views. The Nepal peaks were hidden and all the peaks on the rim, excepting only Trisul, whose majesty even our loftier view-point could not diminish. Far to the north through a vista of white cloud the sun was colouring to a warm brown the bare and bleak Tibetan plateau.

"After three-quarters of an hour on that superb summit, a brief forty-five minutes into which was crowded the worth of many hours of glorious life, we dragged ourselves reluctantly away, taking with us a memory that can never fade and leaving behind 'thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls'."

Doubtless the sanctuary of the blessed goddess has at last been violated by the humble man. No wonder the Garhwalis attri-



Gongkar massif, 24,900 feet, in western China in 1932. Their performance is considered to be one of the most important in the history of mountain exploration and climbing combined.

The party established Base Camp at 17,000 feet on the twenty-eighth day after beginning their long hill-trek of over 100 miles from the rendezvous at Ranikhet on July 10. In addition to the six Sherpas, thirty-seven Dotial porters were engaged from Ranikhet who failed to face the crossing of swollen flood waters of the Rhamani torrent in the Upper Rishi Nala. Double labour of relaying the loads had then to be carried out. The eleven Mana porters who joined the party at Tapoban cheerfully carried their loads up the glacier and from the Advanced Base Camp (16,600 feet) they had to be paid off. The six Sherpas, several of whom had distinguished themselves in Everest expeditions, however, failed to assist the amateurs in establishing the long line of camps in the last 5,000 feet of the steep face of the mountain due to snow-blindness and some other indispositions. Only four Sherpas went to Camp I, 19,100 feet, and only two of those to Camp II, 20,400 feet. The climbing was steep and difficult and at times blizzards or snow storms of great ferocity blew on the mountain.

bute the loss of forty-five lives in Badhan due to the abnormal rise of the Pindar river, which is fed by the glaciers of Nanda Kot and Trisul. in the foot-hills south and west of the Basin. on that very day to the wrath of the goddess. Indeed the incident provoked the anger of the goddess, who immediately avenged. blindly but terribly, the violation of her sanctuary.

The weather suddenly grew worse and the remaining party were prevented from attaining the summit.

RETURN

While the party descended to the Advanced Base Camp, the only misfortune befell the expedition. Poor Kitar, the Sherpa porter, died of his illness. Tilman and Houston crossed the Longstaff pass, 19,200 feet, to the east, the crest of which had virtually been attained by Emmons during the party's absence in the higher mountains, and returned back to Ranikhet *via* Martoli, Tejam and Bageshwar. The rest of the party descended down to Joshimath through the Dhauli valley and took the pilgrim route down to Ranikhet.

LESSONS OF EXPEDITION

In the current number of the *Himalayan Journal*, Mr. Eric Shipton, the famous climber, pays tribute to their feat as finest mountaineer-

ing achievement which has yet been performed in the Himalaya and which he says is the first of the really difficult Himalayan giants to be conquered. He further says :

"This expedition was a model of what such an expedition should be : their party was a team consisting exclusively of mountaineers; they avoided the great mistake which, to my mind, nearly all the major Himalayan expeditions since the war have made, and did not handicap themselves with a vast bulk of stores and superfluous personnel; each man was prepared to carry loads up to any height, and indeed all were called upon to do so during the most arduous part of the climb; above all, they avoided newspaper publicity."

The remarkable thing about the expedition is that it has proved that the major Himalayan peaks can be tackled with success, even during monsoon, by small and informal parties and with few or no trained porters, on the actual climb. The finances too were provided by the members themselves. Tilman was appointed leader for the higher mountains otherwise the party had no official leader. Another interesting point is that this is probably the only expedition of mixed nationality to be a success.

There is no doubt that there is yet enough left to occupy the mountaineer, geographer, geologist and botanist for many generations in Garhwal and other districts. The interest of Indian public, however on the subject, is yet very insignificant and may take several decades to kindle in them the fire of mountaineering.

PHTHISIOPHOBIA AND ITS EFFECT ON ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

By Dr. BOLORAM MUKHERJEE, M.B.

THE mortal fear of phthisis, the Great White Scourge, has for a very long time been lurking in the human mind. Tuberculosis was known in ancient Egypt and the descriptions of the disease can be recognized in the accounts of the early Hindu physicians. In a later age, John Bunyan named it, "the captain of the men of death"; and with the march of time far too many sayings of evil import accumulated around it whereby the fatal nature of the malady has come to make a lasting impression in the minds of people. Moreover, as there are other features of the disease cropping up simultaneously, *e.g.*, the social and economic factors, which go to prove how the disease stands in a class by itself, its very name has

become associated with the most dreadful state of affairs. It is regarded not as a messenger of uneventful death like a common epidemic disease having a rapidly fatal course, but as an emissary that inflicts the deathblow slowly and stealthily, inch by inch, thus bringing untold miseries to the sufferer and his people. No wonder then that the dread of the disease has taken such a full possession of the human mind. In fact, that is the only reason why many physicians diagnosing the disease for the first time in a patient, do not divulge the truth to the sufferer although such a step on the part of the former is absolutely unjustifiable on account of the fact that the patient who is thus lulled into a sense of false security may neglect his

condition, the result being disastrous not only to the patient and the community exposed to the risk of infection, but also to the reputation of the physician.

Now the question arises whether people, dreading the disease as they are justified in doing, can reasonably work themselves up into such a state of nerves as will lead to the development of phthisiophobia. Knowing that phthisiophobia derives its origin from some exaggerated notions having, as we shall see presently, no sound basis in facts and that with its repercussions it has, as shown below, been persistently putting back the cause of campaign against tuberculosis, it is high-time that the public mind was disabused of misapprehensions. If phthisical patients are dangerous it is not those who observe all commonsense precautions and obey the laws of hygiene but those who, for some reason or other, disregard them and spit promiscuously. Many phthisical patients scrupulously particular with regard to the well being of the community are often tempted and sometimes fairly compelled by the phthisiophobic attitude of a large section of the public to disregard the laws of hygiene and go on as if there was nothing wrong with them (phthisical patients), because, so long as you conceal your disease and do not care about the necessary precautions, *e.g.*, in the matter of spitting, which are so essential to prevent the spread of infection to others you are welcome everywhere, but the moment you use a spittoon and obey the necessary laws of hygiene in the interest of public health you are going to be hated and shunned like a leper. Says the American historian, William Garott Brown, in his *Confessions of a Consumptive* :

"We must incessantly take for the sake of the public precautions which are disagreeable and costly; and meanwhile a great part of the public is, by its attitude toward us, steadily tempting us and even sometimes fairly compelling us, if we would live to discontinue these precautions and go on as if there were nothing the matter with us. The folly and stupidity of this attitude it is impossible to overstate. It is of itself, by far, the chief cause and source of the persistence of this scourge.

"Known, recognized and decently entreated we are not dangerous. Shunned and proscribed and forced to concealments we are dangerous. Victims ourselves of this same regime of ignorant and self-deceiving inhumanity, we are called on every hour of our lives for a magnanimous consideration of others. Society can hardly find it surprising or a grievance if our human nature should sometimes weaken under the strain of incessant provocation it endures from this strange working of human nature in general. Why should we ourselves be expected to be guiltless, always to our own cost and sacrifice, of that form of man's inhumanity to man from which we ourselves are suffering more than anybody else? Yet I can honestly attest that the vast majority

of us are guiltless of any merely resentful offence; that as a rule when we fail to protect the public it is only because the public compels us to disregard its interest, its safety. This is what I earnestly entreat the public, for its own sake, candidly to consider.

"Candidly means fully. If the public is to be safe from us, if the public is to continue to have our protection from which it failed to protect us, then the public must make it possible for us to get—it must certainly cease to make it impossible for the mass of us to get anything except by subterfuge—what we must have to live. We are neither criminals nor mendicants. We do not ask favours. We merely revolt against a mean and stupid oppression. We revolt against ignorance and against a *i.e.* The public would get rid of us and thereby makes us inescapable. It would pretend, and would have us pretend, that we are nowhere. It thereby insures that we shall be everywhere. It proscribes us and thereby admits us."

What a height of folly and stupidity is associated with our people's phthisiophobic attitude which is thus responsible for driving tuberculosis underground and seriously endangering public health and safety is now quite clear. It will be no exaggeration to say that the public are, as it were, digging their own grave because of this attitude. If, on the other hand, the average consumptive was not shunned by adults but told that he was only a menace to infants, less dangerous to children and not at all dangerous to adults who might safely associate with him at least casually, he would surely take all commonsense precautions against infecting those who may be harmed by it. If he was permitted to work unmolested after he is cured or the disease is arrested or quiescent, allowing him to earn his livelihood, a considerable part of the economic stress caused by this disease would be done away with. How long it will take for the public to realize these facts God only knows.

Even viewed from the medical standpoint phthisiophobia amounts more or less to a scientific heresy. Because phthisis is not so infectious as measles, diphtheria and other such conditions. For instance, the virus of measles appears to be spread only from persons actually suffering from or in process of developing the eruptive stage; but it is so highly infective that it succeeds in producing this effect in nearly all persons who survive to adult age. As for the diphtheria bacillus and some other pathogenic micro-organisms, although they cause clinical disease in only a small proportion of those who are infected yet actual disease is not essential to their propagation, because they may be transmitted from host to host even by those without actual disease. On the other hand, in the case of tuberculosis we find that in order to be infective, the disease must be of the 'open' type (*i.e.*, the type in which tubercle bacilli are present in the patient's sputum) and that such

types of disease are produced in only a limited proportion of infected persons. In other words, supposing X to be the number of persons having tuberculous infection, the number that will get tuberculous disease will be much less, and the number that will develop the 'open' or infective type of the disease will be, comparatively, still less. This shows that there is the combination of two limiting conditions characterising tuberculous dissemination. Hence it is reasonable to say that tuberculosis is not so infectious as the other diseases mentioned before. In fact there are many notable authorities such as, Wingfield, Fishberg, Pottenger, Saugman, Baldwin who do not exactly believe in the infectivity of phthisis so far as the ordinary adult population is concerned. Says Baldwin in this connection :

"Adults are very little endangered by close contact with open tuberculosis and not at all in ordinary association . . . It is time for a reaction against the extreme ideas of infection now prevailing. There has been too much read into the popular literature by health boards and lectures that has no sound basis in facts and it needs to be dropped out and revised."

It is also interesting to mention that experimental infections of physicians have almost without exception, proved harmless. Thus Alfred Moller was infected intravenously with tubercle bacilli. He did not develop any acute disease, excepting that he lost in weight for a few months and then recuperated without showing any symptoms of tuberculosis. Baldwin and Gardner also mention that Garnault injected virulent bovine bacilli (a variety of tubercle bacilli) into his own forearm with no harmful results. Ritter and Vehling report accidental inhalation without harm or symptoms of dry virulent tubercle bacilli by Hans Much and his co-workers. Say Baldwin and Gardner :

"It is difficult to avoid such accidents, in research laboratories where dry material is manipulated, yet to our knowledge no authentic instance of their causing pulmonary tuberculosis has been reported."

On the other hand, when tubercle bacilli gain entrance into the body of an infant (or even of an adult belonging to the primitive community that are raised in the remotest interior of the country) the results may be disastrous.

Now a pertinent question crops up—if the infectivity of adult phthisis is very little or negligible, then why according to Vasudev Rao, as quoted by Benjamin, was tuberculosis in some form or other found in 32.79 per cent of a group of 2,620 contacts of patients with open tuberculosis? Similarly, why in 35.9 per cent of the patients of the Madanapalle Sanatorium was there a history of direct contact with tuber-

culosis, domestic or extra-domestic (although the larger proportion of the patients *i.e.*, 64.1 per cent gave no history of the kind)? In answering these questions we must enquire under what circumstances there might have been dissemination of infection and disease in the above instances. The predisposing factors for dissemination of tuberculous infection are among other things, overcrowding, bad hygiene, bad standard of living, inferior economic condition and indiscriminate spitting; and when these occur simultaneously with the contact that has been intimate, repeated and prolonged, the probability of the disease being transmitted will be great. That such conditions prevailed in the above instances it won't be far wide of our mark to presume. Says Opie :

"Tuberculosis of human races, is profoundly influenced by habits of life, crowding, poverty and many other factors."

Similarly Dr. Frimodt Moller, Superintendent of the Madanapalle Sanatorium, who is regarded as a redoubtable figure in the Tuberculosis field in India, says :

"It is now believed that infection takes place only from patients when they cough in closed rooms."

On the other hand, in tuberculosis hospitals and sanatoria run on hygienic lines, there is not at all any marked incidence of the disease among the staff although they come in close contact with the consumptives. Fishberg says :

"During the forty years of the existence of the Montefiore Hospital (in U. S. A.) exceedingly few nurses, orderlies and resident physicians have been observed to develop tuberculous disease while attending to the needs of the tuberculous patients. In the case of the physicians all cases that have occurred had had symptoms of the disease before assuming hospital duties. The same is true of the nurses and orderlies."

As regards the Brompton Hospital for consumptives in London, there is on record statistics showing that among the physicians, assistant physicians, hospital clerks, nurses and others to the number of several hundred, who had served in the hospital (not few of them having lived in it for a number of years continuously) phthisis had not been more common than it may be expected to be on the average among the civil population of the town. Similar statistics are available for many hospitals and sanatoria in other countries. Sangman who had collected from many sanatoria in various countries instructive data on the subject, found that among the laryngologists, exposed to infection more than any other class, the incidence and death-rate of tuberculosis was less than would be expected. He concluded that tuberculosis was extremely rare among those who were

engaged among consumptives and that physicians and laryngologists who had been healthy before entering upon their duties remained so.

Thus we find that the consumptive patient who is properly trained and willing and able to carry out instructions is no real source of danger. Still less should such patients who need our sympathy be regarded as lepers to be shunned. That is why the number of protests sometimes made by our phthisiophobic people to interfere with the establishment of a tuberculosis institution (hospital or sanatorium as the case may be) or to demand the abolition of one already existing in a given locality, is utterly senseless. Tuberculosis institutions, far from being dangerous to the neighbourhood, improve public health by segregating and treating individuals who, left to themselves, may become a fertile source of infection to the community. That is why Sir Arthur Newsholme could draw an interesting parallel between the increase of institutional treatment and the decline phthisis death-rate during the later half of the last century.

It may be asked—why is it that tuberculosis institutions do not constitute a danger to the neighbourhood? Now, if the consumptive patients living hygienically in the institutions cannot disseminate disease to the staff although the latter come in such a close contact with the former, surely the outsiders who are much beyond the range of 'droplet infection' (i.e., infection due to the spray of droplets thrown out usually up to a distance of about three feet by a consumptive in the process of coughing) cannot be harmed in any way. Says Dr. Frimodt Moller while dealing with the subject "Is a Tuberculosis Institute a danger to its neighbourhood?",

"If we now consider that in a Tuberculosis Institution, the patients are kept in the institution and do not visit the homes of the neighbourhood, it seems absolutely impossible to think that the bacilli coughed out by the patients can pass from the institution out into the surrounding houses and neighbourhood. This is not mere theory but is supported by the fact (mentioned

before) that viable tubercle bacilli have never been found in road dust or in exposed public places. It is, therefore, not only not likely from a bacteriological point of view that a Tuberculosis Institution is a danger to the neighbourhood, in which it is situated, but there is no foundation at all for this assumption."

Hence tuberculosis institutions should not merit the reproach of the phthisiophobic public. On the other hand, care must be taken to see that they may multiply in number and properly treat consumptives who, although not dangerous when living hygienically, are liable to be so if left out and particularly forced to concealments.

Knowing as we now do, that there is a crying need of many more Tuberculosis Institutions in India—a fact also stressed by Prof. Lyle Cummins and by Sir Cuthbert Sprawson at the last Empire Conference on the care and the after-care of the tuberculous—we cannot but view with concern the reprehensible attitude of our phthisiophobic people who are disregarding or interfering with the material growth of anti-tuberculosis schemes and putting obstacles in the path of anti-tuberculosis work. Financial insufficiency was, so long, regarded as the only cause of deadlock, or retardation of progress, of sanatorium schemes in India, but lately available facts do not warrant this conclusion, as several contemplated institutions could not come into existence because of protests from phthisiophobic people although money was available for their establishment. Hence it is time for a mental renaissance of our people. The situation in our country brooks no delay. The disease which was unknown among the rural population has become established more or less endemically in several villages, not to speak of many towns and cities which have almost become hotbeds of the disease. If the situation is not properly controlled it may get worse. Says Prof. Lyle Cummins while referring to the present Indian situation :

"Tuberculosis is increasing and seems likely to increase still more unless something effective can be done to stop it."





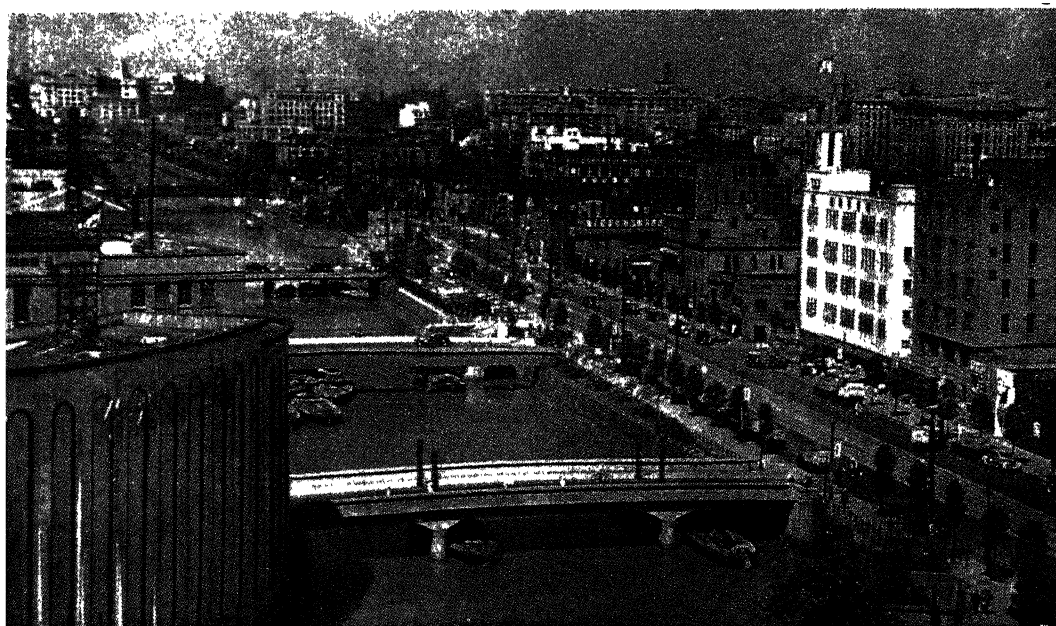
The Ainus of Japan



Members of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council going on a pleasure cruise



Yomeimon Gate of Toshogu shrine, Nikko, Japan—a monument to feudal splendour



Tokyo at mid-day

THE PRACTICE OF THE BUDDHIST TENET OF AHIMSA IN JAPAN

BY PROF. DR. RAGHU VIRA, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT. et Phil.

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THE Japanese people recognize fully their debts to India in raising them from primitive conditions of life and mind. But not so with the Indian people. In a vague way they know that Japan's religion is predominantly Buddhist. By Buddhism again they understand entirely a different thing from that practised in Japan. Books on Indian history, read by them as boys in the schools, bring into high relief the Doctrine of Ahimsa, "non-killing," "non-annoying" of any living creature, not even for food. This doctrine has, however, never flourished in any of the countries outside India. India lost the statutes of Lord Buddha, but not the great doctrine for which Buddha came into being. Other countries accepted Buddha, the numerous tenets, rites, scriptures and systems of philosophic thought connected with his name, but connived at this, to them inconvenient, control of the palate in favour of a vaster life of sympathy for the mute population of the world.

In the earlier and middle years of Japan the monks, nuns and a few pious men and women practised vegetarianism, but it was so superficial that at the mere touch of the West it disappeared rapidly. Formerly a nation of fish eaters, it is now equally proud of being beef and pork eaters. Even the pious, whether among the clergy or the laity, relish without any compunctions forbidden meat. But it should not be understood that the idea has altogether become extinct.

In recent years it has taken a new form that of memorial services. They will interest the reader by their novelty and freshness. However corrupt, Buddhism still lives, it still forges new channels for expression. Finding non-killing impossible it still tries to retain what it can. Let the readers see it for themselves.

(1) In Tokyo the members of the wood-print engravers' guild occasionally hold memorial services in honour of the spirits of countless cherry trees whose lives they and their fellow craftsmen have taken in making wood-print engravings. Up to 1911 all wood-print engravings made in Japan utilized cherry wood for

the blocks. Since then about 20% of the blocks have been made of box wood. Leaders of the guild realizing that Japanese culture owes much to wood-print engraving hold such services as the only way of showing their sentiments for the tree which has contributed so much to the artistic life of Japan. The first service of this kind was held in Tokyo on April 1, 1923, at the Shinryon Temple near Heno Park.

(2) On May 21, 1932, an elaborate Buddhist mass for all the silk-worms which have given their lives for the silk industry in Japan was recited by 24 priests in the Asakusa Kwannon Temple, Tokyo. This memorial service was the idea of Mr. K. Kijima, the head of the seventh generation of a family of silk-thread dealers in Tokyo. At Uzumasa, near Kyoto there is a small shrine called Kijima Jinja, dedicated originally to honour and to give thanks to silk worms and weaving machines for the production of silk-thread, perhaps erected by an ancestor of Mr. Kijima mentioned above.

(3) On March 22, 1932, a Buddhist mass service for the purpose of comforting the spirits of fish that have been caught to feed the nation was held at the great Sodesect Temple, Sojiji in Tsurumi and elsewhere. The next day the Tsurumi priests observed a service on the sea for fish that had died from natural causes. This took place on the waters of Tokyo Bay. These services were held under the auspices of organizations of marine-product dealers throughout Japan and the Government Department of Fishery and were made possible through their monetary contributions. It is expected that this service will be observed annually.

(4) On November 6, 1932, a service was observed in Hibia Park, Tokyo, in honour of the chrysanthemums which have beautified the November chrysanthemums exhibits in the park held annually for many years.

(5) Annually in early June, a Buddhist service is held at the Teikoku Primary School in Nishi Sugamo, Tokyo, for dolls that have been broken beyond repair. The dolls are buried in the playground of the school, the grave being marked by a stone about 2 feet high inscribed "Grave of Dolls." Since the

service was started in 1918, several hundred broken dolls have been buried there. The ceremony is always largely attended by school children and their mothers. Priests chant the *sutra* intended to compose the soul of the dead. This service is an outgrowth of the Doll Hospital conducted by the school since 1913. An expert repairs all dolls turned in at the 'Hospital,' and those broken beyond repairs are saved for the annual ceremony which never fails to delight and impress the children. Dolls have been the intimate friends and companions of children from time immemorial and they are regarded and treated by children as living beings and are factors in their education, and that is stated to be the reason for establishing the 'Hospital' at the school. The dolls thus treated here have exceeded ten thousand in number.

At another place, the Kosenji temple in Tokyo, the first stone at the entrance on the left is a grave stone for broken dolls and toys. It was placed there in 1931 through contributions of pupils of several girls' schools, each one giving a few sen. The names of the schools are on the back of the stone. The temple priest states that there are no set days for the burial but that broken dolls and toys are occasionally buried under the stone.

(6) Annually on December 8th, but more generally on February 8th, services for broken needles are held in many girls' schools, and in some private homes, to comfort the spirit of needles broken during the year, the needle being regarded as a living being whose body has been sacrificed in service. An alter consisting of two or three steps is set up. In front of it is the sacred staff and rope, cut paper strips being suspended from it. On the top step offerings of cake and fruit are placed. On the second step is a plate on which a cube of bean curd, into which the broken and crooked needles are

thrust, the idea being to give the needles a soft rest.

(7) Under the auspices of the Tokyo Ivory Art Object Dealers' Association and the Association of Artists of Ivory Carving, a Buddha mass for the spirits of elephants which have supplied ivory carving in Japan, was celebrated by twenty-one priests on April 15, 1926, at the Gokoku temple in Otowa. It was attended by more than one thousand persons.

(8) "The Butchered-Cow-Tree-Stupa" is a monument erected in the precinct of Gyokusenji temple, near the decaying stump of the citrus tree to which was tied the cow that was first butchered for meat in Japan. This was an unusual slaughter as the tenets of the Buddhist religion then strictly prohibited the use of meat for food, though fish had been in common use. This historic event took place in 1856 so that Townsend Harris, the first U. S. Consul-General to Japan, who was domiciled in the temple could be supplied with beef. It is further recorded that when it became known that Mr. Harris was a beef-eater the owners of cows throughout the neighbourhood were so alarmed that they built high railings around their cowsheds in order to prevent their cows from being butchered for the Consul. These cows were used for draft purposes and not for yielding milk. The stump of the Cow-Tree is enclosed by a marble fence and is protected from elements by a bronze lotus leaf. A new sapling has been planted at the back of the stump. A monument of marble and bronze, ten feet high, topped with an image of Buddha, was unveiled on April 8, 1931, the birthday of Buddha. Its cost of 5,000 yen was met by contributions from dealers and users of beef in the eastern part of Japan, under the auspices of the Butchers' Guild of Shimoda province, which promoted the project.



THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

By V. SRINIVASAN

By a proclamation issued on November 2, his 26th birthday, His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore has constituted a separate University for his State. At present all the colleges in the State are affiliated to the Madras University. The new University is not intended to be a mere replica of the existing ones. Its chief objectives differ from those of the existing Universities in two ways. Firstly, it seeks to encourage and foster scientific, technical and technological studies, so that its graduates may be in a position to exploit to the full the State's natural resources and take to agricultural and industrial pursuits. Secondly, it aims at conserving and promoting Kerala art and culture.

It is refreshing to read Section 5 :

"No person shall be excluded from membership of any of the authorities of the University or from admission to any degree or course of study on the sole ground of sex, race, creed, class or *political views*, and it shall not be lawful for the University to adopt or impose on any person any test whatsoever relating to religious belief or profession or political views in order to entitle him to be admitted thereto as a teacher, or as a student, or to hold any office therein, or to graduate thereat, or to enjoy or exercise any privileges thereof, except where in respect of any particular benefaction accepted by the University such test is made a condition thereof."

This provision, though not new to universities, gets a special significance in these days of dictatorships and state-controlled education.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The constitution of the University follows that of the other Universities with very few changes. To start with, there will be the Faculties of Arts, Science, Fine Arts, Oriental Studies, Technology, Education and Law. The Faculties, the Senate and the Syndicate will be the authorities of the University.

The Senate will be composed of—(a) *Ex-officio members* : the Vice-Chancellor, the pro-Vice-Chancellor, if any, the D. P. I. Travancore, Deans of Faculties and Principals of Colleges (b) *Elected members* : 7 graduates of the University, 5 members of the State Legislatures, 1 representative of each Faculty, 1 representative of each college (c) *Life members* appointed by the Maharaja—Chancellor (d) *Donors* : all persons contributing not less than Rs. 10,000 for the *general purpose* of the University and one representative of each Association making

an annual contribution of Rs. 1000 for a period of not less than five years, and (e) not more than 20 members nominated by the Chancellor. All members of the Syndicate shall also be members of the Senate.

The Syndicate, the Executive of the University, will consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the pro-Vice-Chancellor, if any, the D. P. I., 2 representatives of private colleges in the State, 2 members elected by the Senate, 3 Deans of Faculties nominated by the Chancellor and 2 others nominated by the Chancellor.

THE STATE AND THE UNIVERSITY

The University will depend for the present almost entirely on State-aid. The six Government colleges will be transferred to the University and the private colleges admitted to its privileges. The amount spent by the State hitherto on collegiate education—nearly five lakhs of rupees a year—will be allocated to the University. The University will get block grants from the State.

The University is not strictly an autonomous one. The Government reserve to themselves the power of auditing the accounts, conducting inspection of the University and directing its administrations if and when necessary. The following section speaks for itself :

"If, at any time, the Government are of opinion that the affairs of the University are not managed in accordance with this Regulation or the Statutes or the Ordinances, or in furtherance of the objects and purposes of this Regulation, they may call for an explanation from the Syndicate in regard to any matter connected with the University. If the Syndicate fails to offer any explanation within the time prescribed, or if the explanation offered is, in the opinion of the Government unsatisfactory, the Government may issue such instructions as they may deem fit; and the Syndicate shall comply with such instructions. The Government may also exercise all the powers necessary to enforce compliance with their instructions."

There will be very little need for the exercise of these provisions, as the Senate is over-weighted with a good number of Government nominees; 20 members are nominated by the Chancellor in addition to the life-members.

The University starts under many advantageous circumstances.

Firstly, it is the product of two decades of investigation and study. It does not owe its

establishment to an act of generosity on the part of a single private donor, as was the case with the Annamalai University, an earlier offshoot of the Madras University, where in recognition of the generous offer the Incorporation Act was hurried through the Legislature. In 1917, the Government of Travancore appointed a committee to go into the question; the majority reported in favour of a separate University. The Government appointed another committee in 1923, and asked them to submit "a fresh scheme for a University of the State of Travancore *by itself or in association with adjacent areas.*" This committee were unanimously of opinion that a separate university was both desirable and feasible and recommended a federal type of university. Another committee appointed in 1932 under the presidency of Mr. R. M. Statham to go into the whole question of the educational reorganization of the State, reported that the disadvantages of Travancore colleges remaining within the Madras University outweighed the advantages. At the same time, it sounded a note of warning.

"Experience both in Madras and all over India, has tended to show that the new Universities, *unless accompanied by very distinctive features not existent elsewhere, are expensive and not altogether necessary luxuries.*"

So the committee entrusted with the framing of the Act embodied in the Proclamation had before it all the *pros* and *cons* of the

question; and the committee was representative of every interest in the State.

Secondly, the new University starts with very good resources, resources far better than what the Mysore University, the Andhra University, the Annamalai University and the Nagpur University had when they began to function. There are 10 colleges of the Degree grade in the State. There are over 300 feeder "English Schools" with nearly 60,000 pupils, and the State spends nearly 20 per cent of its revenue on education, the highest figure for all India.

Thirdly, the University commands the confidence of the public as evidenced by endowments of over a lakh of rupees, by men and women of the State representing all interests, created so soon after the Proclamation.

It is to be hoped that besides developing technological centres of all types and centres of Fine Arts (under the guidance of Dr. J. H. Cousins), the University will (a) like the Osmania University take steps to impart University education through the vernacular of the State and (b) open a college of Indigenous Medicine and thus make available to the outside world the secrets of the famous Kerala system of medicine.

A great deal depends on the Statutes to be framed under the Act and the personnel of the first members of the Senate and the Syndicate, who will be nominated by the Chancellor and hold office for two years.

CHILD GUIDANCE CLINICS

By H. P. MAITI

Calcutta University

THE 20th century has been described as "the Century of the Child." Never before has man appreciated the importance of proper training of the child for his future welfare so keenly as in the present century. We have come to realize that what we become in our later years are essentially determined by the way in which we are brought up during the first few years of our life. The child's habits of reactions, specially to the social environment of his early years, mainly determine his future emotional dispositions, character traits, tastes and even intellectual abilities. A defect of development in these years is very difficult to be compensated

by later educational measures, however ingenious these may be. If one has not been able to enjoy security within family relations in his early days, he will never be able, when grown up, to move in outer society with feelings of confidence and ease which are necessary not only for the individual's own happiness but also for his useful service to the society. If one has the good fortune of unrepressed and free development in childhood under the loving care and help of his elders and in the joyful company of other children like him, if no foolish obstacle is placed on the smooth course of his natural development and on the budding of his

individuality, he would grow, in all probability, into a self-reliant being, who is equal to all circumstances of life, and who is happy to live for himself as well as for others in society. In a word, if we want less of unhappy and inefficient, and more of balanced, happy and capable men and women in society, we should apply ourselves more earnestly and intelligently to child rearing on the principle of mental hygiene than we have done hitherto.

As a matter of fact, children are at present very much neglected and mismanaged. Our dealings with them generally fall into two types: over-strictness or over-indulgence. But in either types of relation we fail to understand the individual peculiarities and needs of the growing child. A plan of upbringing that would make the child happy and would at the same time prepare for his future good should be adapted to such needs; and this can never be done without a proper and sympathetic understanding of his behaviour. Such a plan should specially take into consideration the conflicts in his emotional and instinctive life. It should also be guided mainly by the idea that the dominant natural trend of the child's emotional life should not be rudely smothered, but helped on to progressively stable and happy adjustment to the conditions of social life.

Acute conflict in child life in which one emotional tendency is violently pitted against another, as for example, love or hate against the desire for social approval, is mainly responsible for the peculiarities of the "Problem" children. These are children in whom upbringing has been miscarried, and whom we fail to understand and deal with successfully, in spite of our efforts to do so. Failure in upbringing is manifested in various ways in their lives. Some of the children present open defiance to society and the social code of behaviour. This defiance may range from non-co-operation or disobedience to grossly anti-social behaviour like stealing and arson. Disinclination to learn may express this tendency. Perverse or sexual habits in childhood may also in many instances be traced to the spirit of defiance. There is another group of Problem children who can be described as budding neurotics. Neither fully defiant nor fully docile, they are both at the same time. They are always trying to overcome their strong feelings of anger with those of submissive obedience. They develop in course of time certain neurotic peculiarities of behaviour. Their capacity for normal development becomes greatly jeopardised by an inner conflict and a heavy unconscious sense of guilt. Nervousness,

complete or partial inhibition of intellectual power, absence of self-confidence proportionate to the age, physical illness of the functional type like asthma, diarrhoea etc., may be due to the working of the unconscious sense of guilt.

Parents ordinarily feel helpless in their dealings with children. In a sense, however, it is they who may be regarded as responsible for the behaviour troubles. For, from the psychological point of view, refractory behaviour in children is mostly a reaction to the kind of treatment which they have had already received from the social environment provided by the parents themselves. Not knowing the psychology of the 'Problem' behaviour, the parents usually accuse their children with an inborn mischievousness, or thoughtlessly ascribe it wholly to outside influences, like the play-mates or the defective school organization.

Though parents cannot escape the criticism in many cases that they have not done, and even perhaps have not understood, their duty to their children during their early years, it must be said in their defence that the task of child-rearing on healthy lines is not an easy one. Recent advances in psychological knowledge indicate how difficult it is to adjust the environmental factors, specially those in the social sphere, to the susceptibilities of the child during the formative years of his growth. Many parents cannot understand the exact requirements of the situation on account of their own intellectual limitations or lack of opportunity of learning. Many have not the leisure for this delicate work. Many are temperamentally unfit for the patient handling of young children. Many suffer themselves, from inner emotional conflicts so that it becomes difficult for them to look at the problems of child's development in a detached way. The fact is, that all of us tend to react unconsciously to our children generally in the same way as our parents did with reference to us in our childhood.

There are three ways in which we can attempt to solve the difficulty of child-rearing: (1) Seeing that the ordinary parents are so ill-fitted for giving the basic education in the period of childhood, we may arrange for this education under the guidance of properly qualified teachers who are to act as foster parents. There has been considerable progress in nursery education in western countries in recent years and I hope we shall very soon see a number of nursery schools flourishing in our country. But we cannot expect to provide the advantage of nursery education to all children. Neither is it a complete remedy for evils of defective child-rearing. 'Problem' behaviour does not

exist when the child is sent to school. The method of education may be defective in the school as well as in the home. Then again, even in the case of a child attending a nursery school, it is difficult to keep him altogether away from the 'harmful' influence of his parents with whom he has to spend a considerable part of his time. For these reasons, it is necessary for the society to arrange for some education of the parents through which scientific knowledge bearing on the upbringing of children may be imparted to them.

(2) A plan of Parent-education is, therefore, the second way in which we can attempt to meet our difficulty of child-rearing. This education can be given through popular lectures, pamphlets, magazine articles and radio talks. In order to be effective such talks and lectures should naturally lead to discussions of actual cases and, whenever possible, demonstrations about the proper method of dealing with children's 'problems' by properly qualified persons should be arranged.

This takes us to the third way of meeting our difficulty, namely, (3) 'Child Guidance Clinics.' The primary function of such a Clinic is to help the home and the school with expert advice on the subject of child-rearing and child education. It is not necessarily confined to 'problem' children, but tries to direct the mental development of normal children as well. It aims at the complete understanding of the child. We try to understand the child—physically, intellectually and emotionally; in the weak, as well as the strong points of his personality. No advice is offered at the Clinic without a thorough scientific study of the child as far as possible. The predominant impulse of his individuality is specially taken into consideration at the time of giving advice.

The examination of the child falls into several parts: (1) The specific object of the visit of the child and his guardian at the Clinic is specially noted. This is followed by a detailed family and biographical history. An enquiry is made into the heredity, the size, and economic and social conditions of the family; any notable incident in the early life of the child that may have given him some emotional shock; and also the nature of social relation between the inmates, specially between the parents themselves. History of physical illness is also recorded. Specially important for diagnostic purpose in certain types of cases are informations about the course of bodily and mental development. The records of educational progress have also to be looked into sometimes.

(2) A thorough physical examination fol-

lows the biographical history. It should preferably be conducted by one who is a specialist in children's diseases. This examination is necessary for the detection of foci of infection or some other source of chronic physiological irritation; for, the mental trouble of the child may in some cases be due to a physical cause and may disappear when this is attended to.

(3) In the third part of the examination we come to a psychologist who can apply mental tests, and make observation for himself about the peculiarities in the conduct of the individual child. He should preferably be a psychoanalyst also, so that he can observe the unconscious links between the different acts and traits of the child, and form an idea about the real dynamics of his personality. Applications of mental tests on the Problem children should always be done with special care and results of such applications should be estimated in the light of the emotional conflicts from which such children usually suffer. There should be opportunities of play at the Clinic; for, it has been found that the conflicting impulses of the child usually come to spontaneous expression through his play activities. An opinion is finally formed about the probable psychological cause of the trouble of the child by taking many things into consideration, *viz.*, biographic history, physical defect or illness, and the actual behaviour of the child at the Clinic and outside. In many cases such an opinion is to be checked up by observation of changes in the behaviour and attitude of the child with 'trial' or experimental behaviour from the psychologist, or as advised by him.

In many cases the observation of the child's behaviour cannot be completed at the Clinic and he has to be followed to his home and the play-field. He may not show all the aspects of his personality in the strange atmosphere of the Clinic and, therefore, it is necessary to observe him in his ordinary milieu. This is done by a social worker, who is usually a lady, and who is possessed of tact and sympathy with some training in psychology. This visit is to be made not only for observing the child, but also for observing parents, as they behave towards each other as also with the children. It has been rightly said that the Problem child has usually a Problem parent behind him.

The social worker is an important link between the Clinic and the home, and practical effect of the psychological advice given at the Clinic depends to a great extent on his or her ability to help the child and his relations to live a more happily adjusted life together.

A few words about the nature of treatment of the Problem children may not be out of place here. In the simpler cases a few talks to the parents as well as to the child may suffice to bring about a better relation between them and to put the child on the right line of behaviour. In the case of mental deficiency, the duty of the Clinic ends with advice for a special type of education either in some institutions or at home. If the deficiency be so much as to amount to idiocy or low imbecility, custodial care has to be recommended. In the more complex and serious cases of Problem children, a more radical method of treatment has to be adopted. Psycho-analysis has been found to be successful in many cases. Change of the home atmosphere and specially of the attitudes of the parents become necessary in almost all cases.

The Child Guidance Clinic usually forms a part of Psychology department or an out-door hospital or a medical institution. It also may be run independently. It is desirable that there should be arrangement, if possible, for prolonged observation and treatment of children suffering from more serious maladjustments, and, therefore, it is good to have a Clinical Ward, if possible, attached to the outdoor Clinic.

The Child Guidance Clinic is meant to serve not only the interest of the Problem and Defective children, but also more important interests of normal ones. There are many educated and intelligent parents who are eager to know if their children are developing as they should and in what way this development can be helped. The question of Vocational guidance of children and youths has become prominent in recent years and this work has to be taken up by the Child Guidance Clinics. The natural aptitude, the points of weakness and the compensations thereof, have to be studied psychologically and an advice has to be given as to the further educational line or vocations in which the child is likely to excel.

The Clinic can also be used as a medium of Parent education; for, with the variety of cases that visit the Clinic, it is possible to explain and to demonstrate the harmful effects of different types of parent behaviour on children's habits and emotional attitudes. It can also enable the parents to learn how their

dealings with their children should be improved. Valuable knowledge about children and child training is sure to grow and accumulate in course of time at the Clinic, and this knowledge should be utilized not only for research by child psychologists but also for the enlightenment of the parents and the society.

The idea of the Child Guidance Clinic is not wholly new in India. It has been discussed in lectures and magazine articles from time to time. But there are not many Clinics working at present in India. The city of Calcutta possesses two Mental Clinics which give advice on Problem children. One is run by the Indian Association for Mental Hygiene, Calcutta Branch, and is attached as an Outdoor department to the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia. An eminent Psychiatrist is in charge of it and it attends to all types of mental cases. The Psychology Department of the Calcutta University examines and gives advice upon children referred to it. It confines itself mainly to psychological examination and advice. Some time ago, F. C. College, Lahore, started a Child Guidance Clinic under its Psychology Department. Recently a Clinic has been established at Delhi by Mr. U. S. Gheba. There are proposals at present to start two other Mental Clinics in Calcutta, one of which will devote itself solely to Child guidance, and will be organized by the Marriage Welfare and Child Guidance Association, Calcutta. The other will be run by the National Medical Institute and will form a part of the Chittaranjan Hospital. There are a number of qualified psycho-analysts in Calcutta and it is possible for a guardian to have his Problem child psychologically treated, if a need for this arises.

It has been proved beyond doubt by the researches of modern psychology that the future happiness of the child is essentially determined by the way in which he is brought up in his early years. Child-rearing in the past has considerably suffered from ignorance and bias. Expert advice may help happy and successful adjustment, if it is sought for before the trouble in child's behaviour is very far advanced. Child Guidance is a technical service of great practical importance to the society and its future welfare.

VIENNA'S SHARE IN THE RESEARCH OF INDIAN ART

By FRAU H. FULOP-MILLER

THE beginning of serious work of investigation in Vienna, both of Asiatic Art as a whole and of Indian Art in particular is connected with the name of Joseph Strzygowski. He was the first man who systematically extended the principle of comparative history of art (which before his time was restricted to the European Art) to the Asiatic countries. While, in former times, we were accustomed, to measure the works of art of the Western Asiatic countries, of India and the Far East by a scale generally used for European Art, by and by we got convinced that we should better understand the real quality of all these cultures and try to know them by their own premises. In this way it was necessary to find out the exact standpoint for the old Indian culture and the monuments of architecture, sculpture and painting and to make the history of Indian Art an equivalent part of the general history of Art. This was the aim which Strzygowski pursued at the University of Vienna where he occupied the Chair of History of Art, since 1909. In his institute for History of Art, which existed till 1933, besides European students, students from India were to be found. Strzygowski himself did not publish special works on Indian Art, although he treated it extensively in his lectures. But in his fundamental book *The Art of Asia* (1930) he has drawn a comprehensive picture of Indian Art.

Some of Strzygowski's pupils have, occasionally or continually, devoted themselves to the investigation of Indian Art. In 1926 Ernst Diez in the *Manual of the History of Art* published the volume on India. Karl With produced in his publication about Java (1920) an intensive study of Indian sculpture. A. Salmony wrote about plastic art in Siam (1925). Last but not least, Stella Kramrisch is to be mentioned, who, for many years, has been lecturing as a Professor of History of Art at the University of Calcutta, having devoted her life to the investigation of Indian Art. It is impossible to enumerate her publications, important as they all are. Her book about Indian sculpture (1933) will always be a standard work; her latest publication is a detailed account of the painting in the Deccan. In Springer's *Manual of the History of Art* she wrote the part dealing with Indian Art (1929). Besides, she is editing

the excellent *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Vol. I, 1933) in collaboration with Abanindranath Tagore.

In Vienna the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art and Culture was founded in 1925 by the students of Strzygowski. In lectures held by Austrian and foreign scholars and in essays, published in the *Year Book*, problems of Indian Art are treated. Also in an exhibition of "Asiatic Art in Private Possession in Vienna" specimens of Indian Art are shown to the public. Besides, the interest for Indian Art in Vienna as elsewhere is created by and based upon works of Art which are in the possession of the Museums. It is worth mentioning, that there exists in Vienna a great number of interesting Indian miniatures since the 18th century. They are preserved in that well-known room in the Castle of Schonbrunn, which by its wooden casing is called Feketin-room, or Room of the Million. The walls of the room were, in the second half of the 18th century under the reign of Maria Theresa, covered with rose-wood in such a way that the fine Rococo-ornaments of the wainscot formed single frames for the inlaid pictures. There are a great number of Indian miniatures of the 16th to 18th century, works of the court-painters of the time of the great Moghuls. These paintings, probably presented in whole collections to the Imperial Court of Vienna, were cut apart and put together again into new units, as we find them at present. These miniatures have been edited in a splendid publication by Heinrich Glueck (1923). The same author wrote a similar work about the miniatures of the History of Emir Hamza, which are preserved in the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, containing sixty large folios, which form an unparalleled specimen of Indo-Islamic painting under the Emperors Humayun and Akbar. These two collections of miniatures—in the Castle of Schonbrunn and in the Austrian Museum—suggested Joseph Strzygowski's book on Asiatic miniatures. This book also contains contributions by H. Glueck and Stella Kramrisch, also one by E. Wellesz, whose earlier work about the Art of Gandhara (1924) should be mentioned apart.

Of earlier Indian Art there is not very much

to be found in the Museums of Vienna : but there are, as in the Museum of Ethnology, fine and very rare specimens of Indian sculpture, especially one of Java, which, however are not yet arranged according to their importance they deserve. The Museum of Ethnology possesses a notable collection of Java bronzes, on which R. Heine-Geldern has written a little book (1925). But also in the Austrian provinces works of Indian Art are occasionally found, as for instance the Buddha-head of the Boro-Budur, which was last year discovered in the Museum at Linz (Upper-Austria).

At present the research on Indian Art and Ethnology has its active centre in the person of Robert Heine-Geldern, Professor at the University of Vienna. His publications first of all concern subjects of Ethnology, especially of Indian and South-Eastern Asia. But his enquiries brought forth, in the last decade, many results of great importance for the History of

Art. In connection with Ethnography and Pre-history many problems were raised, the treatment of which has already brought about valuable explanations of the origin and the nature of Indian Art. Especially in a great work about the Megalithic Cultures, followed by a detailed investigation into the pre-historic fundamentals of Indian Art, Heine-Geldern found new methods for the treatment of problems of the History of Art. The grand temple-buildings of Indo-China and Java, the relation of which to these cultures the author was able to make evident, form the subject of another important publication. It may be said that here a promising path has been taken, which in the next few years, will prove successful by showing valuable results. In R. Heine-Geldern's work a certain method and aim has been developed which has brought Vienna to the forefront in the sphere of investigation into Indian Art.

SAHEBJI MAHARAJ SIR ANAND SWARUP

By B. CHATTERJI, M.A., LL.B., *Hoshangabad*

FROM a telegraph operator to a great spiritual and industrial leader—that has been the life of Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup.

About nine years ago the writer had to visit Dayalbagh on professional work. Sir Sahebji was then plain Sahebji Maharaj, the head of a growing colony of devoted followers—all men of culture. It was a new experiment that was going on six miles from Agra City on the banks of the Jumna where only the Jhau (casuarina) tree thrives. A beautiful array of well-built cottages, some single-storied and some double-storied, lined the equally well-laid array of roads and streets which traversed the length and breadth of the colony. The central block was the hub of the colony. It is known as the Radhaswami Educational Institute building. It located the offices, the library and the museum. Guests from all over India are lodged in its big halls during the annual Bhandaras* or festival time. Hundreds of people from different parts of India visit Dayalbagh twice a year to sit at the feet of the Guru and to listen to his sapient words. Though the Satsang (Divine

service) is held morning and evening every day, it is a great experience to be present at one of the morning services during one of the annual festivals. It reminded me of the great morning services held in the Sadharan Brahma Samaj Hall in Calcutta during the *Maghotsab* celebrations over which the late Pundit Siva Nath Shastri used to preside. I told the Sahebji Maharaj so, but he told me that their faith was different from that of the Brahma Samaj. It may be so. I do not enter into polemics. But the spirit of the service, the devotion of the worshippers, the whole atmosphere was reminiscent of the Brahma prayer meetings.

How the whole show at Dayalbagh (the Garden of the Merciful) strikes a European observer, will be apparent from the following extract from a chapter named "Modern Utopia" in Major Yeats-Brown's book *Lancer At Large* (Gollancz Ltd.). Says the author :

"However, we have come to Agra to pay a visit to a colony of work-a-day mystics. There is a mystic about the Ford factories at Detroit, about the Hormons in Salt Lake city, the Doukhobors at Nelson B. C. (who have moved since I was last in Canada) and about the Russian factories which I have visited in Moscow, Nijni Novgorod and Stalingrad, but Dayalbagh surpasses them

* There are four such every year, but the largest gatherings are witnessed during Easter and Christmas.

all in versatility and in its ability to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup, the spiritual and temporal ruler of the colony, is a pioneer the like of whom the world has not yet seen."

Yet another observer, Paul Brunton, says about the Guru :

"Sahebji Maharaj reveals an uncompromising resourcefulness in the way he disposes of everything which



Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup

comes up. He adopts a chatty, witty tone, is never at a loss for an answer to the subtlest query and delivers quick confident opinions upon the most varied spiritual and material problems. His entire attitude betokens an unusual and successful reconciliation of self-confidence with quiet humility. He shows that he possesses an engaging sense of humour, which crops up again and again in merry remarks.

"My mind is carrying away a picture of a notable man whom I greatly like and profoundly admire, for he is at once an inspired dreamer, a serenely-minded *yogi*, a practical man of the world and a polished gentleman."

"I realise anew the curious paradox which his character presents. Master of over one hundred thousand people who practise a mysterious form of yoga; prime organiser of the multifarious activities which seethe around me in Dayalbagh; taken all in all I write him down as a brilliant and breath-taking man. Nowhere in India, nowhere in the world, may I expect to meet his like again."

Speaking of the growth of the Dayalbagh colony Major Yeats-Brown observes :

"From small beginnings Dayalbagh has developed into a garden city of four square miles in extent, housing

3,500 community members, and employing another 2,000 workers in forty-two industries. The exports of its farms and factories have doubled themselves in the last seven years and now amount to £60,000 a year. Its products are known throughout India and there is hardly a town where there are not members of the faith. The total number of Radhaswamis is over 150,000 grouped in 350 branches.

"The 'Model Industries' in Dayalbagh on which £60,000 have been spent turn out goods to the value of £37,000 a year : they have depots in seven cities and ninety agencies. Motor parts, dynamos, electric fans, stoves, clocks, heaters, gramophones, laboratory balances and weights, biology models and surgical instruments, fountain pens, knives, nibs, inks, buttons, toys, woollen goods, socks, stockings, vests, shoes and all kinds of leather goods are made. This list might be greatly extended. Sir Anand tells me that he is thinking of taking up the manufacture of cheap radio sets as soon as his workshops have breathing space. All this has been achieved in twenty-three years. All departments are managed by Indians."

The writer proceeds :

"My amazement grew as I walked around factory after factory, saw the dairy, the farms, the new canal from the Jumna, talked to the students in their hostels. I thought : India is the foster-mother of most of the faiths in the world and this rural industrial religious life of the Radhaswamis as seems, as far as I can see, to knock out western experiments along the same lines into a cocked-hat. Is it perhaps the forerunner of a new civilization?"

The writer concludes :

"Given a hundred Sir Anand Swarups, how quickly India might become a smiling land, clean, gay, prosperous, dustless (such as the whole of Dayalbagh appears to be) and at peace within her borders!"

Sir Anand Swarup had not his like in the whole of India. When I visited Dayalbagh and saw him, I thought of the Negro patriot who had founded the Tuskegee Institute for the elevation of his race. If you could by some process weld together the spirituality of Tagore and the industrial genius of Sir R. N. Mukerji, you might be able to produce another Sir Anand Swarup. But for the present, India has lost a son who cannot be replaced for some time. But as Sir Anand himself used to say, "We believe that a leader will always be found for our community, since we seek God's guidance in everything."

Sir Anand Swarup was a great nationalist, but he did not agree with Mahatma Gandhi in all the details of his politics.

He would not, for instance, accept the cult of the spinning wheel, being a great believer in the industrial regeneration of India. He did not believe in non-cooperation with the English.

India mourns the loss of one of her greatest sons of the present century. May his soul attain the bliss for which he worked all his life!

WINTER IN BADGASTEIN

By E. SCHENKL

THE train leaves Salzburg at about 1 p.m. and wends its way southwards. Looking back one can see the castle of Salzburg saying farewell from the distance. It takes only a few minutes before the train reaches a narrow valley. The railway lines, a road and the river, nothing more finds room in this valley that is deep cut in the midst of gigantic mountains soaring high on either side. On and on the mountain railway goes and one can easily notice the change in temperature. It gets colder. The summits of the mountains at a distance begin to appear with a touch of snow.

Schwarzach St. Veit is reached, where one must usually change for Badgastein unless it is a through train. In half an hour's time the train will get there (Badgastein) up till Schwarzach St. Veit the train runs on the same level with the road but now it begins to climb, leaving the river and road down below in the valley. Near Hofgastein the valley broadens out. From the train the village looks like a picture drawn on a flat background or perhaps like a toy village in a box. The next station after Hofgastein is Badgastein which is reached at 3 p.m.

On leaving the train, fresh cold mountain air fills the lungs and one takes a deep breath.

Badgastein has been a health resort for centuries. In 1936 it celebrated the 500th anniversary. In ancient times people came there to find relief for their ailments through the hot springs. Today we know that the healing factor in this water is radio-activity and doctors prescribe the use of the water for various illnesses, like rheumatism, gall-bladder trouble, stomach trouble and general weakness and debility. The treatment consists of two kinds—namely, bathing or drinking, bathing being more important. In summer the place is crowded—people from all parts of the world are coming to find relief but it is also a rendezvous for the fashionable people, like actors, sportsmen, artists, writers and the like. The municipality of Badgastein has naturally provided for all their needs—big hotels, restaurants, cafes, concerts, cinemas and all the paraphernalia of modern civilization which people will not miss even when coming from the noisy towns. But this season

does not last long—a few months and the village sinks back into its winter-sleep.

Coming here in December, one finds a different place and certainly a nicer one.

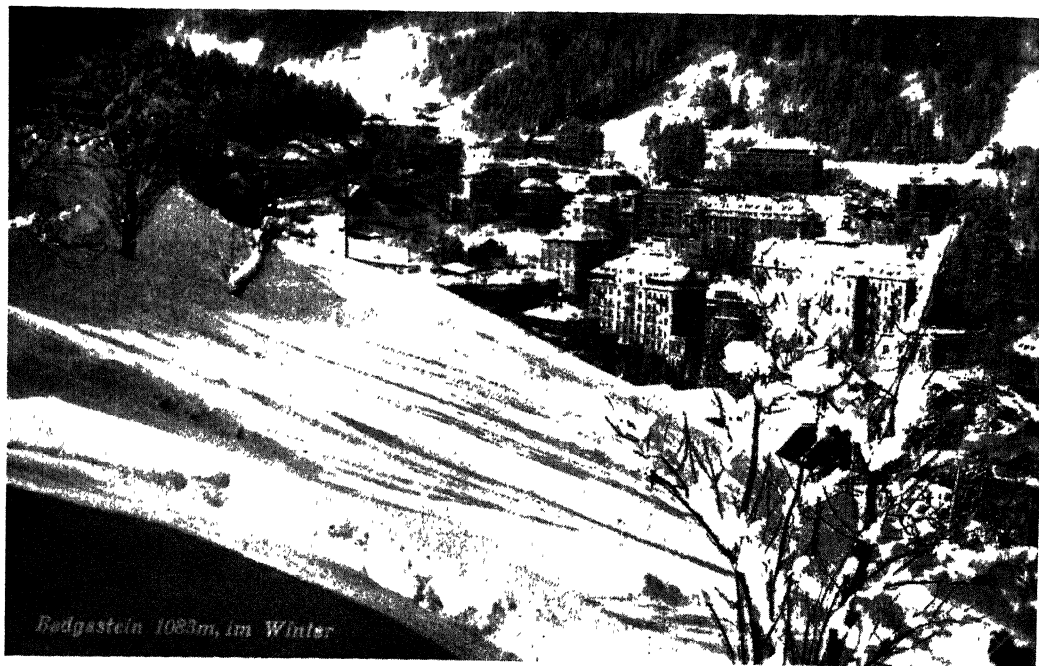


The famous waterfall of Badgastein which has a drop of 600 feet

Quietness everywhere. Snow covers the roofs, the trees, the streets like a white, soft mantle. The silent range of the snowy mountains with its hoary peaks looks down upon Badgastein.

The town itself, or rather village, is built on three terraces about 3500 feet above the sea-level. Right in the centre roars down the gigantic waterfall in three cascades. A grand view indeed! Dark fir trees on the slopes of the mountains help to make a harmony of white and green.

But also in winter people come to visit Badgastein. Only, they are the more quiet types of mankind, those who want to enjoy nature and quietness. The place is also famous



Badgastein in winter

for winter-sports and in the morning one can see these people go out with their skis. The fashionable folks are of course not there and the big hotels are all closed, giving the place a weird appearance. But prices are generally cheaper and even baths cost less. If one would like to combine treatment with work or rest or sports then winter is the proper season in Badgastein. There are no distractions of the kind that one finds in the big cities in Europe but there are plenty of these distractions in Badgastein in summer. No, I would not go to Badgastein in summer for anything, though it may be the fashion to do so.

Further, in winter the climate is at its best. The air is fresh and pure. Snow may be lying thick all round but it is a dry cold which does not depress like a London fog. It exhilarates because the sky is blue and a warm sunshine smiles on a silvery landscape. It is this combination of sun and snow which has a maddening effect on me and lures me as no city entertainments could.

In the matter of walks, Badgastein has much to offer. Aged folks can walk for miles on the same level along the river bank and enjoy the babbling music of the river. Youthful individuals go up the mountains along hilly paths in

search of adventure. And between these two extremes, one can enjoy a longish walk down to the neighbouring town of Hofgastein and walk back again. There is also a regular bus service between these two places.

From Badgastein one can continue the journey in the mountain railway southwards. Passing Bockstein and Mallnitz one comes to Villach, an important junction on the Vienna-Rome line. But at Villach the snow begins to thin off. From Villach a half hour's journey brings you to the Austro-Italian frontier town of Tarvisio. And from Tarvisio the line goes down straight to Venice.

Apart from the bracing climate, Badgastein has hot mineral springs which used for bathing (or for drinking) serve as a natural tonic. These waters are the most highly radioactive in the world—that is why people come from all over the world. The usual course of treatment consists of twenty-one baths—with proper intervals in between. There are crowds of men and women who come every year and spend six weeks or a couple of months in Badgastein and go back entirely refreshed so that they may carry on for another twelve months with full energy and vigour. Why do not Indians try this health-resort also?

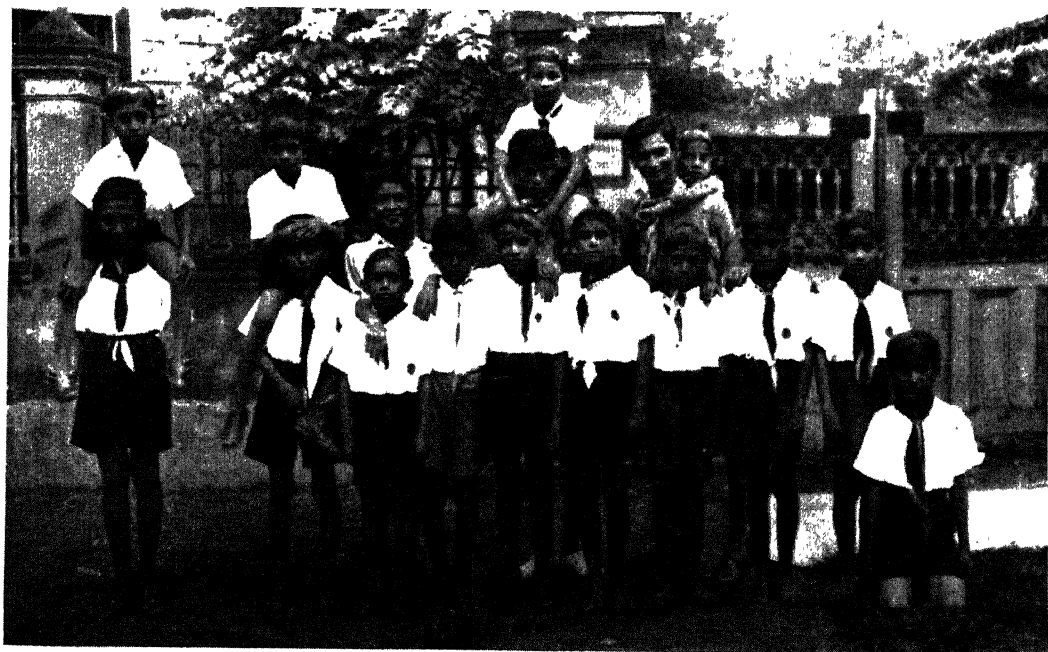
ALL INDIA SEVA SAMITI SCOUT MELA

By AMIYA ROY CHOUDHURY

THE Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association celebrated its ninth annual mela at Calcutta at Eastern park, Park Circus, the famous venue of 1928 session of All India Congress, during the period 26th to 30th December, 1937.

Organization of Shantiniketan were also represented in this pilgrimage of brotherhood.

It won't be out of place here to write a few lines about the origin and growth of the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association. Scouting



The writer with a jolly group of Calcutta Wolf Cubs

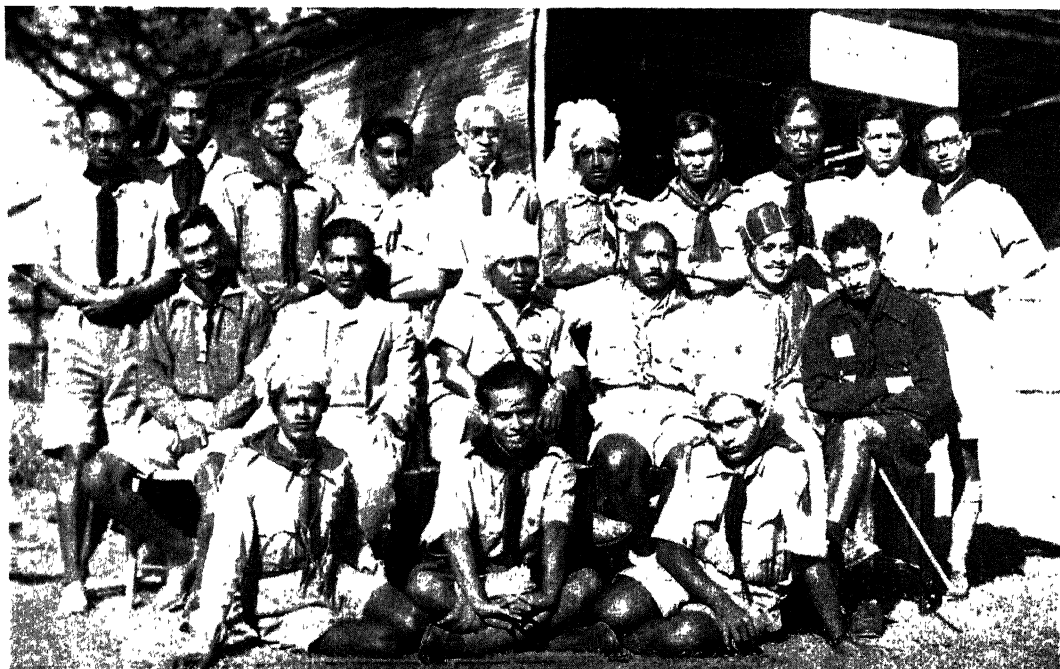
About five thousand Scouts from every nook and corner of India came to share a common life in open air at this vast encampment of fraternity.

"Mela" is the Indian term for Jamboree and is held every year to stimulate fellowship and goodwill amongst the youth of the country. This "mela" was more than an educational experience and was an actual demonstration of the practice of Scout law and promise, of patriotism and citizenship and more than that of universal brotherhood, and lastly of training, discipline and innate character.

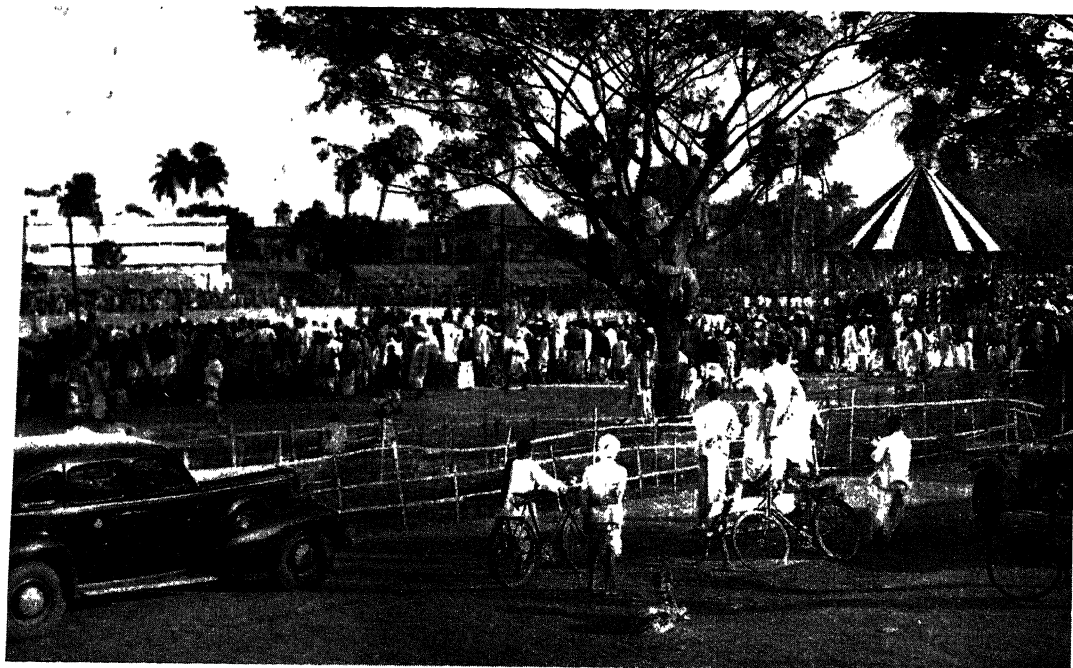
The Baden Powell Boy Scouts Association, National Scout Association, Brati Balak

though introduced in India as early as 1911, was not meant for Indians. Realizing the need of scouting for Indian boys, people like the late Mrs. Annie Besant and Dr. G. S. Arundale started the Indian Boy Scouts Association in 1917 in South India. In Northern India Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Pandit Shree Ram Bajpai started the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association in 1918.

In 1921 Lord Baden Powell, the Chief Scout of the world visited India and extended affiliation to all the existing Scout Associations in India, under certain conditions, which though accepted by many, did not satisfy a section of



Group of Mela workers. Standing fifth from left Pandit Shree Ram Bajpai



A general view of the huge crowd that assembled to witness the demonstrations of Scoutcraft at the Mela

the early pioneers of scouting in India. Several States Scout Associations and the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association preferred to remain outside and to carry on on strictly national lines.



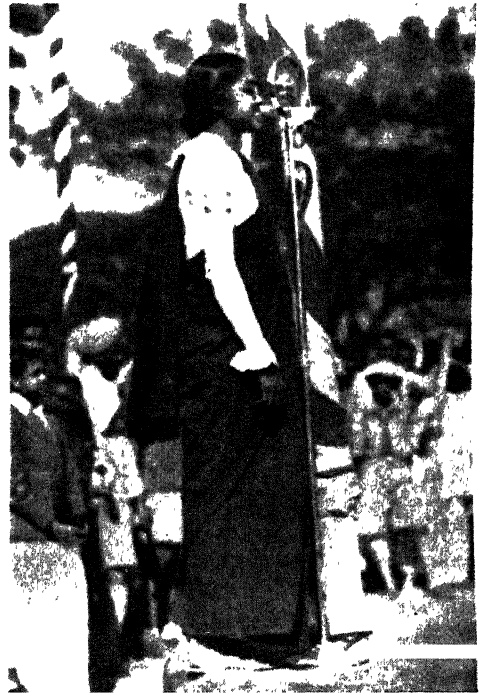
Prof. P. Sheshadri awarding trophy to a Girl Guide

The intrinsic worth of Seva Samity was realized and it spread out to all corners of India with tremendous rapidity and in 1922 U. P Government recognised it and Seva Samity Scouting was officially recommended in schools by the Education Department. The Seva Samity Scouts Association has a girl-guides section also.

The recent agitation due to the alleged criticism by Lord Baden Powell of Indian character and honour has resulted in the awakening of "national prestige" in Scouting and the consequent stimulus of Seva Samity Scouting.

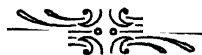
As Pandit Raghunath Misra, President, Puri Congress Committee, has stated after his five days camp life in the Mela, that "Scouting is

one of the best ways of unifying the youth of the country and engaging them profitably at the service of the motherland" and as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru trusts, that "they will grow up as soldiers of India's freedom," Mr G. S. Arundale has rightly stated that "the Seva Samity movement has done immense social service to our country. It has helped to create in our youngmen and women noble feelings of self sacrifice and service for others and I pray that this useful organisation may gather more and more strength every day". The Mayor of Calcutta in his address during the opening ceremony also emphasized the need of a national



Miss R. Majumdar, Organizing Commissioner for Girl Guides, addressing the General Conference

Scout organization like the Seva Samity and appealed to the elite and intelligentsia of the country to adopt Seva Samity Scouting as a supplementary and corrective of bookish education.



RELIGION AND MORALITY AS THE BASES OF SOCIETY*

By PROF. UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

I

THE existing social order in most, if not all, countries of the world, is still based on religion; and morality is perhaps still the steel-frame upon which the structure of society is built. Social institutions are moral institutions. And man's rights, and duties and responsibilities centre round these institutions. Man is a moral agent because he is a social being and he is a social being, because he is moral. And if society is founded upon morality, morality in its turn has its foundation in religion. Religion thus is the deep fountain-head of all our strivings and aspirations—in fact, of all our life's endeavour.

Stability of social order depends,—at any rate, it has so long depended—on religious beliefs. Man can be reconciled to social inequalities, only if he believes in a moral order and a divine administration. Caste in India, for instance, in spite of its apparent hardships as a part of social structure, was acquiesced in, because there was a religious sanction behind it. The inequalities of birth and wealth were submitted to because of man's belief in a previous birth and the fruits of *Karma*. Even without a belief in a previous birth, in all countries there was the general belief in divine dispensation and society was what it was because God wished it so. And His wishes were expressed in the moral law. Social order is thus a moral and spiritual order.

This belief still finds acceptance in many quarters. Many of us still think that human society would not last if moral ideas were banished and religious beliefs were abolished. But we live in a time when this proposition can no longer be affirmed without fear of contradiction. The very facts of man's social life—the inequalities between man and man, the difference in power and opportunities—the difference between what they in economics call the 'haves' and 'have-nots'—are tending to undermine man's religious belief. The ideas of justice and retribution have undergone changes and these facts of difference between man and

man are cited as evidence of inequity and injustice of the existing social order, and the continuance of a wrong once perpetrated by one section of the population upon another. There is a growing tendency to alter these facts and therefrom alter the spiritual theories with which these facts were supported, *viz.* Religion.

In economico-political theories of social reconstruction we hear the cry against vested interests. And religion is always suspected to be an ally of vested interests. Of course, this does not apply to the religious emotion of the individual—to religion in the abstract,—but to organized religion,—or, what is the same thing,—to the institution of the Church, or, where an actual church does not exist, to the organized theological creed—the dogmas. This attitude of hostility towards religion is not new to our age. In two great countries of the world, during a period of a tremendous upheaval, religion has been condemned as the most impregnable fortress of reactionary forces by those who constituted themselves the vanguard of progress. During the Revolution in France at the end of the 18th century and also during its more recent counterpart in Russia at the beginning of the 20th, religion was found opposed to the improvement of the lot of the masses for whose souls it professed so much concern. During both these great events of history, two things that were most violently attacked were property and religion. Aristocracy of birth also suffered, but that was chiefly because it owned property.

This tendency has not died out with the success of the Russian Revolution. Even in Turkey of today, the home of the old Caliphate, a recent traveller has discovered that 'Allah has been dethroned'. In Nazi Germany, if recent newspaper reports are to be credited, the relation between the Government and the Church is far from happy. And in Fascist Italy, too, some time ago between the Vatican and the Secular Government the relations were strained to a breaking point.

That religion is a conservative tendency in society cannot be denied. That it is opposed to any kind of innovation even though such innovation may be manifestly for the better, is

* Presidential Address at the Section of Ethics and Social Philosophy, Indian Philosophical Congress, Nagpur, December, 1937.

also not untrue. Nearer home those of us who are engaged in the struggle for political betterment of their country know well enough how the cry of 'religion in danger' often procures an unholy alliance of men and parties and thwarts progress.

In the world today, in more countries than one, social progress is synonymous with economic welfare and political power. A society is considered progressive if political power in it lies in the hands of a majority and if economic poverty is reduced to a minimum. Even in countries more or less free from the influence of Marxian economics, this is the usual idea of progress. In countries dominated by Marx's theories—in a country like Russia, for instance, "dialectic materialism" is the creed of progressive thinkers. In any case, the leading tendency among political and economical thinkers of the day is to dissociate religion from social progress.

It is not for its alleged opposition to social and political progress only that religion has been condemned. It has been attacked on other grounds, too. We have an excellent summary of the modern challenge to religion in Sir S. Radhakrishnan's book *An Idealist View of Life*. Religion today is being attacked on all fronts. By the new psychologies—especially psycho-analysis—religion is being exposed as at best an 'unhealthy' condition of the mind. By science it is being shown to be founded on unproved premises. And by socio-political reformers it is being attacked as the last citadel of reactionary conservatism.

The antagonism between science and religion is an old anecdote. But during the last century attempts at reconciliation have been made chiefly through the mediation of philosophy. The result perhaps has not been quite happy. Philosophy by this gratuitous act of mediation has often incurred the displeasure of both science as well as religion. Both look upon it as meddling and needlessly interfering in other peoples' business. And the result is that with all this, science and religion are still at loggerheads.

The attempt at reconciliation between the two, was further implemented by the advent of natural theology, which threw revelation into the background and depended mainly on the labours of science for its belief in God and its knowledge of divine nature.

But in spite of its proffered friendship for science-religion is faring little better in the hands of science than before. An offshoot of philosophy's alliance with science has been the new psychologies. And psychology today professes

to probe deep into the mysteries of religious consciousness and thinks it has found out the sources of man's religious life. Religion is after all a kind of neurosis—a kind of physical unhealth.

Religion is dependent on a view of man's place in the cosmos and his destiny which science has seldom condescended to support. When science is interpreted by philosophy, the facts of science seem to yield better results; for instance, the facts of biological and cosmic evolution have been supposed by philosophy to prove the existence of a Designer behind the world-process. But left to itself, science would not accept the conclusions of which philosophy is so fond.

Philosophers generally believe that there is a purpose behind the world-processes and that that purpose may even be traced in the general scheme of things. The vast inorganic world is adapted to the appearance of life on earth—and life came on earth in order that man might appear on the scene; and in man we find a further unfolding of the scheme;—from mind we pass to morality and morality is destined to lead to a fuller spiritual life. Religion is founded on some such world-view and on a belief in a world beyond this. But this world-view is challenged by science. Science is not inclined to see purpose where religion thinks there is one. And the scheme of things is interpreted by science in a way which may fill the mind with wonder, yet does not always lead to a belief in God.

Astronomers, who claim to be more conversant with the vastness of the universe than philosophers, are inclined to think that, although life and mind and morality have actually appeared on the stage of the earth; it cannot be said that the universe happened to exist *in order that* life might come and life did not happen to begin in order that mind might come and so on. That is to say, according to astronomy, the teleological interpretation of the universe is not borne out by facts. The universe was not intended to be only a means to an end and that end was never intended to be man's spiritual life.

Sir James Jeans in his book *The Mysterious Universe* compares the vastness of the universe with the earth.

"The total number of stars in the universe is probably something like the total number of grains of sand on all the sea-shores of the world" (p. 1).

And the majority of them are at such great distance from the earth that light from them takes 50 million years to reach us and light travels at the rate of 1,86,000 miles per second.

And some of these stars are so large that hundreds of thousands of earths could be packed inside each and leave room to spare! Compared to the vastness of space, and to the total mass of the universe, the earth we inhabit is absolutely insignificant. Was this vast universe designed to produce life and life only on this insignificant earth? For,

"Life of the kind we know on earth could only originate on planets like the earth" (p. 4). "It seems incredible that the universe can have been designed primarily to produce life like our own; had it been so, surely we might have expected to find a better proportion between the magnitude of the mechanism and the amount of the product. At first glance at least, life seems to be an utterly unimportant by-product; we living things are somehow off the main line."

It was an accident that life came upon the earth and an accident may again sweep it off into nothingness.

What is true of life, must be more true of morality and spirituality. For these things we come across only as we ascend the scale of life.

The proposition implied here is that life was no doubt *caused* by the world-process at a particular point of time in a particular portion of space, but it was not the *end* for which the rest of the universe came into being. Of course, the controversy between causality and finality is still alive. Science wants to explain the universe according to the principle of causality—or, what is the same thing, it explains the present by the past, what is by what has gone before; whereas philosophy and theology tends to explain things according to finality,—the present by the future, or what it will lead to. And we have yet to decide which is the right view. Until thought is definitely in favour of the doctrine of finality, religion cannot regard itself as out of danger.

Religion is thus considered an unwanted, hostile element both by science as well as social philosophy. Perhaps religion is here being made to pay for the past. Since the execution of Socrates till the time of Kant and Fichte, the champions and pioneers of thought have often been oppressed and persecuted by the custodians of traditional religion. And the tendency of religion to dominate thought and activity is not dead even now. No wonder, therefore, that free thought and progressive activity smells in it a perennial enemy. Will religion survive this attack?

Idealism of course thinks that no substitute for religion can be found. Says Sir S. Radhakrishnan :

"The different attempts to accommodate God to the needs of the modern mind are not quite successful in their ambition. Their one lesson is that, notwithstanding

the transformation of life, the shifting of moral values and the pre-occupations of the times, the primal craving for the eternal and the abiding remains inextinguishable. Unbelief is impossible. Along with a deep discontent with the standard forms of religion there is a growing seriousness about it. The forms are dissolving but the needs persist."¹

That the standard forms of religion are dissolving is an admitted fact. But whether the needs of a religion are felt by all is not equally certain. Statistics collected some time ago by an American writer shewed that among educated people the percentage of those who believed in God and in immortality and allied ideas of religion was rather small. And in the post-war literature of Europe the challenge to religion is more marked than before. One recent writer calls it an intellectual crime to say what we do not know and hastens to add that God is such an unknown entity. God is not known, and it is an intellectual crime to make any statement about Him.²

In India, relics of mediaevalism are perhaps still there. Both within Hinduism as well as outside there has been what some are pleased to call a religious revival but what at best is religion untouched by science and unimproved by philosophy. There has grown a stupendous literature in English and in the vernaculars describing the lives and doings of Saints and *Avatars*. Almost every other district has a messiah and a multitude dogging his steps. At best this is rank mediaevalism and cannot last long. Social and political workers know to their cost how such recrudescence of faith in old forms retard what many of us call progress. In the world of today, nowhere outside India perhaps, do we find grouping of men on religious basis alone. In India, even political parties are formed with religious profession as the only cementing force. Outside India, nationality is independent of religious persuasion. No nation is formed on the basis of religion and no political party is formed on the same principle. Even in the unchanging east, even in immobile China, recent times have seen a Christian leading the country to freedom and Mahomedans holding important positions in the State,—and this in spite of the fact that China is pre-eminently a Buddhist country.

If the Christian countries of Europe and America could combine on the grounds of a common religion, white domination of the world would have been a settled fact. Nations of Europe are not one politically, even though they are all Christians. Being a Hindu or a

1. *An Idealist View, of Life*, p. 82.
2. Janet Chance : *Intellectual Crime*.

Christian is not an agreement in essentials but in the form of religious worship and observance. This is much less fundamental than many other things of our life. Hence a grouping of men on this ground alone obviously implies a mediaevalism, against which progressive political thinkers have a right to raise their voice.

We could speak of a 'growing seriousness' about religion only if it were the fact that these forms were found dissolving. But the contrary is the case here. The forms are being tightened. And to the extent they are being emphasised, the essence of religion, one feels inclined to think, is being stifled out of existence. Seriousness about religion does not grow *in spite* of the dissolution of the standard forms: but it is rather the dissolution of the forms that makes a seriousness about religion possible. So long as man concentrates attention on the form, the content escapes.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan says :

"The philosophical fashions of naturalism, atheism, agnosticism, scepticism, humanism and authoritarianism are obvious and easy, but they do not show an adequate appreciation of the natural profundity of the human soul."³

But neither is an adequate appreciation of the profundity of the human soul shown by the stubborn resistance to all innovations that established religions always offer. And the mushroom growth of religious institutions and the appearance of prophets and saviours like the prophet's Gourd, is not a sign of health in any society. Can we really say that the world of stars and planets—from the milky way to the solar system—will dwindle into a chaotic mass of aimlessly moving electrons and protons, once we give up our belief in the prophethood of X or the messiahship of Y; and that they will at once acquire a new significance as soon as such belief is restored? Yet religion for most men mean nothing more than this.

As against the mediaevalism of some countries especially those of the East, there is progressive movement in others. Any one who observes the array of forces against religion today cannot but think that the old forms of religion are bound to disappear. And perhaps they ought to disappear. In most cases, the forms have been more important,—more obtrusive than the matter. And the forms have, therefore, to go. But that does not mean that we shall be left with a blank in its place. Civilization must needs have a religion. But it must be the religion of philosophy, the religion of reason, the religion that takes account of the

changed conditions of our life, the religion that is shorn of its dilapidated forms, and the religion that will not be a clog to the wheel of progress.

The mind that looks behind but not before is a stagnant mind. And a religion that takes its cue from the dead past and cannot adapt itself to the present and shape itself according to the future, is approaching death. Science 1300 years old is not science today. Can religion of antiquity be so? Religion formulated centuries ago, must allow itself to be remodelled or it must be extinct. We must remember that stabilisation of belief is stagnation of intellect. A religion also like other social institutions must be judged morally. And if so judged, will not many of the existing forms of religion be found wanting? Can we support morally all that is practised everywhere in the name of religion?

Of course, we are discussing here religion as a social institution. This institution is based on an ideology which is admittedly undergoing rapid transformation. As the individuals' convictions about it are altered, its form must either be adapted to new ideas or be no more. Most of the old forms of religion have been shorn of their value; and men must find satisfaction of their spiritual needs in religion which philosophy alone can provide. To quote Sir Sarvapalli again :

"It is the function of philosophy to provide us with a spiritual rallying centre, a synoptic vision, as Plato loved to call it. A samanyava as the Hindu thinkers put it, a philosophy which will serve as a spiritual concordat, which will free the spirit of religion from the disintegrations of doubt and make the warfare of creeds and sects a thing of the past."⁴

Yes, the warfare of the creeds and sects must be a thing of the past!

A modern war is not a war of religion. It is neither a crusade nor a *jihad*; but a clash of economic and political ambitions. Yet, a warfare of religious creeds and sects is not altogether a thing of the past. There are still countries and communities for which the old forms of religion have supreme value and which are yet prepared to fight for their continuance. In such countries and with such communities a religious war is not yet a thing of the past. The spectacle of men fighting each other for the sake of religious observances and customs which to the philosophers have no special significance, may yet be seen. But if philosophy functions properly, it ought to be a thing of the past.

Philosophy must instil courage into the mind of humanity to shake off the obsession of the fossilized past—and not to feel forlorn when

3. *Ibid*, page 82.

4. *Ibid*, page 83.

it sees the dilapidated relics of antiquity swept away by the hurricane of time.

But when this happens, what of the existing religions will be left to mankind? The customs associated with religion—however deep the allegory behind them may be—are unessential. The slaughter of one animal rather than another—a fast on the tenth day of the moon rather than on the twelfth—sabbath on the first day of the week rather than on the last—does not imply more of religion. If religion is ever rationalized these accretions must cease to have

any importance. In rational religion, not only will the beliefs be adjusted to science, but the acts also will be harmonised with social and political welfare and peace and progress.

A picture of the future religion of mankind cannot be drawn except perhaps negatively. We can definitely say that the observances over which religious sects quarrel with each other, must not be there. And if a religion cannot exist without some form or other, it will have such rites and observances which are not offensive to others or to good taste and decency.

RELATIVE READINESS OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS TO DEFEND INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

SOME Muhammadan politicians claim that their weightage (*i.e.*, over-representation) in the various legislatures is justified by the fact that in the Indian Army the proportion of Muhammadans is greater than their population quota. The Hindus retort that recruits are not taken in the Indian Army from so-called non-martial races (mainly Hindus) for political reasons. Just as the British Imperialist have given weightage to them in the Councils and Assemblies, so they have preferred them in the Army.

A measure of the relative readiness of the Hindus and the Muhammadans to shoulder the responsibilities of defence can be estimated from the respective number of candidates (*i.e.*, those who in their own opinion are fit for the posts) for entry to the Indian Military Academy who presented themselves before the Interview and Record Boards in 1936-37. We give below the relevant statistics :

| Candidates by Communities | Oct.-Nov. 1936 | Mar.-April 1937 | Total |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------|
| Hindus .. | 73 | 39 | 112 |
| Muslims .. | 21 | 15 | 36 |
| Sikhs .. | 24 | 15 | 39 |
| Parsis .. | 3 | Nil | 3 |
| Anglo-Indians .. | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Europeans .. | 2 | Nil | 2 |
| Indian Christian .. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| No Religion .. | Nil | 1 | 1 |
| Buddhist (Burmese) .. | 1 | Nil | 1 |
| | 127 | 72 | 199 |

Thus the Muhammadans furnished less than 18 per cent although on a population basis they should send some 24 per cent candidates.

Now it may be urged by the protagonists of the Muhammadans that perhaps among the so-called non-martial races the Muhammadans form the majority; and as a consequence the Muhammadans supply a less than their 'proportional to general population' quota.

Let us examine the facts, a little more closely. We give in the table below the number of candidates by Provinces and States and calculate what should be their quota.

| Candidates by Provinces and States | Total No. of Candidates | Percentage of Muhammadans in the Provinces | Muhammadans Quota |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Punjab | 88 | 57 | 51 |
| Madras | 7 | 6.7 | 0.5 |
| N.-W. Frontier | 8 | 9.16 | 7 |
| U. P. | 31 | 14 | 4 |
| Bengal | 5 | 55 | 2.6 |
| Bombay | 16 | 9 | 1.5 |
| Burma | 7 | 3.8 | .2 |
| C. P. | 5 | 4 | .2 |
| Bihar | 2 | 15 | .3 |
| Sind | 1 | 75 | .75 |
| Delhi | 3 | 29 | 1 |
| Baluchistan | 1 | 88 | 1 |
| Ajmer | 1 | 20 | .2 |
| Coorg | 2 | 8. | .1 |
| States | 22 | 22 | 5. |
| | | | 75.3 |

According to our above calculation there should have been 75 Muhammadan candidates, but actually there were 36 *i.e.*, a number less than half their proper share.

[These facts are taken from the little booklet supplied to the Members of the Council of State.]



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE EVALUATION OF PERMANENT INCAPACITY FOR WORK IN SOCIAL INSURANCE. *Studies and Reports, Series M (Social Insurance), No. 14, x+375 pp. Price: Paper cover, 10s. 6d. \$2.75. International Labour Office (League of Nations), Indian Branch, Delhi.*

The evaluation of permanent incapacity affects the rights of millions of injured and disabled workers. Workmen's compensation and invalidity insurance require for their proper working a suitable definition of the incapacity for which benefit is payable and well-considered methods of evaluation.

The problems which arise in the evaluation of permanent incapacity are both numerous and difficult: they are especially so for countries which are just taking up social insurance.

The Office decided to undertake, in collaboration with its Committee of Experts for Social Insurance, a study of the chief problems involved in the evaluation of permanent incapacity. The work which the International Labour Office has just published sets forth the results of this study. It consists essentially of a comparison, and a critical analysis, of the methods widely used for the evaluation of incapacity in workmen's compensation on the one hand, and in invalidity insurance on the other. It does not purport to be a handy guide to the evaluation of incapacity, nor is it a sort of international schedule, the value of which would necessarily be questionable in view of the diversity of physical types, the different possibilities of rehabilitation, and the unequal duration of life, especially working life, in the various regions of the world.

The publication is of topical interest as several of the Indian provincial governments are now seriously considering the feasibility of introducing social insurance schemes in this country. The present publication makes available to those interested in the complex problems of social insurance a comparison and a critical analysis of the methods used in the leading industrial countries for the evaluation of workmen's incapacity on the one hand, and invalidity insurance on the other.

FINAL REPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS MIXED COMMITTEE ON THE RELATION OF NUTRITION TO HEALTH, AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC POLICY. *League of Nations, Geneva. India: League of Nations (Indian Bureau), Improvement Trust Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay I. The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, 4/4A, Calcutta. 327 pages. Price: 7s. 6d. \$2.00. Ser. L. O. N. P. 1937, II. A. 10.*

The Report is the result of two years' work by an international committee of agricultural, economic and health experts under the auspices of the League. It is concerned for the main part with the economic aspects of nutrition policy and with its relations to agriculture. To complete the picture, a chapter on the physiological side of the problem from the Interim Report of the Committee (The Problem of Nutrition, 4 Vols., 1936) has been included, modified in the light of recent nutrition research.

The Report is divided into three parts. The first part, which has three chapters, gives a general survey of the problem and of the work already carried out. The introductory chapter traces the activities of the Mixed Committee since its inception and of other international bodies working on the problem of nutrition. The second chapter outlines the development of the science of nutrition and indicates the role played by nutrition in the striking improvement in public health and in the increase in population which occurred in the course of the past century. The third chapter summarises the contents and conclusions of the Report and reproduces the recommendations published by the Committee in its Interim Report.

The second part of the Report is devoted exclusively to the health aspect of nutrition. It contains a clear account of the main principles of the "new knowledge of nutrition" as they have been developed by recent research; a description of the nature and functions of the most important vitamins and minerals and of the diseases resulting from their deficiency; an analysis of the nutritive qualities of various foods, and their classification as "energy-bearing" or "protective"; the dietary requirements of particular classes of persons, expectant and nursing mothers, infants, children of pre-school and school age, adolescents, recruits and adults; and a summary of the dietary standards adopted by the Technical Commission of the Health Organization of the League of Nations and of the valuation placed by this Commission on various important foodstuffs.

The third part of the Report contains a more detailed examination of the economic and agricultural considerations connected with nutrition policy. It begins by tracing the main changes which have occurred in food consumption habits during the last few decades and reaches the conclusion that average consumption in most countries of Western civilization has on the whole been tending in the direction of improved nutrition. The second chapter discusses the problem of the adaptation of agriculture to the desired changes in consumption. It is demonstrated that agriculture has shown considerable powers of adaptation in the past, in particular where no obstacles have prevented changes in demand from

expressing themselves through changes in price. It is argued that an extension of the movement towards better nutrition should prove of benefit to national agricultural systems, calling both for an increased production of protective foods—fruit, vegetables and dairy products—and for an increased output of various cereals for fodder.

Chapter III is concerned with the relation of food prices to consumption and shows that the demand for most foodstuffs—particularly for the protective foods—is considerably sensitive to price changes. The effects of price movements on the mutual substitution of various foodstuffs, the significance of seasonal price movements, and the differences in elasticity of demand in various income groups are also discussed. The following chapter considers the main determinants of food prices on the supply side—technique and costs of production, commercial policy, marketing organizations and distribution costs. Particular reference is also made to the contribution of the co-operative movement in reducing retail food prices. The fifth and sixth chapters of Part III are devoted to the roles of income and of nutritional education in influencing consumption habits. The improvements in diet which accompany increased income are demonstrated from the results of family budget studies in various countries. A comparison between the existing distribution of incomes and the costs of minimum nutritionally adequate diets shows that malnutrition of important sections of the population, and particularly of families with many young children, even in such relatively prosperous countries as the United States and the United Kingdom, can be directly traced to the effects of poverty.

The Report concludes with a collection of evidence relating to the present state of nutrition in various parts of the world, demonstrating that in spite of the considerable progress that has taken place in recent decades, the problem is still an urgent one. "The malnutrition which exists in all countries is at once a challenge and an opportunity: a challenge to men's consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods which will increase economic prosperity."

This book is an authoritative and comprehensive study of the broader aspects of the problem of nutrition—a problem of world-wide importance. It is likely to form for years to come the basis of efforts by Governments and by private initiative to improve the nutrition of a very large part of the world's population. The book is eminently one for the general public as well as for the experts in the various fields covered by the study. Its simple style and comprehensive treatment of the subject make it easy to read.

S.

CREATIVE SEX: By E. D. Hutchinson with an introduction by Canon C. E. Raven, D.D., London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, pp. 122. Price 3s. 6d. Size 5 ins. by 7½ ins.

It is a sign of the times that women in increasing numbers are coming forward to discuss sex. This little volume by Mrs. Hutchinson is an effort to harmonize the recent sex movement in the west with Christianity. Although the book is not altogether free from a tinge of mysticism and some amount of vagueness it is on the whole a creditable production and will certainly be appreciated by religiously inclined persons. The author is inclined to believe with the late Dr. Rivers that it is only 'when mental tension arises in the control of instincts and emotional energy is compressed that the best results are attained in artistic and intellectual work.' 'To such fine work the unmarried are called and in it can find satisfaction.' Unfortunately for the author such fine asser-

tions appear to be mere pious wishes in the cold light of statistics.

G. Bose

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY: Vol. III. The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 1790-93, edited by Prof. Nirod Bhushan Ray. (Pp. xlii+694 and one portrait. Rs. 7-4-0.) Vol. IV. Maratha-Nizam Relations, 1792-95, edited by V. G. Dighe. (Pp. xxx+330, two portraits and one map. Rs. 4.) Government Book Depot, Bombay.

We are glad to note that this exceptionally important series of historical records has been enriched by two more volumes. Though edited by two younger scholars, they well maintain the high level of excellence exemplified by the preceding volumes of this series which came out of the hands of veteran historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rai Bahadur Sardesai. Each of these new volumes breaks new ground for the Indian student, as their subjects, *viz.*, the third Mysore War and the campaign of Khanda, had never before been illustrated with such a profusion of original despatches and other contemporary records. Here our vague general knowledge has been replaced by authentic information in the fullest detail.

The Bombay Government and the honorary editors alike deserve our warmest gratitude for making these valuable records available to us. The low price in the case of such admirably printed volumes deserves special recognition, and may well be imitated by certain other provincial Governments, especially that of the Panjab, whose record publications are priced absurdly high.

The introductions, including Sir Jadunath's Foreword to the third volume, unfold in clear outline the main features of the episodes treated, especially the diplomacy of which we here get the clearest inside view for the first time. Justice has been done to Tipu Sultan's military genius and also to Cornwallis's wonderful powers of organization and his unflinching patience and foresight. In fact, Prof. Ray's volume will henceforth be an inseparable companion to Wilks' *Mysore*, the standard authority on the subject. The student must have at his elbow a large atlas of Southern India, because in the case of a war ranging over nearly the whole of our peninsula, no single map can serve his purpose.

Mr. Dighe's volume will be a revelation to Marathi readers even, because the much vaunted Khanda campaign was hitherto known only in its general features, while the military movements and the diplomatic chess-play will all come as new. The excellent map illustrates the campaign most helpfully.

We should like to draw attention to two very valuable sections supplied to these volumes by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, namely, all the extant letters of the Nizam's French general Francois Raymond (in vol. 3) and Sir Charles Malet's most penetrating description and criticism of the Maratha army (or rather armies) that assembled for the fight at Khanda. Full details are available in Vol. IV. of the military organization of Raymond, "which may be compared with that of De Boigne, given in Vol. I" (edited by Sir Jadunath). The materials are thus at last before us for an accurate comparison of the training of Indian troops by the English and the French respectively. It is a subject of enthralling interest.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

HINDI FOLK-SONGS: By A. G. Shirreff, I. C. S., Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 53. Price Re. 1.

Anatole France has rightly said that the works that everybody admires are those that no one examines, for we receive them as a precious burden which we pass

on to others without glancing at them. Of course, I could not do so when I got Mr. A. G. Shirreff's little book. A lover of Indian folk-songs, I read it now and again.

Almost all the 15 songs given here represent, more or less, Eastern Hindi. Mr. Shirreff owes these songs to Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi's Hindi book, *Kavita Kaumudi*, Part V, *Gram Git*. We find Mr. Shirreff retelling the story of Tripathi's love for Hindi folk-songs: a single line of a song, which the village women sang on the railway platform bidding adieu to their husbands who are leaving for Calcutta, was sufficient to bring a turning-point, so to say, in his life: with his umbrella he sits on the knife-edge boundary of a rice-field taking down hurriedly the notes of the songs which the womenfolk engaged in the work of weeding sang in chorus: Mr. Shirreff compares Tripathi standing outside the hut of a Chamar, with Jonathan Oldbuck recording a ballad of love and chivalry: then we find the villagers suspecting Tripathi to be a C. I. D. man, a fugitive from the court of justice, or a town Lothario bent on village intrigue.

Mr. Shirreff is, perhaps, a poet himself. He loves narrative songs of the villagers. He at once remembers the popular line of a Scottish song of Annie Laurie, "She's backit like the peacock; She's breistit like the swan," as soon as he hears the song of a U. P. village girl with her nose like a parrot's beak and her fingers like the bunches of the banana. He hears the echo of "Edward, Edward" in a tragic ballad of a brother's murder in some U. P. village. The Hindi song of the faithful doe calls to his mind "The three ravens" in which the fallow-deer bears home the body of the slain knight.

Now as regards the translation of the songs, one may find fault with Mr. Shirreff. "In the translations which follow," he writes in the introduction, "my aim has been to give as accurate a rendering as possible in a form which may remind English readers of folk-poetry with which they are very familiar." But he has not always been literal and strictly faithful to the original colour of the songs. And one cannot be possibly so while rendering the songs in verse, as Mr. Shirreff has done. I would omit the verse-scheme altogether where it is to be adopted at the cost of the originality and local colour of a particular song. The idea of rendering the songs in verse with the object that they should remind English readers of their own ballads is very dangerous. It is only for the sake of verse-scheme that Mr. Shirreff translates the refrain of a song, "तु यहि रन बन में" as "under the greenwood tree." In song No. 8 he translates the Hindi word "सारी" (sari) as "gown."

Such a licence should not be allowed for it kills the spirit of the Indian folk-song. I do not know if the sari of an Indian woman looks really less lovely and beautiful than an English woman's gown, but I would like to keep it as it is even in the English rendering. In song No. 2 the Hindi word "मन्दिवा" is transformed into "Stool;" and again the name of the Dhak tree under which the sad doe is seen sighing for the deceased deer, is reduced to only a green tree in the fair forest. Simple prose translations in good English, as we find in the case of Verrier Elwin's Gond folk-songs, can do much more justice to the original references to life and local colour of a country to which the songs belong. "It was after adopting the lowland Scots dialect for some of these translations," says Mr. Shirreff at one place, "that I found good authority for so doing in Legge's translations from what is the oldest collection of

folk-songs in the world, the Chinese Shiking." I do not know if all the English people can really follow the lowland Scots dialect. Even if some people may be able to follow it and enjoy it, what about the vast majority of international readers of books in English to whom the lowland Scots dialect cannot but be all Greek? Let us hope that in future Mr. Shirreff will be saved from such a dangerous attempt as it is in the present case. Mother India as well as the wide world of international literature will be more grateful to him if he offers more Hindi songs in good English prose, keeping in view the original local colour.

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

AN ENGLISH VERSION OF THE ARTHASAN-GRAHA OF LANGAKSI BHASKARA: By R. V. Jagagirdar. Dharwar, 1932.

This is not an ambitious but a useful work by a young scholar, meant chiefly for college students who want to study this well-known treatise on the elements of Mimamsa. The work has already found several translators both in English and German. The present translation is hardly an improvement on the previous attempts but it will evidently serve the purpose for which it is intended. An inclusion of the Sanskrit text would have facilitated the reading of the English translation.

S. K. DE

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING: By N. S. Subba Rao. Published in 1935.

This book comprises the materials contained in six lectures delivered by the author at the Madras University during 1932 and 1933. The principles of economic planning and their application to Indian conditions are dealt with from the point of view of the scientist and the inter-action of controlled economy and *laissez faire* has been traced. Although the author does not encourage the adoption of planned economy by India alone, he believes that greater stabilisation will follow in our economic life, if India becomes an integral part of a World plan or an Empire plan.

The book, however, does not provide the material from which the nature of planned economy in India may be visualised.

INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OR THE WAY TO PROSPERITY: By S. Lakshminarasiah, B.A. 1935.

In this book the author deals with certain problems of Indian Economics and explains its methods on the background of India's socio-economic life. The conservative manner of treatment of the various subjects and the uncalled for introduction of extraneous matters take away a good deal from the real usefulness of the book.

N. SANYAL

DID MADAME BLAVATSKY FORGE THE MAHATMA LETTERS: By C. Jinarajadasa. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This book refers to a controversy about certain letters alleged to have been written by Mahatmas or Adepts, i.e., minds of a superior order living in an invisible world. Many of the letters, in part or in whole, have been reproduced in this book. They are alleged to have been written to different persons in different countries and at different times and in different hand-writing. They were despatched to the addressees sometimes by post, sometimes through messengers who appeared and disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, and sometimes no one knows how. Their contents always refer either

to the Theosophical Movement or to the leaders and originators of the movement.

A section of the world's public naturally refused to believe that the letters were genuine. Madame Blavatsky was suspected of forgery. The opinion of a hand-writing expert, who examined some of these letters and declared them all to have been written by the same hand, was the chief argument for such a theory. The author of the present book challenges this opinion and declares that the letters were *not* forged. His main argument is that an examination of the scripts shows that they were *not* by the same hand. He has given facsimiles of the scripts and invites his readers to examine them and agree with him. He does not doubt—nor does he allow others to doubt—the *possibility* of such communication and the existence of such minds or persons as the Mahatmas.

The Theosophical Society has many good points in its favour; but when it asks a science-intoxicated world to believe such mysterious things as letters written on gross materials by the denizens of an invisible world and equally mysterious despatch of such letters to persons living here on this earth, perhaps it asks men to strain their will to believe a little too much.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

MEENAKSHI'S MEMOIRS: By Miss H. Kaveri Bai, B.A., L.T.; published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

This is a novel of Indian Christian life, as lived in Madras and South India generally. The home-life of Indian converts to Christianity and their hopes and aspirations as a social or political entity are delineated with perfect realism and fidelity. In the book under review the author takes the readers to the hearth and home of the Indian Christian Community and lays bare the real facts of their lives, their hopes and dreams, their frailties and new ideas. The author treats with sympathy the draw-backs of the Indian Christian Community and states that under favourable circumstances and proper guidance they are also showing signs of national consciousness. The author's style is simple and appealing. The printing leaves nothing to be desired. The get-up of the book is excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1938: By S. C. Sarkar. Sixth Year of Issue. M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 357. Rupee one only.

The latest issue of this year book maintains its past standard, and will be useful to students and publicists. An important feature of this year book is a summary of the new constitution of India.

P. B. S.

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT? By J. C. Kumarappa. Hindustan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry, S. India, 1936. Pp. 91. Price Annas eight.

The book sets out the economic ideas underlying the All-India Village Industries Association. Instead of offering humanity more material comforts through centralised production and of more leisure to be filled in anyhow by cultural pursuits, the basic purpose of the Association is to distribute work more equitably, and make work itself a school for the unfoldment and proper fulfilment of the individual. It thus proposes to rescue work from its irksomeness as under centralisation; it stands not only for decentralisation but also for the replacement of the profit motive by that of service and human welfare.

MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION, 1937: *Official Handbook and Guide.* Bangalore, 1937.

This sumptuously illustrated volume is not merely a guide to the Dasara Exhibition of 1937, but also contains a sufficiently detailed description of the industrial and cultural activities of the State. It will prove a helpful guide to intending visitors to Mysore.

A GUIDE TO SERINGAPATAM: By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Litt. (Lond.). Published for the Government of Mysore. Bangalore, 1937. Price Four Annas. Pp. 25, plates 8 and 2 maps.

This booklet forms the first of a series of guide books for the use of travellers in Mysore. It is well written and well illustrated.

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM. PART I. EARLY INDIAN SCHOOLS: By N. C. Majumdar. *Archæological Survey of India, Delhi, 1937.* Price 1-2 or 2s. Pp. 106 and 12 plates.

The book deals with the Maurya and Sunga sculptures exhibited in portions of the Indian Museum. The sculptures are described in a manner suitable for the general reader, while a list of the inscriptions with translations is given at the end of the book. The plates are very well printed and are of a representative character.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE MAHABRATA, IN ENGLISH, PART I (containing the first Ten Parvas): By Ramanadasa, K. S. Seshagiri, B.A., 138, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras; price annas ten.

The writer has skilfully pieced together the threads of the main plot of the Mahabharata as occurring in the first ten Parvas.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

SRI BHAGAVAD GITA EDITED WITH A GLOSS "SIDDHIDATRI": By Raj Vaidya Jivarama Kalidas Sastri, Gondala, Kathiawar. Pp. 153. Price not mentioned.

The editor claims that he has revised the Gita in the light of a rare and ancient manuscript with various readings incorporated therein.

The introduction supplies various information as to Gita, its nature and its history, etc., for which many will be benefited to a great extent, though there are several points which require evidence or justification. As for instance, we can not take it as a settled fact, from the mere statement of the learned editor, that Sankaracharya flourished about 2,500 years ago. His time, we believe, to be not before 686 A. D. i.e. 1251 years before this day. (Vide "Acharya Sankar and Ramanuja" in Bengali.)

Then the learned editor enters into the discussion as to the number of the slokas of Gita. In this connection he says that the number should be 745 according to a statement by Vedavyasa himself in his Mahabharata, instead of 700, which is current since the time of Sankaracharya, whose commentary is the oldest one now extant.

However the present edition under review consists only of 719 slokas with different readings based upon 13 MSS., collected by him, the oldest of which dates back up to 1392 A. D. and some printed editions of the same with commentaries of much later period.

The learned editor is also writing a commentary in the name of "Chandraghanta" which he expects to be

completed and published soon with the 26 slokas still wanting. He is confident that these 26 slokas will be found in some of the MSS. in libraries not yet explored and for which he invites the co-operation of the Sanskrit knowing Hindu public. He has already found out that in Persian translation of Gita, made in the time of the Mahomedan Emperors in the sixteenth century A. D., there were 745 slokas in the original, and thus it is not an impossible task for him to discover a MS. of the sacred book containing full 745 slokas. This is no doubt a very laudable attempt on the part of the learned editor in these days of research. We earnestly hope that his attempt may be crowned with success. But there is one thing to which we wish to draw the attention of the learned editor. How can we expect the authenticity of such a MS. of 745 slokas, which was not written before 2500 or 1300 years, i.e., the time of Sankaracharya. How is it, that Sankaracharya with a host of his followers, and the other Acharyas of other schools, with their disciples and adherents, failed to notice this discrepancy of a book which is equally authoritative like the Upanishads. So it suggests in our mind, that there must have been a difference in the method of counting the slokas, as it is in the case of Durgasaptasate; or it may be said that, since many of our religious books were written down from memory after they were destroyed by the Buddhists, just after the reign of Bhajya Raja of Dhara, this discrepancy has crept in. However, how far this latter fact will explain the difference in the reading of the book in MSS. of later date, is a thing, which requires a careful consideration of all of us. The tables supplied for the different readings are not quite intelligible and leave room for improvement. The English rendering of the gloss Siddhidatri is most interesting aspect of the book, the arguments therein in favour of correct readings require careful examination. However we may expect that the learned editor will soon complete his commentary "Chandraghanta" and publish an edition of 745 slokas of the sacred book at an early date.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT

SRUTI KALPALATA, with an annotation by Srimad Wamana Pandit. Published by Tikaram Pundalik Sekhia, Book-sellers and Publishers, Madhavbag, Bombay. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3/8/-.

This is a Sanskrit commentary on the Vedastuti, the 87th Chapter of the 10th Book of Srimadbhagavata Purana, with a very valuable introduction by Pandit Ram Chandra Mahadeva Athavle of the council of Masurasharam, Nanpada, Thana, Bombay, both in Sanskrit and English.

The commentary is very exhaustive and illuminating and is written in a very lucid and simple Sanskrit. It contains innumerable quotations from Upanishads, and explains the most knotty points of Philosophy, with admirable accuracy. The quotations from Upanishads prove that Bhagavata Purana is nothing but a recapitulation of Vedanta, i.e., the Upanishads, although technically Bhagavat doctrine was refuted by Vedavyasa in his Brahmasutras. The commentary was written by Pandit Wamana of Maharashtra, who flourished in the 17th century of the Saka era, and who was celebrated for his profound scholastic learning and was possessed of unquestionable devotion with rare spiritual power. This brilliant commentary of Vedastuti will be found very much useful to those who want to make a comparative study of the book with the teachings of the Upanishads. The whole commentary is based on the Advaita Vedanta system, but perfectly in consonance with the philosophy of devotion, i.e., the Bhakti cult. We are

sure this book will attract the attention of a large section of intelligent public specially of the Pandits and savants in Sanskrit Philosophy. The editing is also commendable as also its printing which is elegant. We trust this publication will be well received by the public.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

HINDI

HITLER MAHAN: By Acharya Chandra-sekhar Sastri. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Mandir, Delhi. Pp. 382. Price Rs. 3/-.

The scheme of reorganization in Germany, and incidentally the part played by Hitler in bringing that about are delineated in this book. The writer has drawn his materials from such authoritative works as Hitler's *My Struggle* and General Goering's *Germany Reborn*. This is a welcome addition to Hindi literature in the branch of contemporary history. There are several illustrations.

BIMA-SANDES: By Manibhai Gopalji Desai. Bombay. Pp. 70. Price -/6/-.

Translated from the Gujarati edition. The author has put together in a nutshell all the various topics connected with the life insurance business.

KALA: By Kaka Kalelkar. Translated by Hrishikes Sarma. The Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad. Delhi. Pp. 106. Price -/8/. 1937.

This as a dissertation on Art and its place in the philosophy of life. Both Indian and Western theories of Art are discussed here. The Appendix treats of the theories about the *rasas*. The author deplores the ugliness of life in modern times because it is divorced from Art.

RAMES BASU

BENGALI

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH or ENCYCLOPÆDIA BENGALENSIS: Edited by Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, M.A., with many learned and competent assistant editors. Published by Syt. Satish Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 170, Manicktala Street, Calcutta. Price per number eight annas.

We have noticed this excellent encyclopædia previously several times. The article on Ajanta covers pages 658-664 of No. 18 and pages 665-692 of No. 19. For an encyclopædia article it is fairly exhaustive and is profusely illustrated. It is written by Mr. Ajit Ghosh, who is known to possess adequate information on the subject. We notice two omissions in the bibliography. The editor of *Prabasi* wrote an illustrated article on the Ajanta cave paintings 37 years ago in the very first number of *Prabasi*. Perhaps Mr. Ghosh does not know this. Sister Nivedita wrote more than one article on Ajanta in *The Modern Review*. Mr. Ghosh does not mention these also. In the article on Akshay Kumar Maitra also in this encyclopædia his contributions to *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* were not mentioned.

BANGIYA SABDAKOSH: By Pandit Haricharan Bandyopadhyaya of Santiniketan. Price per number, published monthly, eight annas.

This lexicon, which will be the biggest Bengali dictionary when complete, has been reviewed and praised in *Prabasi* by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and by the editor several times. It has been reviewed in *The Modern Review* also favourably ere this. As the work of one man it is a remarkable achievement. It is noteworthy not merely on that account. It is scholarly, comprehensive and accurate. Forty-nine numbers have been published up to date, the last word in the 49th number

being "Devadatta." All university, college, high school and town public libraries should include this meritorious work in their collections. Nearly half the work has been published. The entire manuscript was complete long ago and is being revised and re-written part by part.

PRANTIK, OR BORDERLAND POEMS: By *Rabindranath Tagore*. *Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta*. Price eight annas.

Except a few all the poems in this little book were written by the poet after his recent serious illness. The last two were written on the 25th December, 1937. The last but one denounces predatory imperialism, such as is in evidence in the Sino-Japanese War, in words of prophetic indignation.

VISVA-PARICHAYA, OR AN INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIVERSE: By *Rabindranath Tagore*. *Second Edition*. *Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta*. Price one rupee.

We noticed this book, meant for boys and girls, when it was first published. That a second edition of a scientific work should be required in less than four months, is something new in Bengal. The excellence of the book perhaps supplies the explanation, and perhaps also the fact that it has been written by a great poet. In the present edition the author has subjected it to thorough revision. Though written for juvenile readers, old readers like us learn from it many things which we did not know before. D.

SRI NIMBARKACHARYA O TANHAR DHARMAMAT: By *Pulin Bihari Bhattacharya, M.A.* To be had of the author: *Village Mahasahasra, P. O. Rajnagar, District Sylhet, Assam*: Pp. 149. Price Rs. 1/8/-.

This is a little unpretentious work on Nimbarka the famous Vaishnava teacher and his doctrines, and incidentally it discusses a number of matters connected with Vaishnavism and the various Vaishnava sects and schools. It is a well-written book, although with an orthodox view-point. History and chronology are not its strong points as a number of mistakes of omission and commission would show; nor is the author's attitude that of the scientific student of history. Nevertheless, the average reader will find the book an useful introduction to the subject, and will obtain from it a clear expose of the philosophy of the sect.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TELUGU

MAHABHARATA KAURAVARANGAM: By *Umar Alisha, M. L. A. (Central), President, Vignana Vidya Peetam, Pithapur*. Pp. 115. Price Re. 1/.

A drama in seven acts. The subject of the work needs no introduction. Throughout the pages of the work, Mr. Alisha influences the reader and enlists his sympathy for Duryodhan. The treatment of the subject at the hands of this well-known Telugu Poet is commendable.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

GUJARATI

VASUNDHARA NAN VAHALAN DAYLAN: By *Jhaverchand Meghani*. Printed at the *Swadhen Printing Press, Ranpur*. Cloth bound. Pp. 256. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1937).

This story, a realistic one, is a vivid representation of the life led by a certain class of society in Kathiawad; viz., the class between the middle and the lower one. The tattoo woman Tejudi, the boy with a lip cut—a helping hand to the wandering Madari—the man who goes about with a monkey, and a bear, and gives

street entertainments, and the blind, motherless child of four, form a trinity round which the story revolves. In homely language, studded with words and expressions of Kathiawad's dialect—in the nature of a handicap to a reader of Gujarat. Mr. Meghani has successfully attempted to breathe life into them, and we feel as if we were eye witnesses of the joy and the sorrow being felt by them as incident after incident is narrated by the writer.

BUDDHA CHARIT: By *Dharmanand Kosambi*. Printed at the *Utkrigha Printing Press, Ahmedabad*. Thick Cover Board. Pp. 360. Price Re. 1-4 (1937).

When Acharya Dharmanand Kosambi writes any thing on the life and times of Gautama Buddha, it is a guarantee of the fact that the reader gets everything that is genuine and based on authority. This interesting volume is the best life of Buddha till now to be had in Gujarati. Its characteristic feature is that it tells the truth even at the risk of offending religious feelings and pet theories of people; for instance, the author shows conclusively that Buddha did not inculcate *Ahimsa*, non-killing of cattle for food, in the sense understood at present. What he preached was a prohibition of the sacrifice of cattle, robbed from poor people by the rich man who performed a sacrifice (*yajna*). He also shows that in those times Jain *Shramanas* partook of flesh food, and that the revolt against it came later. The story is told in a very engaging way and an excellent index at the end considerably helps the reader.

SHERATHA NI ARTHIK TAPAS: By *Vithaldas M. Kothari and Jhaverbhai P. Patel*. Printed at the *Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad*. Pp. 45. Paper Cover. Price annas four. (1937).

A typical small village in North Gujarat was selected for Economic Survey of its industries and the mode of life of its inhabitants. The result is a valuable pamphlet which notices the difficulties of the workers in this line, even in those days, due to the mistrust, in consequence of the ignorance and illiteracy of the villagers. It is a very useful record of facts and interesting from several points of view.

K. M. J.

THE STRIBODH SPECIAL, edited by *Mrs. Maniben Nanubhai Desai*.

It is a handsome special number of a Gujarati monthly, *Stribodh*, which has rendered during its long career of 82 years yeomen's services to the cause of womanhood. The special feature that attracts our notice in this publication is that its contributors are all ladies and that it has been edited also by a lady.

The subjects discussed cover a wide range, social, political and literary, and the contributors are some of the most eminent social and political workers of India, amongst them being women of renown like Mrs. Uma Nehru, Hon. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Mrs. Dharamshila Lal, Bar-at-Law, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Lilawatti Munshi and others. Their thoughtful articles all invite attention and are worth a perusal. Mrs. Mani Desai in an illuminating article discusses the relationship of Russian Women with Family and dispels the false notion that the new order of things in that land without unemployment has shattered the family life and has made its women miserable. The number contains some entertaining short stories, too, amongst which "Poor Empress," "Prayashchitta," "Parajaya" and "Madagantha" deserve special mention.

R. K.

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

ANTHROPOLOGY SECTION

THE proceedings of the Anthropology section began in the Ashutosh Building on January 4, under the presidency of Dr. B. S. Guha. The session was unique as besides the leading anthropologists of this country, a large number of distinguished members of the foreign delegation, such as Profs. H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S., H. Peake, (Ex-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Great Britain), F. W. Thomas, Frhr von Eickstedt and H. Holosworth, was present. Dr. Mrs. E. W. Macfarlane, Research Associate of the University of Michigan and Drs. M. B. Emenau and D. G. Mandelbaum of the Yale University, who are carrying on anthropological investigations in this country also took part in the meetings. Besides the reading of papers, there were three sectional discussions on "Blood Grouping and Racial Classification," "The Importance of Anthropological Studies for India" and "A Programme of Archaeological Excavations for India."

The papers read, dealt with both the general questions of the scope and functions of anthropology, methods of racial analysis, blood group distributions and particular items of interest.

Discussing the question of the proper scope of anthropology from the cultural standpoint, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi pleaded for the study of the higher and spiritual side of Man and deplored in this connection the action of the National Institute of Sciences of India for including Anthropology under zoology, for the science of Man was concerned not only with his zoological history, but should also study the outward manifestations of the Eternal Spirit which resides in man and lifts him above other animals. Frhr von Eickstedt on the other hand, considered that as a scientific discipline Anthropology could only deal with the biological study of *Anthropos* himself, and the modern idea of a holistic anthropology was the only logical and scientific conception of the subject. Prof. R. A. Fisher, Galton Professor of Eugenics of the London University, in a very suggestive paper on the functions of Physical Anthropology remarked that racial differences between two somatic types were due to selective

modifications in which a number of genetic and environmental factors operated and slowly affected the evolutionary processes. The best means of studying these differences would be in living persons rather than in skeletal remains, specially the homozygotic twins. Prof. H. J. Fleure went more searchingly into the question and said that almost every population received contribution from several in-drifts which did not completely blend. The persistence of these diverse types side by side in a population is to be explained on Mendelian lines and the safest method in racial analysis is to study these bundling of physical characters in individuals and to see what are the more general bundlings in particular populations.

Among many interesting papers read on particular subjects that deserve special mention, are Dr. Mandelbaum's "Investigations on Polyandry in Kota Society"; Dr. M. B. Emenau's "Analysis of Kinship and Marriage Among the Coorgis"; Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya's paper on "Indian Oil Presses"; Prof. N. N. Sen Gupta's "Interpretation of Dancing as a Method of Inducing Ecstasy and Frenzy"; and Dr. P. C. Biswas' "Studies on the Heredity of Palmar Pattern".

Keen interest was taken in the three discussions, the first of which on blood groupings and racial classification was opened by Dr. Mrs. Macfarlane. Dealing with her own researches and as well as those of Mr. S. Sarkar of the Bose Institute, among the lower section of the Bengali population, she showed the preponderance of B over A as an essential Indian condition, to which Hirtzfeld was the first to draw attention. In collecting the data the technique must first of all be well mastered and each caste and tribe be separately tested. Future investigations carried on in this way may be expected to throw light on the origin of the mutation to B.

Prof. R. Ruggles Gates remarked that blood groups were definite units and as their method of inheritance was known, they have an advantage over other physical characters in racial classification which should be interpreted in terms of isolation, migration and racial crossings. It is important that future blood group tests be combined with anthropometric

studies, and in this connection attention was drawn to the close correspondence of the blood group tests carried on by Dr. Macfarlane with the Anthropometric studies of Dr. B. S. Guha.

The discussion on the importance of Anthropological studies for India was opened by Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur and Prof. H. J. Fleure, H. Peake, Frhr von Eickstedt and Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya took part in it. As a result of the discussions a resolution was moved by Prof. H. J. Fleure :

"that in view of the urgent necessity of Anthropological studies in India it is essential that the Universities should make adequate provisions for the teaching of and research in that subject. That in order to promote such work the Central Government be requested to give an independent status to Anthropology as a department of research."

The resolution was supported by Prof. Frhr von Eickstedt and carried unanimously.

The discussion on a programme of archaeological excavations in India was opened by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Profs. H. J. Fleure and Peake participated in the discussion. Prof. F. W. Thomas suggested that, for the proper research in Archaeology it is necessary to have a Central Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology in India on the line of such institutions of Europe and America as problems of prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology are largely independent and common and should be studied together.

The Presidential Address of Dr. B. S. Guha was on "The Racial Composition of the Hindukush Tribes," among whom he carried on Anthropological investigations as a member of the Scientific Expedition sent by the Government of India in 1929.

THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE HINDUKUSH TRIBES

(Presidential Address of Dr. B. S. Guha)

"The region south of the Hindukush and Karakorum mountains occupied a strategic position in the racial geography of India, for in these difficult, high mountainous valleys were still sheltered some of the remnants of the northern steppe folks who invaded India in the second millennium B. C.

Linguistically the tribes living in this area could be classified under two heads, namely, Dardic and Burushaski, with Kaffiri occupying an intermediate position between Iranian and Indian. Burushaski was unrelated to any known language, but Morgenstierne's investigations had shown the essentially Indian character of the Dardic and even the Kaffiri languages.

The earliest investigations on the somatic characters of these interesting tribes were those

of Ujfalvy, followed by Stein, Dainelli and the author himself, who, as a member of the scientific expedition sent by the Government of India visited Kaffirstan and Chitral in 1929.

From a careful consideration of physical characters, it appeared that the basic racial type in the entire region was a short, dark dolichocephalic strain with prominent long nose, often aquiline, which might be regarded as a variant of Eugen Fischer's Oriental race and the most characteristic type of the region.

Besides this principal type they had the southern extension of a broad-headed race closely allied to what was known as the Dinaric Race of Eastern Europe. In its strongest form it was found among the Khos of the Chitral valley and the Burushos of Hunza Nagir, though it occurred throughout the Dardic tribes in varying degrees.

The skin colour in this race was prevailingly of a rosy white tint but the eyes were more often hazel and green, and the colour of the hair was brown.

The third main racial strain was a tall dolichocephalic type with long and straight nose. It formed a very important layer among the Kaffir and the upper stratum of the Burusho and the Dardic tribes. The distribution of the cephalic index in this type followed the same trend as found by Ariens Kappers in the races of the Aral-Caspian regions and very similar to that which formed the dominant element in the North European population, with whom its chief distinction lay in the integumentary colours.

Whereas in Sweden the blond type represented 49 per cent of the population, among the Kaffirs it did not exceed 15 per cent. Blondness, as was well known, was due to a deficiency mutation which suppressed the appearance of pigment. It is certain that this deficiency mutation had occurred in this and at least in another, namely, the East-Baltic race, at some time or other. It was probable that the mutations for skin, eye and hair colours had taken place separately. In the Baltic tribes the high rate of the deficiency mutation might probably account for the larger percentage of the blond as compared to the Hindukush tribes among whom the activators were perhaps dominant over suppression causing the general persistence of the more pigmented people.

Lastly an intruding Mongoloid element must also be recognized which appeared to be responsible for the yellowish tint in the skin colour and broad flat nose found among many individuals.

The proportions of these strains varied in

different parts. The Dinaric and the proto-Nordic elements were stronger in the western valleys, whereas the basic Oriental and the Mongoloid elements were more conspicuous in the eastern valleys of the Upper Indus."

The session concluded with a formal resolution moved by Prof. H. J. Fleure, F. R. S., on behalf of the British Association, thanking Dr. B. S. Guha for the great work done by him in Indian Anthropology and for the very successful meeting of the Section.

GEOLOGY SECTION

The Geology Section proceedings began under the presidency of Professor D. N. Wadia, with a discussion of some of the results obtained by the geologists of the Burmah Oil Company, an instance of the way in which important scientific information may be obtained in the course of researches directed towards an economic end. Other papers followed covering almost every branch of geology, but perhaps the most interesting to the layman were those of several members of the Geological Survey of India which dealt with the structure and building of the Himalayas and showed how very youthful is this greatest of mountain ranges. D. N. Wadia, W. D. West and H. M. Lahiri brought forward evidence of the gradual creep of the older rocks of the mountain range over the newer rocks of the sub-Himalayan zone, and showed that the southward march of the mountains still continues. A. L. Coulson told the section of the evidence for the last ice age in the Punjab and Kashmir.

Dr. Krishnan's account of the geological structure of Peninsular India called forth most interesting comments from the overseas geologists and led to an emphasis on the comparative instability of even the apparently most stable parts of the Peninsula.

B. L. Rao and L. R. Rao from Mysore contributed papers on the ancient crystalline complex of the Deccan, and C. Mahadevan gave an interesting account of the salt concentrates in the Archaeian terrain of Hyderabad. Prof. Frederick Morris of Cambridge, Mass., spoke on the Gobi Desert, aided by a magnificent collection of coloured lantern slides. Perhaps the most arresting photograph was the one showing a clutch of Dinosaur eggs laid in the sands of a hundred million years ago, buried by the wind-borne detritus and uncovered by the pick of the geologist.

The Geology Section has taken part in several joint discussions with Botany, Agri-

culture and Physics. Discussion dealing with questions of the interpretation of faults in the Himalayan region, and in this the evidence from the recent researches of the Geological Survey of India was discussed with the overseas geologists now visiting India.

Throughout the meetings the geologists of India had been fortunate in receiving the most valuable suggestions and assistance from the visitors, particularly from Profs. Boswell and Gordon of London, Prof. Fearnside of Sheffield, Prof. Read of Liverpool, Prof. Morris, and Dr. du Toit of Johannesburg, and from Sir Lewis Fermor, the former Director of the Geological Survey of India, whom the section were glad to welcome back to the Science Congress and to Calcutta.

The Presidential Address by D. N. Wadia dealt with the "Structure of the Himalaya and of the North Indian Foreland." Geological work carried out during the last few years has thrown much light on the structure of Northern India, a region of extraordinary geotectonic interest, as much on account of the magnitude and intensity of the crustal deformations, involving the upwarp of the Himalayan chain and the formation at its foot of the deep parallel Indo-Gangetic depressions, as on account of the extreme youth of these world-transforming events. The region of Northern India resolves itself structurally into two broad belts, the folded chain of the Himalayas and the edge of the Indian peninsular mainland, that has acted as the resistant block and in the process sagged under the strain of the folding of the northern ranges. The structure of this foreland is revealed in four principal units: (1) The Rajputana plateau. (2) The Potwar trough. (3) The Gangetic trough, 1200 miles long and 200 miles wide, mostly filled up by late Pleistocene alluviation. (4) The Assam plateau.

In Kashmir the Himalayan system of earth-folds undergoes a deep loop-like bend round a pivotal point—a narrow promontory of the Punjab foreland hidden under the late Tertiary deposits. Four overthrusts have been noted in the Simla mountains, representing flat, recumbent folds. In the Garhwal area recent mapping has proved two superposed sheet-folds, composed of the older rock-formations overriding the newer rocks of the Outer Himalayas.

Evidence of the extreme youth of Himalayan orogeny has multiplied in recent years; investigations in the Pleistocene, glacial and fluvial deposits of the Kashmir valley suggest that between 5000-8000 ft. of uplift has taken place since the end of the Pliocene. A part of the address deals with the recently discovered

gravity anomalies, both positive and negative, in the Himalayan region, which cannot be explained on the hypothesis of isostasy. On the whole, compensation is in excess in the Central Himalayan ranges, while the outer Himalaya is an area of overload and under-compensation.

The arcuate form of the Himalayas, presenting to the south three prominent festoons, is best explained as the result of three crustal pegs arresting the free movement of the plastic folds pressing against the Indian horst under pressures from the north. The Great Himalayan range, built mostly of granite or pre-Cambrian sediments, from the Brahmaputra gorge to Nanga Parbat on the Indus, thus denotes the Himalayan protaxis, the axis of original upwarp of the Tethyan geosyncline. At both its ends it has undergone sharp southward deflections to accommodate itself to the shape of the foreland.

ZOOLOGY SECTION

The Zoology Section was presided over by Professor G. Matthai, Sc.D. (Cantab), of Lahore, who in his Presidential Address, delivered on the 7th January, 1938, dealt with "Zoology and its Advancement in India." The greater part of the address was devoted to coral formation and oceanography, subjects in which Dr. Matthai has been himself interested for a number of years, but in the latter part of the address attention was directed to the various centres of Zoological research in India and the work accomplished at each centre.

The Sectional Meetings were well attended and practically all the leading Indian Zoologists from all over the country were present. From among the foreign delegates who attended the Sectional Meetings were Professor L. F. de Beaufort of Amsterdam (Holland), Mrs. de Beaufort; Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, F.R.S., the late Director, Zoological Survey of India and the leader of the John Murray Expedition, Cambridge, Professor W. M. Tattersall of Cardiff (Wales), Mrs. Tattersall, Professor F. A. E. Crew of Edinburgh (Scotland), Professor G. D. Hale Carpenter of Oxford, Professor P. A. Buxton of London, and others. Students and young workers were also present in appreciable numbers and presumably derived considerable benefit from the papers that were read and the discussions that were held on some very important subjects.

Of the fifty-two papers put down for reading there was sufficient time only for a few of them to be properly presented to the meeting, while the rest, irrespective of their merit, had to be guillotined. Though a great majority of the

papers were of the usual type containing descriptions of new species or detailed account of some morphological features of an animal, there were a few exceptions that lent themselves to be discussed, but for want of time the discussions had to be greatly restricted, which, in a great measure, vitiated the very object of such meetings. Special mention may here be made of the cinematograph picture of the Mud-Skippers shown by Professor B. K. Das of Hyderabad-Deccan, in which the well-known mode of life of these air-breathing fishes was faithfully depicted and the whole film was very instructive for the students and foreign delegates. Dr. S. L. Hora's thought-provoking paper regarding the probable mode of origin of aerial vision in fishes raised a storm of questions, but unfortunately no discussion could be held for lack of time. Special time had to be found to discuss Professor L. F. de Beaufort's views on the geographical distribution of the fresh water fishes of South-eastern Asia; which proved to be most instructive though the other foreign delegates took part in discussions, they did not present any paper to the Section.

Much greater importance was rightly attached to the discussions either held in the section itself or jointly with other sections. On the very first day, when the section met for the reading of papers, two hours were devoted to a consideration of "Animal Ecology in Relation to India", but the programme was so packed that the articles accepted for reading could only be dealt with and the discussion, which proved more fruitful, had to be deferred to the next day. It was fully realised by every one present that the study of animal ecology is of the greatest importance, both for pure and applied Zoology. The most significant feature of the discussion was the compliments paid by all the foreign delegates to the work hitherto done in India on animal ecology. Another discussion to which the section devoted a couple of hours was on "The Place of Systematics and Morphology in the Study of the Living Animal" and here again the great value of the study of the living animals was brought to the forefront. A very fruitful afternoon was spent when this section jointly with the sections of Medical Research, Veterinary Research, Entomology and Agriculture discussed the "Relation of Zoology to Medicine, Veterinary Science and Agriculture". Speaker after speaker stressed the great need of strengthening Zoological research in India, so as to check effectively the spread of animal-borne diseases and to increase the protein supply of the masses by increasing animal food, such as fish, poultry, etc. Sections of Zoology

and Entomology had a discussion on "The Position of Entomology in the Indian Universities". Although there seemed to be a consensus of opinion regarding the desirability of including Entomology and such other subjects of allied biology in the curricula, there was practically no support for the proposition that a special department of Entomology with separate staff should be started by the Indian Universities. Zoologists also took part in discussions, on the other subjects such as "Genetics" and "River Physics."

Among matters of general interest discussed by the Section mention may be made of the development of fishery in India and the advisability of continuing Entomology as a separate section. The present deplorable condition of Indian fishery was keenly felt by all members of the Section and Prof. W. M. Tattersall's resolution requesting the Science Congress Association to approach the Government of India for the establishment of a Central Bureau of Fishery Research was carried unanimously. Further a Committee of Indian Foreign delegates was formed to draw up concrete proposals for the consideration of the Government of India. As regards the second subject, it was felt that, as a first step towards separation, in the future meetings of the Congress the Zoology Section should give a day or two for the consideration of Entomology papers, but that the time had not yet come to separate Entomology, which after all was a branch of Zoology.

Some of the delegates paid a visit to an estuarine area near Uttarbhag on the Piali Nadi, while some others saw the well-kept aviaries of Dr. Satya Churn Law.

The Sectional Committee unanimously nominated Professor C. R. Narayan Rao of Bangalore as the President of the Zoology Section for 1939 and Professor S. G. M. Ramanujam of Madras as the Recorder of the Section.

The general impression which the meetings have left on one's mind is the utter futility of doing too much within a short time. The programme of meetings and discussions, coupled with the afternoon parties and the night entertainments provided by the Local Reception Committee, hardly left any time for private discussions by persons interested in the same type of investigations, and from this point of view this mammoth gathering of Indian Zoologists should be regarded as a complete failure. It is hoped that the lesson learnt this year will bear fruits in the future years when efforts should be directed to make the fullest use of

such meetings from a broadly scientific point of view.

SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY

The Section of Psychology which met under the presidency of Dr. G. Bose, head of the department of Psychology of the Calcutta University, was a great success. Besides a large body of psychologists from every part of India several eminent psychologists from abroad attended the section and read papers before it. The well known author of the *Factor Theory*, Prof. C. Spearman of London in his illuminating paper on the *Examination of Intelligence* discussed the importance of the "General Factor" (G Factor) which enters, according to him, into all abilities and is the principal and most stable constituent of what is conceived as *intelligence*. Prof. Spearman analysed the personality into several factors and observed that though the list did not exhaust the whole personality the factors mentioned by him would go a long way toward making up our conception of intelligence. He further remarked that the intelligence of different races might be compared by subjecting these factors to measurement and defended the reliability and validity of such procedure. Dr. C. S. Myers, Principal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in England, read a very interesting paper on *Affective Influences in Mental Fatigue* in which he showed that the observed effects of prolonged mental activity are not so much due to fatigue as to the protective actions of affective mental processes. Prolonged attention on any mental work replaces the feeling of interest by boredom and weariness which exercise an inhibitory function on attention. This on the one hand protects against true fatigue and on the other hand lower conscious resistance to various "conflicting complex", thereby arousing feeling of irritation and anxiety and leading to disorderly mental and physical behaviour. Prof. C. G. Jung who had travelled all the way from Zurich unfortunately became ill on his arrival in Calcutta and could not attend the sectional meeting till the last day of the Congress. On that day he delivered an illustrated lecture on the *Concept of Collective Unconscious* before the section of psychology. The learned professor in course of his lecture defined his concept of the collective unconscious, discussed what such a concept meant for psychology and explained his method of proof by examples and illustrations. He said that the collective unconscious was a part of the psyche which could be distinguished from a personal subconscious by the

fact that it did not owe its existence to personal experience and consequently was not a personal acquisition. The contents of this unconscious owe its existence, according to Prof. Jung, exclusively to heredity. Referring to the charge that his concept of the unconscious is of speculative character and savours of mysticism he said that there was no more mysticism in his concept of the unconscious than what might be discovered in the theory of instinct. He asserted that our fantasy, perception and thinking were influenced by inborn and universally present principles of *form* and demonstrated some of these forms in support of his contention. Other overseas delegates who attended the section of psychology were Dr. E. Mapother, the famous psychiatrist of Maudsley Hospital, England, Dr. W. Jones of Leeds University and Baron von Veltheim from Germany. They did not read any paper. Dr. Mapother took part in the discussion following Dr. G. Bose's reading of a paper on *The Paranoid Ego* at a meeting of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society to which the delegates were invited.

The subject for symposium of the section was "Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology". Dr. S. C. Mitra of Calcutta opened the discussion and aroused considerable interest amongst all present. Dr. Mitra remarked that psychoanalysis was the most comprehensive of all the prevailing schools of abnormal psychology and narrated the contributions made by psychoanalysis to psychology. He said that psychoanalysis had given us not only a better and more thorough explanation of each of the psychological phenomena traditionally treated in the text books but also of other normal psychical experiences usually neglected in them. In addition it had supplied the psychologists with a method by following which they would be able to reach the innermost core of a person's psyche. Giving general outlines of the contributions of psychoanalysis to normal psychology Dr. Mitra observed in conclusion :

"The virtues of perfection and completeness for psychoanalysis are not claimed. But it can safely be said that psychoanalysis has not only enriched both in quality and in quantity every topic of normal psychology but enlivened the whole science itself so that the latter pulsates now with the new vigour and boldly attacks the problems of life that only the other day it made it a point to evade."

Dr. Ernest Jones, President of the International Psychoanalytical Association had sent an article as his contribution to the symposium and it was read out in his absence by Lt.-Col. Berkeley-Hill. In the discussion that followed various points were brought out by

Prof. N. N. Sengupta, Lt.-Col. Berkeley-Hill, Dr. T. Purusottam, Prof. H. D. Bhattacharyya, Lt.-Col. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. N. S. N. Sastry, Dr. Indra Sen, Mr. H. P. Maiti, Mr. S. P. Aranya, Mr. U. S. Gheba, Mr. M. N. Banerji and Mr. Jugal Singh. After Dr. Mitra had replied the president, Dr. G. Bose, summed up the discussion. Dr. Bose informed that he had sent the original article of Dr. Mitra to Prof. Freud for his views. In his reply to Dr. Bose Prof. Freud wrote that he had very much appreciated the article of Dr. Mitra and that it was not possible for him (Freud) to add anything to what had been so clearly and with such definiteness put forward by Dr. Mitra.

Some of the papers contributed by Indian scientists to the section of psychology this year were of high merit. As it should be, preference was given to the outsiders by the president and so many of the papers of the Calcutta laboratory reporting results of original experiments could not be read for want of time. Of the papers read and discussed mention may be made of the following. Mr. G. Pal who had performed a series of experiments on weight-lifting with a specially devised apparatus reported that in the determination of *Differential Limen* for lifted weight increasing continuously, he had found that values varied according as the rate of change in the standard weight differed. He offered an explanation for this in terms of attention and muscular adjustment. Mr. N. S. N. Sastry reported that he had carried out investigations on judgment of emotional expressions and emphasised the importance of situation element in the case of emotional expression. Dr. I. Latif traced the ætiological factors in the onset of stammering from his clinical studies and pointed out that the cause varied from individual to individual. Miss R. Ghosh discussed the importance of handwriting as a school subject and referred to certain factors that would affect the writing ability of children. Prof. N. N. Sengupta classified the conditions of psychic disorder in mystic life and said that the symptoms of disorder seemed to serve a certain definite purpose in the economy of mystic life as they broke up the old habit pattern and contact with the objects of the environment. Mr. M. N. Banerji discussed the principles of Hindu physiological psychology as given in the ancient Indian literature. Mr. H. P. Maiti dealt with the question of normality and abnormality and after reviewing the three current concepts of the normal—social, naturalistic and statistical—suggested a *dynamic* criterion. Mr. R. Haldar attempted to prove the presence of Oedipus wish in Hindu Icons.

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS



Sir James Jeans, General President



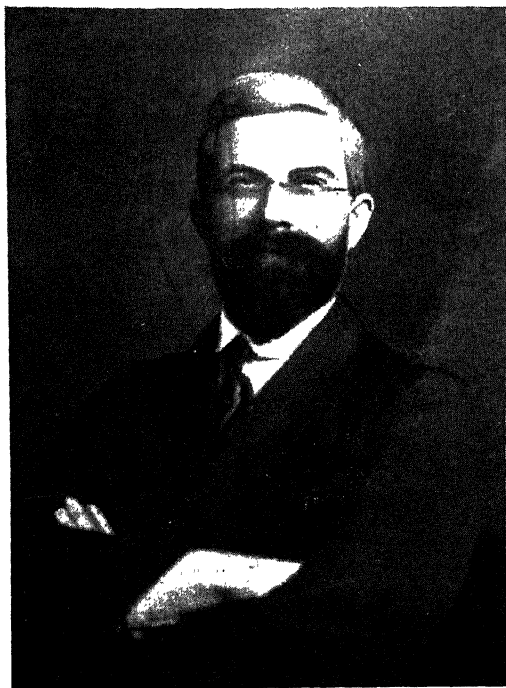
Dr. C. Bose, President, Psychology Section



Dr. M. N. Saha



Dr. B. S. Guha, President, Anthropology Section



Prof. R. A. Fisher, General President,
Indian Statistical Conference



Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis
Founder-Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute



Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar, President, Chemistry Section



Sir L. L. Fermor

His researches, he said, offered important corroborative materials in support of Dr. G. Bose's theory of the genesis and adjustment of the Oedipus wish. Mr. S. C. Laha presented a new theory of the time sense. He showed that the sense of time depended on the capacity of the libido to attach itself to external objects. Mr. D. Ganguli read a joint paper (by G. Bose, Sailendra Krishna Law and D. Ganguli) on the *Psychological Study of Language*, reporting a series of interesting findings regarding the acquiring of abstract ideas by human minds, the syntax of language as reflecting racial character and the peculiar behaviour of the ego in projecting its experiences into the outer world.

Dr. G. Bose delivered his presidential address on *Ambivalence* before a large gathering of distinguished people including many medical men. The subject of his address was technical but Dr. Bose's lucid manner of presentation helped the audience to grasp his main ideas and kept up their interest to the last.

Dr. Bose's conception of ambivalence is original. Negativism in various spheres of action (i.e., doing exactly the opposite of what is demanded) by normal people and mental patients is explained by Bleuler by suggesting that ambivalence is a fundamental mental trait of human beings. From his observation in various fields and analysis of numerous case-records Dr. Bose has come to the conclusion that ambivalence is not a fundamental trait of mental life but a derivative of some other psychical process. He points out that opposite types of behaviour under different situations or at different times are quite common among normal people and have never been sought to be explained by the theory of ambivalence. It is only when opposite tendencies are observed working simultaneously and affecting behaviour that some explanation like that of ambivalence becomes necessary. In true ambivalence, says Dr. Bose, opposite tendencies are supposed to be present but one of the contending elements at any particular moment must necessarily be unconscious. Dr. Bose therefore defines ambivalence "as a simultaneous working of opposite tendencies, one of which remains unconscious".

Proving that opposition is not in action, nor in emotion, but in wish, Dr. Bose argues that the genesis of ambivalence is to be looked for in the mechanism of opposition of wishes and the process by which one of the contending pair becomes unconscious. From his analysis Dr. Bose has discovered that pairs of opposite wishes (active and passive) exist within the

psyche and they are the most fundamental traits of human minds. According to his theory,

"these contradictory wishes inhibit each other and a state of equilibrium is maintained. Under certain conditions one of the pair becomes prominent and appears as a conscious wish with reference to a special object. As soon as this conscious element of the pair finds satisfaction its inhibiting force is removed and its opposite counterpart springs to consciousness as an urge for a reciprocal or retaliatory act directed against the object."

All the important papers contributed to the Section of Psychology together with the presidential address will be published in a special issue of the *Indian Journal of Psychology*.

SECTION OF MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICS

The Section of Mathematics and Physics met on the 4th January under the presidency of Dr. C. W. B. Normand, Director of Meteorological department to the Government of India. The president most enthusiastically welcomed the delegates and especially our oversea friends for the trouble and sacrifice they made to attend the Silver Jubilee Session of the Congress. In view of the variety of subject in the papers to be read before the section, the president submitted a programme including titles and approximate times of lecture or of reading papers by oversea delegates. It was divided into different subjects and the papers should be read in the following order :

- (1) Atomic Physics, (2) Astrophysics,
- (3) Relativity and Geophysics, (4) Mathematics and Statistics, (5) The Structure of Matter, Spectroscopy and Molecular Physics,
- (6) Ionosphere, (7) General Physics.

The first speaker was Dr. Aston, who spoke on "Isotopic Weights by the Doublet Method." In his lecture he explained that for the most reliable comparison of masses by mass-spectra, the particles concerned should be nearly equal when the lines they produced, were resolved by a mass-spectrograph of sufficient power, form a natural doublet. A typical example was the oxygen-methane doublet. Other examples were also dealt with and in conclusion Dr. Aston showed that about 20 isotopic weights had already been determined by this doublet method with an accuracy approaching 1 part in 100,000.

Robinson spoke on the values of Atomic Constants i.e., the values of the electron charge (E) and the velocity of light (C), the Planck's constant (H). He points out that though the values of E and H were first measured by Millikan about a quarter of a century ago, recently investigators have begun to suspect the

accuracy of the accepted values of the atomic constants, especially that of E . They have remeasured the value of E and have pointed out the mistakes of the previous works. Since then the measurement of the atomic constants were seriously taken by other investigators and to our great surprise, none of them agreed with each other. Robinson humorously pointed out that in order that the physicists might be more respectable in the eyes of others, the values of the atomic constants should be remeasured and we should begin where we were, about 25 years ago.

Taylor spoke of the radioactivity of Samarium. He gave an account of the experiments which he and his collaborators had done in this connection, using the direct method of direct registration of tracks in a photographic emulsion. He took about 5000 expansion-chamber photographs and found about 50 tracks which were due to the particles omitted by Samarium.

Sir Arthur Eddington spoke on subatomic energy in the stars. This paper was of a sort of speculative nature, in which he was interested for a long time.

Dr. F. J. M. Stratton of Cambridge, first stated the normal course of development of the series of spectra shown by a Nova in the course of its bright outburst. He illustrated his lecture by showing some beautiful slides which he had taken at Cambridge. He found: At first the spectrum changes from an earlier (or hotter) to a later (or cooler type) and the absorption lines show a diminishing displacement while the bright bands narrow. Then a succession of absorption spectra generally with a larger displacement and successively of earlier type emerge and in turn fade away, two such spectra are commonly present together and occasionally three such spectra can be identified as simultaneously present. As many as eight or nine such spectra can be traced before the fading away of the continuous spectrum of star leaves behind a spectrum of isolated bright bands. These pass from the A and B type corresponding to the white and blue stars, to the P type corresponding to the planetary nebulae and later to the O type corresponding to the Wolf-Rayet stars, the hottest known stars. Dr. Stratton then discussed various theories in connection with the nature of spectra.

Sir Arthur Eddington opened a discussion on the theory of scattering of protons by protons and though the paper was extremely technical, he deduced from scattering experiments that at very close encounters, the force between the two protons became attractive instead of

repulsive so that there was a "well" of negative potential immediately surrounding a proton. It was also found that the existence of the "potential well" was a necessary consequence of the theory and formulæ for its extent and intensity obtained.

In the corresponding problem of the encounter of two electrons one of the constant (A) is smaller in the ratio $\frac{1}{1847}$ so that the "potential well" is much less important in comparison with the Coulomb potential. He further showed that this problem had a special interest as furnishing a connecting link between extra-nuclear and nuclear physics.

Von Kate Sachar dealt with on the measurement of the ratio of the magnetic moments of Iridium isotopes from the hyperfine structure. He showed: Iridium consists of two odd isotopes of mass number 191 and 193, the latter being twice as abundant as the former. From the hyperfine level separations of the isotopes, the author concludes that the ratio of the nuclear magnetic moments of Iridium 191 and 193 is -0.92 .

Kothari explained his recent theoretical investigation on the pressure-ionisation in white dwarf stars and planets. His results are quite interesting and he predicts that the stellar material in the interior of the white dwarf stars should be almost fully ionised. He also predicts the existence of a maximum radius for a cold body which is of about the same size as the planet Jupiter. There can not be a cold body (planet or white dwarf) bigger (from the point of size) than Jupiter. His theory shows that Jupiter and Saturn have cores composed of metallic hydrogen. The terrestrial planets have cores of much heavier metal, possibly iron.

Sulaiman ably but humbly submitted his new theory of the law of gravitation and the dual character of light. His paper is extremely mathematical but Sulaiman has ably put his theory and predicts a larger deflection of light particle from a star past the Sun than Einstein's and he also gives a formula for the spectral shift of light from any part of the Sun. Though recent experiments during total eclipse have shown a larger deflection than Einstein's theory predicts still, according to Stratton, the result cannot be taken seriously as different observers has obtained different results. We are asked to wait for some years, as accurate value can only be obtained when we have collected a larger number of observations from various parts of the globe.

At this stage, the only lady-delegate Mrs. Biva Mazumder wanted to read her paper

on the theory of absorption in ionised gas where she showed a rather interesting method for calculating the opacity coefficient in the interior of the stars, and for estimating the absorption coefficient of liquid metals which were perhaps akin in some sense to dwarf stars. But the president could not afford time to accommodate her in the programme.

Prof. Stratton then delivered a lengthy address on the "Recent Eclipse Results." He at first stresses the necessity of international co-operation in the study of the physical nature and conditions of those outer layers of the Sun's atmosphere which are accessible to instrumental observation at short periods of an occasional Solar eclipse. The programmes and the eclipse camps of different expeditions are chosen so as to avoid undue overlapping of common observations at near-by stations and so as to secure where possible the repetition of the more important observations at stations far apart from each other. The problem for the observers are rich in variety such as structure of the corona, exact measurements of the total luminosity of the corona, polarisation of the continuous spectrum of the corona, continuous spectrum of the corona, rotation of the corona, relative intensity and width of the lines in the corona, the transition from the absorption to the emission spectrum of the chromosphere, and so on. But the most important observations made with the deflection of a ray of light with its confirmation of Einstein's "Generalised Theory of Relativity" has been observed by British, American and German astronomers. It is only probable that there is a small deflection in excess of that predicted by Einstein and if so, the cause of this excess has not yet been clearly understood. Though it may be mentioned here that Sulaiman's theory predicts this excess.

Darwin gave a summary of the work done on the dielectric constants of solid bodies. He points out how the older theory fails miserably when we come down to low temperatures. Darwin in his new theory based on wave-mechanics, shows that though we can understand the observed values in a general way, we cannot as yet explain fully the behaviour of matter at very low temperature. Perhaps we have neglected some factors which are quite negligible at ordinary temperature, but comes into play prominently at very low temperature.

Normand showed a film on the formation of clouds and bursting of storms. Evidently the film was taken by German meteorologists, and there should have been some one to explain the parts of the films. That was the great

defect for the show. The film showed clearly the formation of thunderstorms, the gathering of clouds, the bursting of rains, etc.

The mathematical papers were of extremely technical character and the following gentlemen read their papers. C. W. Levi of Calcutta, M. R. Siddiqui of Hyderabad, A. N. Rao of Annamalinagar, R. N. Sen of Calcutta, N. Chatterjee and P. N. Das Gupta of Calcutta, S. Mitra and D. N. Sen of Patna, S. C. Dhar of Nagpur, A. N. Singh of Lucknow, C. Racine of Trichinopoly, A. A. K. Ayyangar of Mysore and others.

These papers dealt with some solutions of problems of pure mathematics and from the sense of the delegates who were mostly physicists, it was clearly evident that they did not appreciate the beauty of solutions and integrations! The small number of mathematicians did not feel quite happy in this section which was physicist in character. The mathematicians had to finish all the papers in less than two hours. It is high-time that the Science Congress Association should seriously consider whether a separate section in Mathematics would be more profitable to the mathematicians.

S. Dutta described his recent experiments on the intensity fluctuations in the continuous absorption spectra of some gaseous molecules. The nature of binding of hydrogen halides was studied at various pressures and from the nature of the shift and intensity fluctuations on the long wave length limit of the continuous absorption spectra, some light was thrown on the subject.

Ghosh read two very interesting and important papers on the band spectra of aluminium oxide and antimony oxide. The experiments were rather tedious and difficult and he thoroughly examined the vibrational analysis of aluminium oxide and he also reported of a new band system in the ultra-violet region for antimony oxide.

Das and Ray read a very interesting paper on the allotropes of sulphur. Das showed that the similarity and difference between the various modifications of sulphur, such as roll-sulphur, flower of sulphur, milk of sulphur, colloidal sulphur, plastic and hardened sulphur and white sulphur. Their investigations were carried out at temperatures ranging between -183°C to -130°C . Some peculiarly new phenomena were also reported. Sarkar read a paper on "Raman Effect" at low temperatures on solid toluene and solid ethylene dichloride. His experiments threw some light on the inter-molecular oscillations in polymerised groups in the substance.

A discussion on Ionosphere was opened by Prof. S. K. Mitra, where he gave a short account of the layers in the upper atmosphere.

His own contribution towards the subject is well known and he has recently calculated the distribution of gases in the upper atmosphere. The upper limit is calculated after Epstein for two atmospheres one consisting of nitrogen and oxygen molecules and other of nitrogen molecule and oxygen atoms, taking into consideration the disturbing effect due to heating and cooling. The mixing of two gases extend up to heights of 500 k.m. and 350 k.m. respectively. Calculations are also made of the pressures and masses of the two constituents existing above different levels in the upper atmosphere. The values of both of these are higher than those obtained by previous workers.

Saha read a very interesting paper on Pannekoek's theory of the upper atmospheric ionization. After dealing with the various theories on the subject he suggested that a complete solution of the problem could not be obtained unless the spectra of Nitrogen and Oxygen molecules were thoroughly investigated in the far Schuman region. He, however, proposed a new theory on the subject but the difficulty in the solution of the mathematical expression was not yet overcome. However making certain plausible assumptions, he drew a vivid picture in the ionisation phenomena in the F₁, F₂ and E layers in the upper atmosphere.

Prof. R. V. Southwell delivered a general discourse on the relaxation of constraints, and dealt with a general method of attack in the problems of mathematical physics. He explained by charts and maps, the problem confronting an engineer in the construction of sky-scrapers, and calculated in a typical case, the forces acting on the different parts of the building. His method was quite original and the limit of application of this method was also discussed in the modern engineering works.

Henderson gave a very short discourse on "Units". He appealed to the members to adopt one single system for all theoretical and practical purposes. He humourously pointed out that the engineers all over the world adopted one system while the physicists another, and when they talked together, they could hardly follow each other even when they were dealing with the same problem.

N. Ahmed gave an account of the works done in Bombay with his collaborators (a) on the variation in fibre strength and fibre weight per inch with the group length of fibres in Indian cotton, (b) on the effect of twist on the

strength and length of cotton fibre (c) on the clinging power of cotton in relation to its other physical properties and so on.

A large number of papers (over 70 in number) were taken as read for want of time.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"The Sources of Energy of Storms" formed the subject-matter of the presidential address by Dr. C. W. B. Normand. He first of all gave a short summary of works done before, to investigate the cause of storms. The data were meagre but according to the president, the collection of data of the upper air introduced a gradual revolution in the study and practice of meteorology in India and also over the rest of the world. After dealing with the various causes of instability of energy in the atmosphere which caused the storms of all kinds such as cyclones, thunderstorms, dust-storms, etc., the president dealt at length on the contribution towards the problem by himself and his collaborators in the department. Naturally they followed Margules who was the pioneer in the field and whose works were regarded as a standard in this direction. But the well-known examples of Margules involved very lengthy computations. The Indian meteorological department showed that approximate results sufficient for our practical purposes in forecasting the storm and its centre could be obtained by simple means of the adiabatic diagram, i.e., on a temperature entropy diagram. This method could be easily extended, according to the speaker, to examples of a much more general type than those worked out by Margules. Examples, in which condensation of water vapour took place, could be computed graphically and it showed how great a factor the latent instability of water vapour might be in the development of kinetic energy.

SECTION OF AGRICULTURE

The scientific work of the section in the shape of reading of original papers and holding discussions on them was transacted in the following subsections for the purpose of dealing separately with different groups of papers submitted to the section: "General; Plant Breeding and Genetics"; "Study of Crops and Crop Products"; "Statistics and Plot Technique"; "Crop Enemies"; "Soils"; "Manures and Fertilisers". Altogether fifty-six papers were accepted for reading at the different subsections of which thirty were actually read. The British Association Delegates who took active part in the discussions were Dr. Salaman, Dr. Crowther,

Professor Comber and Dr. Ogg. Dr. Salaman read a very interesting paper on "Plant Genetics" with special reference to Potato Breeding. He emphasised the need of a careful selection of varieties for use as parents in plant breeding work as also for marketing purposes.

The section held discussions on the following topics jointly with other section and societies: "The Application of Statistics in Agriculture"; "Biological Control of Insects"; "The Species Concept in the Light of Cytology and Genetics"; "River Physics in India"; "Colloids in Biology"; "Medicine and Agriculture"; "Relation of Zoology to Medicine, Veterinary Science and Agriculture."

In his address as president of the section Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman deals with the various aspects of the scientific work that has been carried out during the past quarter of a century at Coimbatore which has been responsible for converting India from a major sugar importing country to the present position where she is looking out for possible export markets. In India, conditions for sugar-cane growth are extremely unfavourable. The growth period is very short and secondly, during its life cycle, the crop has to pass through extreme variations of climatic conditions from very high temperatures and severe drought in summer to comparatively low temperatures, including frost, towards harvest. These difficult conditions have been overcome at Coimbatore by the successful carrying out of a complicated hybridization programme involving the use of various types of sugar-canes including certain wild species. At Coimbatore it has been possible also to cross a sugar-cane with other genera like Sorghum and even with an altogether different subfamily of grass, *viz.*, the bamboo.

The office-bearers of the section were: *President*: Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman, C.I.E., B.A., I.A.S., F.N.I., Imperial Sugarcane Expert, Coimbatore; *Recorder*: Dr. A. N. Puri, Ph.D., D.Sc., A.I.C., M.A., Punjab Irrigation Research Institute, Lahore; *Sectional correspondent*: Professor S. P. Agharkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.N.I., Ghosh Professor of Botany, University of Calcutta; *Local Sectional Secretary*: Mr. R. P. Mitra, M.Sc., Research Assistant, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India.

The following members of the British Association took active interest in the scientific deliberations of the section: Professor N. M. Comber, D.Sc., A.R.C.S., F.I.C., Professor of Agricultural Chemistry and Head of the Department of Agriculture in the University of Leeds;

Dr. E. M. Crowther, D.Sc., Head of the Department of Chemistry, Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden; Professor J. Hendrick, B.Sc., Strathcona-Fondyce Professor of Agriculture, University of Aberdeen and Director of Studies and Research, North of Scotland College of Agriculture; Dr. W. G. Ogg, Ph.D., Director, Macaulay Institute of Soil Research, Aberdeen; Dr. R. N. Salaman, M.D., F.R.S., Director Potato Virus Research Station, School of Agriculture, Cambridge; Dr. J. A. Venn, Litt.D., President of Queen's College and Lecturer in the History and Economics of Agriculture in the University of Cambridge.

SECTION OF CHEMISTRY

The Section of Chemistry was enlivened this year by the presence of some distinguished foreign scientists, notably Sir Henry Tizard, Dr. F. W. Aston, Prof. J. Lennard-Jones, Prof. J. L. Simonsen and Prof. E. C. C. Baly. Recent trend in the Indian Science Congress has been more in the line of having symposia, in which many investigators can take part in the discussion of a common problem, than in reading individual papers, different from one another. Considerably more time was, therefore, devoted this year to discussions, some of which were held in co-operation with other Sections of the Science Congress and with the Indian Chemical Society.

Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar of Lahore was the President of the Chemistry Section and Mr. H. Sassan, Dr. B. C. Guha and Dr. A. C. Sircar were the Recorder, Sectional Correspondent and Local Sectional Secretary respectively. Prof. Bhatnagar delivered his presidential address on "A Survey of Recent Advances in Magnetism Relating to Chemistry", which was a brilliant, comprehensive and critical presentation of a subject, that may be called magneto-chemistry, to which Prof. Bhatnagar's own school along with some other Indian investigators have made very notable contributions. This up-to-date survey is bound to be of great benefit to all workers throughout the world, who are interested in this highly interesting field of investigation.

A discussion on "Recent Advances in our Knowledge of the Structure of Alkaloids" was opened by Prof. J. N. Ray of Lahore, who discussed recent methods for determining the chemical constitution of alkaloids with special reference to vasicine, on which he and his collaborators have worked extensively. Dr. S. Siddiqui of Delhi referred to his work on conessine, ajamalaine and related alkaloids.

Prof. J. L. Simonsen delivered an address

dealing mainly with his researches on sesquiterpene ketones, which was followed by a discussion in which Dr. P. C. Mitter, Dr. U. Basu and others took part.

A very illuminating address was delivered by Prof. J. Lennard-Jones, Professor of Theoretical Chemistry at Cambridge University, on resonance in relation to molecular structure and on the application of wave-mechanics to the problem of valency—a line of work on which hardly any work is now being carried out in India.

Prof. E. C. C. Baly of Liverpool University spoke on his prolonged researches on the photochemical synthesis of sugar *in vitro* in the presence of inorganic catalysts, mainly nickel salts. Dr. P. Niyogi took part in the discussion, which followed.

A symposium on "Colloids in Biology, Medicine and Agriculture" was opened by Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, who stressed the importance of research in colloids in relation to Agriculture and Biology and referred to the researches on soil-colloids proceeding at the University of Calcutta and the application of the theory of double layer to this problem. Dr. V. Subrahmanyan of Bangalore and others joined in the discussion.

A symposium on "Chemistry in Relation to Industrial Development in India" was held with Sir Henry Tizard, Rector of the Imperial Institute of Technology, London, in the chair. Dr. T. S. Wheeler of Bombay referred to the role that Chemistry plays in the development of national resources. Dr. B. C. Guha said that in this country the requisite contact between scientists on the one hand and industrialists on the other has been lacking. He suggested that organizations should be set up which would represent University Science Departments, the Industries Departments of the Central and Provincial Governments and the industrial interests like the Chambers of Commerce. Establishment of such contacts would help to infuse a greater sense of reality into the work of the University Science Departments and make them more responsive to industrial needs. Industrialists would, at the same time, realize what help science is capable of rendering to industry. Dr. Guha also referred to the researches on the low temperature carbonization of coal going on in the Department of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University. The possibility of the production of things like motor spirit from even second and third grade coals, which are practically wasted in India, was a problem

of supreme national importance, particularly in India where natural petroleum resources are very limited. Dr. Guha also referred to the fermentative production of citric acid from molasses, which also had industrial possibilities. Dr. H. K. Sen stressed the need of the development of machine sense in students and the importance of researches on the utilization of coal and jute. Dr. R. B. Forster, Dr. K. Venkataraman, Dr. K. G. Naik, Dr. Dunnicliff and others joined the discussion. Sir Henry Tizard, in summing up, said that it was desirable that the Science Congress itself should set up organizations to go into the questions raised in the symposium in greater detail, so that such organizations may have authoritative opinion to give and may formulate the steps to be taken by the Governments concerned. He said that the present Fuel Research Board of Great Britain was formed as a result of the findings of a Committee set up by the British Association. He observed that the present discussion served as a pointer and could be taken as a basis for further development.

A joint symposium on "Recent Advances in our Knowledge of Molecular Structure from the Physico-chemical Standpoint" was held in co-operation with the Sections of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics with Prof. J. Lennard-Jones in the chair. Dr. Rao, Dr. D. M. Bose, Dr. K. S. Krishnan and others joined the discussion.

A number of papers dealing with practically all branches of Chemistry were also read, some of them of very considerable importance.

A social feature was a luncheon organized by the Indian Chemical Society to meet some of the distinguished foreign delegates at which Dr. F. W. Aston was the chief guest. They were received by Prof. J. C. Ghosh, President and Prof. B. C. Guha, Secretary of the Society. Prof. J. C. Ghosh made a speech welcoming the guests and Dr. Aston made a suitable reply referring to India as a "land of contrasts", where primitive as well as highly scientific methods exist side by side.

On the whole, the Chemistry Section was a success affording as it did opportunities both for intellectual and social contact among the Indian and foreign chemists.

We publish an account of the proceedings of some of the sections of the Indian Science Congress, held in January, 1938, and hope to publish further accounts in the next issue.—Ed. M. R.

THE FIRST INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

By AN ONLOOKER

WHILE the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta was drawing much attention of the general public, an important event, *viz.*, the First Session of the Indian Statistical Conference, took place in this city. Another brilliant feather to the cap of Calcutta was thus added.

In its old sense Statistics is an ancient subject. The counting of the people and the collection of information regarding the resources of the country had been in existence from the earliest times. The ancient Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Romans prepared and preserved records of the resources of the State.

In India we have clear evidence that administrative statistics had reached a high stage of organization even before 300 B.C. In the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya it is enjoined that villages shall be brought under one or another of the following heads :

Villages which are exempted from taxation; those that supply soldiers; those that pay their taxes in the form of grain, cattle, gold or raw material; and those that supply free labour and dairy produce in lieu of taxes.

Among the duties of the Gopa—the village accountant, it is distinctly mentioned that

“by setting up boundaries to villages, by numbering plots of ground as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens, vegetable gardens, fences, forests, altars, temples of gods, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding-houses, places where water is freely supplied to travellers, places of pilgrimage, pasture grounds and roads, and thereby fixing the boundaries of various villages, of fields, of forests, and of roads, he shall register gifts, sales, charities, and remission of taxes regarding fields.”

“Also having numbered the houses as tax-paying or non-paying, he shall not only register the total number of inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also keep an account of the exact number of cultivators, cow-heads, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves, and biped and quadruped animals, fixing at the same time the amount of gold, free labour, toll and fines that can be collected from it (each house).”

The curious reader is referred to the translation by R. Shamasastri of *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, Ch. XXXV, for such and further details.

In the classic period of Sanskrit culture there are numerous references to detailed statistics of various kinds in inscriptions as well as in technical treatises.

In more recent times under the Muham-

madan rulers of India, we find descriptive statistics occupying a very important place. The best known compilation of this period is the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the great administrative and statistical survey of India under Emperor Akbar, which was completed by his friend and minister Abul Fazl in 1596-97 A.D. It contains a wealth of information regarding the Moghul Empire

“faithfully and minutely recorded in their smallest detail, with such an array of facts illustrative of its extent, resources, condition, population, industry and wealth as the abundant material from official sources could furnish.”

It is no wonder that speaking of Abul Fazl, his translator H. S. Jarret remarks that,

“regarded as a statistician, no details from the revenues of a province to the cost of a pineapple, from the organization of an army and the grades and duties of nobility to the shape of a candlestick and the price of currycomb, are beyond his microscopic and patient investigation.”

In Europe statistics had vague beginnings in the Middle Ages, but it became a serious subject of study with the growth and rise of the modern States in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. The growth of Economics gave it added importance; in fact, until recently, statistics continued to be almost exclusively associated with economic studies. Slowly statistics came to be regarded as the eyes and ears of the Government. It could tell the Prince how many able-bodied men might be mobilized and how many would be needed for the essentials of civil life; how numerous or how wealthy are the house-owners whom he may tax to provide for his well-trained and well-equipped armies; and so on. This aspect of statistical information seems to have been long neglected in England as well as in India. We should have to look to Italy for a centralized statistical service capable of informing and enlightening Mussolini with the latest and most accurate information and tendencies to which they are subject, so that Il Duce is the best informed potentate in Europe.

In India the official statistics are often inaccurate and misleading; and as one speaker at the Conference pointed out, for example, that :

According to the Government Resolution reviewing the working of the municipalities in Bengal for 1930-31, there were ten Chairmen for the Panihati Municipality in a

single year, of whom 3 were nominated, and 7 elected, etc. etc.; that according to the Bengal Census of 1931 there was not a single literate in English in the Kishoreganj Municipality, although Kishoreganj is a Sub-Divisional town with its S. D. O. and Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates, Pleaders, Mukhtears, Head-masters, Chairman, Vice-Chairman and including the Charge Superintendent who wrote out the report for the town; that according to the Diagram printed in the Bengal Public Health Report there were no small-pox deaths in December-January, as if King Yama had taken a Christmas Holiday.

The Calcutta Corporation Statistics are equally full of similar errors.

But in recent years important developments in the theory and application of statistical methods have taken place, which have far transcended its old objects. In fact, the statistical studies have, at the present time, bifurcated into two almost distinct branches, one chiefly descriptive and enumerative (generally connected with administration and economics), and the other primarily analytical, which is as much a branch of positive science as applied mathematics or physics.

In descriptive statistics we are usually satisfied with the total or average number or quantity of any particular entity for the group as a whole. Such knowledge of the total or average is adequate for many purposes of commerce and trade and for administrative purposes. But for other purposes the average may not be adequate. Insurance offers a classical example. Fifty persons of age 35 and fifty persons of age 45 will have an average age of 40. Fifty persons of age 20 and fifty persons of age 60 will also have the same average age of 40. But the insurance propositions are, however, entirely different. No insurance company will insure the latter group for the same premium as the former group. It is the distribution of age within the group which is important in this connection.

In analytical statistics the emphasis is on the study of variation. The fundamental importance of the study of variation arises, however, from the fact that complete enumeration is almost always impossible in practice; and statistical estimates have to be based on samples. The information obtained from such samples is bound to be incomplete and uncertain to the extent of its smallness; and it is the object of statistical analysis to give us reliable estimates for the whole, together with the probable margin of error associated with such estimates. Given the range of variation of a particular estimate, we can obviously decide upon our actual procedure with much greater confidence and less chance of failure in the long run than without it. It is this practical aspect

which has made the modern statistical method indispensable for the analysis of data in the mass, and has given it its immense importance in agricultural, biological, educational, industrial, medical and meteorological investigations of all kinds. How far the percentage of success in past experience can be made the basis of forecasting future expectation is the fundamental problem of statistics. It is by the use of just these methods that the development of long-range forecasting of the monsoon has become possible in India.

Nature and Nurture, which is the stronger? The question is much more easily asked than answered. Experiments with seedlings and guinea pigs have provided an answer;—rather a qualified answer. Does the same answer hold good for Man? The science of statistics has furnished the answer. It has shown that the correlation between the parents and offspring is about $+0.5$ for a large number of both physical and mental characters, i.e., of the two heredity (nature) is the more important factor. It has been observed that as a matter of fact there is a close relation between mental defectiveness in children and extreme alcoholism in adults. Whom to segregate, the adult alcoholists or the mentally defective children? Statistical analysis has furnished the answer—the mentally defective tended to become extreme alcoholists, and so the remedy is the segregation of the mentally defective. Modern statistical analysis can be used for a variety of purposes; from calculating the average duration of the reign of sovereigns and average length of a generation in reconstructing historical or Puranic chronology; from the duration of pregnancy in calculating the size of litters in bitches, from the variation in the wear and tear of coins in calculating their age, to how fast a species can spread in an unoccupied area; to how far special defects are inherited in Man; to the chances of death at various ages.

In its mathematical aspect statistics can be and has been usefully employed in organising research, and conducting agricultural experiments. Prof. R. A. Fisher, the President of the Conference, has revolutionised agricultural research in England by his statistical methods, and obtained quick and reliable results from the Rothamstead Experimental Station.

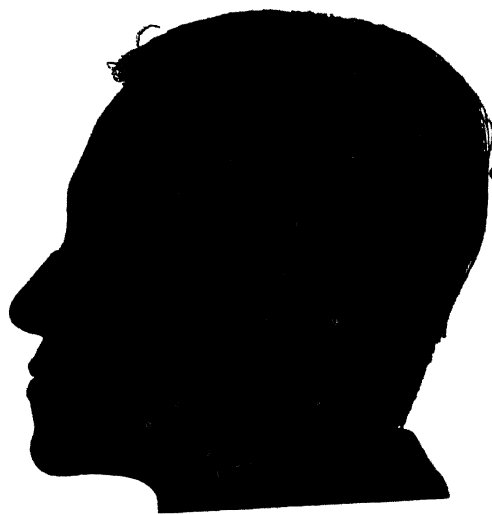
Here in India the importance of statistics and statistical research are realised by few. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal did some work in connection with the analysis of marks obtained by students at the various examinations of the Calcutta University in 1914-1916; but he left the field early. The reorganization of Agricul-

tural Research following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1926-1928) gave a great impetus to the study of analytical statistics. A statistical department was created at the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute. The statistical method is being increasingly used in meteorological work in India; and a statistical section has been recently opened at Poona. The Forest Research Institute at Dehra-Dun; the Hydrological Laboratory in the Punjab; the Cotton Technological Laboratory at Matunga (Bombay); the Tocklai Experimental Station in Assam under the auspices of the Indian Tea Association are all using statistical analysis for their respective purposes.

It was left to Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis of the Presidency College, Calcutta, himself a Physics man, to conduct and organize statistical research at Calcutta. After the disastrous floods in Northern Bengal in 1922, the Government of Bengal asked him to find out the causes; and he prepared a comprehensive Report on Rainfall and Floods in North Bengal during the period 1872-1922. In 1928 the Bihar and Orissa Government entrusted him with a similar task in connection with the Orissa floods. In course of these investigations 3 or 4 computers became trained in Statistical work. Books and Journals, calculating machines and other equipments, worth about Rs. 25,000 had also been purchased by him at his *own* expense; and in this way the nucleus of a statistical Laboratory was gradually built up. Statistical work was done by individual workers in other parts of India. To name only a few, Prof. Madhava of the Mysore University, Professors D. G. Karve and V. G. Kale at Poona, and Dr. Ghurye were carrying on statistical researches independently. To organize statistical research and bring together workers in different fields of statistics, the establishment of a Central Institute was felt necessary. The Statistical Laboratory naturally became the centre for all such workers. The Laboratory was fortunate in attracting from the very beginning a number of devoted and often brilliant workers. The work of the Laboratory developed rapidly; and on its initiative the Indian Statistical Institute was founded in December 1931 and registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. To promote research, *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, was started in 1933; and it is on the exchange list of *all* the important statistical societies and journals in the world. In welcoming its foundation *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* observed that "mere enumeration without proper criticism and inter-

pretation does not complete our knowledge". The number of statistical and other journals received in exchange exceed 300; and the number of books on statistics and books requiring statistical treatment, collected at the Laboratory, exceed 4,000 volumes. The Indian Statistical Institute under Prof. Mahalanobis is responsible for (1) Courses of Training in Statistics and granting Certificates and Diplomas and (2) for various Statistical enquiries entrusted by Governments and Native States.

The Laboratory has prepared a new type of apparatus—the Profiloscope—by which a profile photo of the human subject can be taken in a few minutes. And from the measurements on the photo anthropometric data can be



collected with sufficient accuracy. The writer's profiloscope photograph is given here on a reduced scale; and from measurements on it it can be safely asserted to which province or caste he belongs.

From the very beginning the Institute was taking a keen interest in the Indian Official Statistics. The need for an Advisory Committee for the proper scrutiny of Official Statistical publications was stressed by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta in the pages of the *Sankhya*; and as the result of the deliberations of a strong committee consequently appointed, there has been considerable improvement in some of the official statistical publications; such as the Trade Returns; the Statistical Abstract for British India, etc.

The question of organizing an Indian Statistical Conference was in the mind of the statistical workers for some time. In September, 1934, Prof. Mahalanobis had discussed this question with Dr. (afterwards Sir) D. B. Meek, then Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, who strongly supported the idea. The Hon'ble Sir James Grigg, Finance Member to the Government of India, supported the idea. Dr. John Matthai, the new Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, suggested that the first Conference might be held in 1936. The Indian Statistical Institute took up the idea; and circularised it among the different universities and other learned bodies. The general opinion was in favour of organizing a Statistical Conference. The volume of statistical work has increased rapidly in recent years in India; and in case a Statistical Conference is started it was expected there will be no dearth of papers and the standard will be as high as that of papers presented before the Indian Science Congress or the Indian Economic Conference.

The Indian Statistical Conference will not only give opportunities for the presentation and discussion of scientific and technical papers, and of methods of standardisation and improvement in the collection of primary statistics, but will also be useful in other ways. People from different parts of India, different Provinces and States, both official and non-official, will be brought together in such a Conference, which will enable personal contacts being established between statistical workers in different parts of the country. In the present unorganized condition of statistical studies in India, there is scarcely any stimulus to research outside 2 or 3 big centres; and Annual or Biennial Conference was expected to give encouragement to workers in isolated centres by bringing them in touch with other workers. A Conference will also help in focussing public attention on the scope and importance of statistics; in securing grant from Government Departments and public bodies; and also in opening channels for the support of statistical studies and research.

The idea was strongly supported by the Calcutta University, which agreed to invite the President of the Conference to give a course of lectures. Advantage was also taken of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta; and Calcutta was selected as the venue of the First Statistical Conference in India.

As S. J. Syamaprasad Mookerjee in welcoming the delegates said :

"The responsibility of convening the present Conference rests with the Indian Statistical Institute, which has its headquarters in this city. In spite of its limited resources, the Institute has succeeded in establishing a proud record of work during its short period of existence; it has given ample evidence of vitality and organization, for which thanks are due to the devotion and enthusiasm of the scholars and workers associated with it. I cannot but publicly acknowledge the remarkable zeal and earnestness brought to bear upon its affair by its Founder-Secretary, Prof. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis."

This sentiment was echoed by His Excellency the Chancellor of the University, when he said that the Statistical Laboratory has reached its present stage of development under the able guidance of Prof. Mahalanobis; and re-echoed by Prof. R. A. Fisher in his Presidential Address that he looks with every confidence that the statistical work will be carried forward with the intellectual integrity that such a task requires by the brilliant school of workers that Prof. Mahalanobis has gathered round him in this University.

The Conference was a great success. It was attended by, besides the delegates to the Statistical Conference, the almost entire Science Congress. It was fortunate in having Prof. Fisher as its General President. The Vice-Chancellor observed :

"We are fortunate in having as the President of the first session of the Conference a scholar of the eminence of Professor Ronald Fisher, the second to adorn the most important chair in Statistics in the whole world, the first occupant having been Karl Pearson himself."

The Mathematical Section was presided over by Prof. Fisher himself; the Medical and Public Health Section was presided over by no less a person than Col. Russell, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India; and the Economic Section by the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, at present the Finance Member of the Government of Bengal. The Conference elicited as many as forty papers from different parts of India; from Prof. Madhava of Mysore University to Mr. Srivastava of Cawnpore; from Prof. Maclean of Bombay to Mr. Guha Thakurta of Delhi; and from subjects as abstruse as the hyper-space geometry of Mr. Raj Chandra Bose to the funny mistakes in the official publications by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta. The mere number exceed or nearly equalled the number of papers read in 5 or 6 sections of the Jubilee Session of the Science Congress. More than all these it had induced a feeling of brotherhood among the statistical workers in the different fields and has led to exchange of many valuable ideas.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

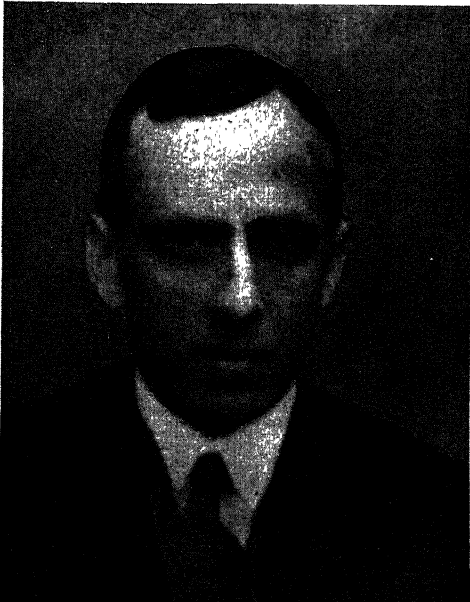
"Prof. Dharendra Nath Sen on the 'Royal Veto'."

I have read with pleasure Dr. Sen's admirable exposition of the constitutional implications of the Royal veto, and I am glad to find that unlike Prof. Dhar he has duly stressed the latest constitutional developments. In one place he has, however, been misled by Prof. Dhar's unduly exaggerated attention to my use of the obviously popular expression "after a year" in course of my criticisms, and has, probably to show for once his sympathy for Prof. Dhar, has assumed "*an error*," where really speaking no error had been committed! If he reads my article again, he will find that in the course of the article while explaining the constitution I have duly and more than once referred to "*within*

12 months," and have myself cited Sections 77 and 32 which Dr. Sen has needlessly quoted. It was only when making a general reflection that I intentionally used the expression "a year" for "*within 12 months*," because after all "*within twelve months*" legally comprehends almost the last hour of the twelfth month, and is therefore, popularly speaking, tantamount to a year. As for certain other points raised by him in the course of his article Dr. Sen will himself admit that there may be scope for difference of opinion. Even reputed jurists are not unanimous in their interpretation of constitutional provisions. Any pompous attempt to dogmatise in such matters is bound to appear ridiculous to a sober student of constitutional history.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS



Dr. J. L. Simonsen



Dr. A. Howard

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS E. K. JANAKI AMMAL, M.A., D.Sc., Sugarcane Geneticist, Imperial Sugarcane Breeding Station, Coimbatore. She acted as the Chairman of the Cytology and Genetics section of the Science Congress.



Miss E. K. Janaki Ammal

DR. MISS MAINA PARANJPE, is the daughter of Prof. M. R. Paranjpe, the famous educationist. She took the B.Sc. degree in Physics and mathematics in 1931 and M.Sc. degree of the University of Bombay, in Metereology, in 1933. In the September of 1935, she sailed for England to prosecute her studies further in the subject of Metereology and joined the Imperial College of London. There under the able guidance of Dr. Brunt, she finished her thesis within a course of two years and was honoured with Ph.D. and D.I.C. degrees of the London University.

She is at present a Professor of Physics in the Shet Sitaldas College, Shikarpur (Sind).

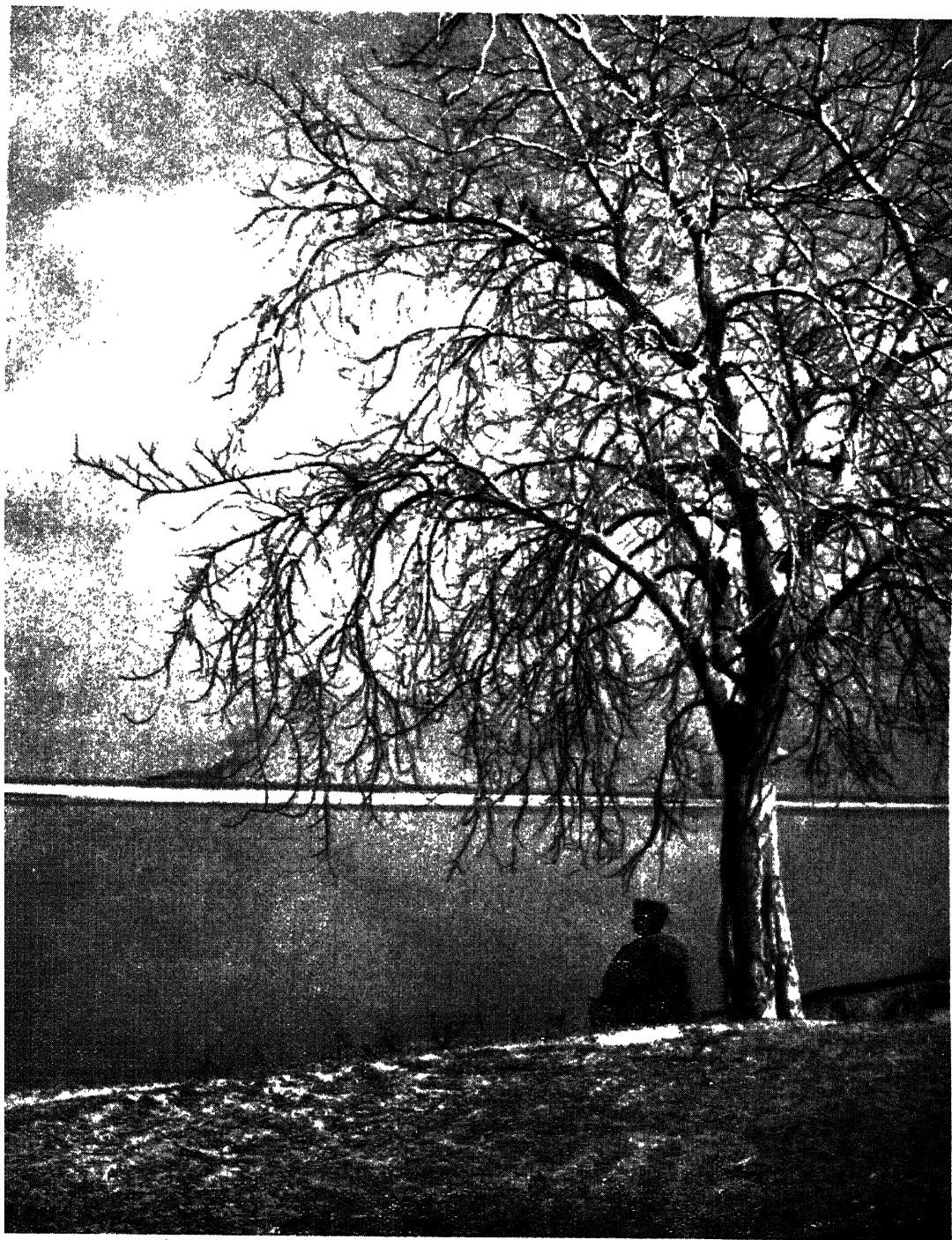


Dr. Miss Maina Paranjpe



Mrs. Maniben Nanubhai Desai

MRS. MANI DESAI, is the talented editor of the Gujarati Monthly, *Sribodh*, 'Lady-writers' special number.



‘Thy branches ne’er remember their green felicity”

[Photo : Parimal Goswami



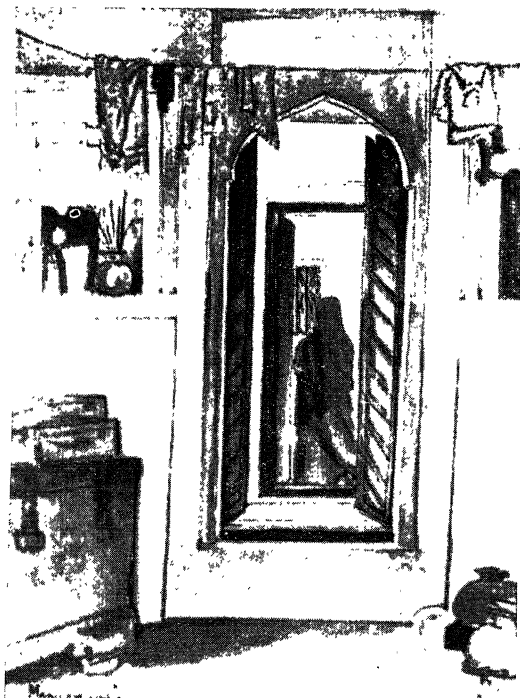
Badrinath



Pilgrims of Kedarnath



Godhuli Ragini



The Interior

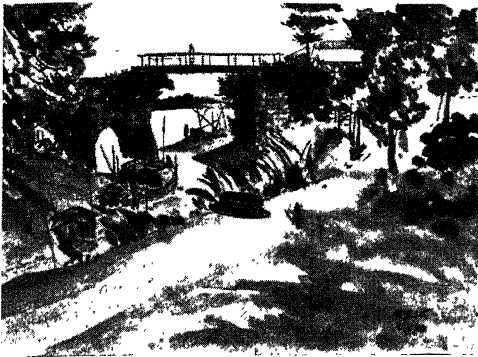
AN EXHIBITION OF THE PAINTINGS OF MANINDRA BHUSHAN GUPTA

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

To those who are alive to the trends of modern Indian art, the exhibition of the paintings of Manindra Bhushan Gupta held last month in the rooms of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, though not the most showy of the 'art events' in Calcutta during the winter season, was perhaps the most interesting. Mr. Gupta's work is familiar enough to the lovers of the modern Indian school, and, particularly, the

hand inspiration, and it can hardly be denied that these two constitute the fundamental weakness of the modern Indian school.

Let us consider in the first instance the subject-matter of the works of the modern school—the endless series of Radhas and Krishnas, Ramas and Sitas, and other legendary and mythical heroes which have already begun to pall on the artist and his patron alike. Some people seem to imagine that there is special merit in depicting these incidents and in searching for increasingly recondite and obscure legends; that the Indian-ness of the modern Indian school lies in its choice of these particular themes. It does not, however, require a too profound acquaintance with the history of art to realize that the subject-matter of a painting is the least significant part of the artist's work, and one which



An Old Bridge, Dacca
By Manindrabhushan Gupta

readers of *The Modern Review*, to render renewed introduction superfluous. But the collection of a number of his works at one place afforded a good opportunity for comparison, classification, and appraisal, which is of special value as indicative of certain new developments in modern Indian painting and of an awakening of the painters who belong to this school to certain aspects of their work to which they had been more or less blind.

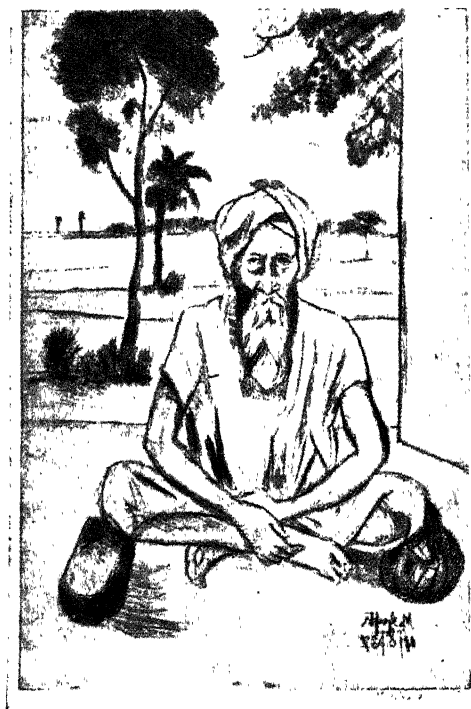
Strange as it may seem, this blindness was towards what is universally considered to be the primary condition of the painter's, or for that matter any artist's, craft—first-hand experience. It has been said that every painter paints "with his blood." This is equivalent to saying that style in painting is organically interwoven with the innermost, being of the artist and with the environment which is perpetually shaping and reshaping his consciousness. Thus there can be no great art based upon imitation and second-



Santiniketan
By Manindrabhushan Gupta

should least encumber his thoughts. The palæolithic painter drew mammoth and bison and boar and reindeer not out of regard for the 'palæolithicness' of his art, but because these animals occupied the foreground of the palæolithic man's vision and imagination. The Rajput painter drew Krishnas and Radhas because his patrons were familiar with these stories and wanted visible mementos of them. The Mogul painters drew scenes in which people about the court were interested. The painters

of the Renaissance turned out madonnas and saints not out of a pre-raphaelite weakness for the sentimental and the far off but because the monasteries and churches were always commissioning these subjects from practical considerations. The fact of the matter is the painter has to take the subject given him by the world in which he lives. He has no choice over it.



The Village Musician
Drypoint By Manindrabhushan Gupta

But the thing which is his very own is his vision. It depends on the painter's genius alone whether his picture will be banal or have the light that never was on land and sea.

The technical and formal side of painting may now be considered. It has long been a moot question among art critics and historians of art whether one age can paint just like another, or, to put the question in a concrete form, whether Rembrandt could paint like Michelangelo or whether Impressionists could paint like the masters of the Quattrocento. And the almost unanimous answer of art critics is that they could not; that not everything is possible in every age; that every age has its mode of vision and concept of beautiful

form which never tallies with the mode of vision and concept of beautiful form of another age. The moral sought to be drawn from this principle of art history in the case of the modern Indian school must be obvious to the reader. As in the case of inspiration, so in the sphere of execution the modern Indian school has been in the habit of playing the sedulous ape to the style of by-gone ages, pre-eminently Rajput and Ajanta, and at times Japanese and Chinese and Muhammadan, with fatal results on its own vitality. If, as Heinrich Wölfflin says, style in painting is primarily expression, expression of the temper of an age and a nation as well as expression of the individual temperament, modern India has not yet discovered and evolved a style of its own. To leave aside exceptions which prove the rule, the paintings which have been turned out in recent years in India embody neither the vision nor the aesthetic individuality of the age in which we live. Perhaps in fairness to the new school it should be said that art tradition had sunk too low at the end of the nineteenth century for it to regain the heights expected from great art. It has also to be admitted that in art as in life imitation precedes independent creation. Still when all has been said and done the fact remains that the modern Indian school is not growing at the pace it should. After the first burst of discovery, experimentation, creation, and achievement under the lead of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose a singular sterility seems to have set in. The school seems to have settled down to a preconceived notion of Indianness in content and form. This prolonged nonage, not untinged with a suspicion of unnatural infantilism, has certainly been a source of serious misgiving to many lovers of the new Indian school.

Pastiche, conscious archaism, and sentimentality are the three marks of decadence in art. If the modern Indian school of painting is to be a robust growth, if it is to take root in our life, its exponents must be prepared to revise its basic ideology. Translated into concrete suggestion, this would mean the rejection of a large proportion of the themes now in vogue in the school, a recasting of its technique, and greater contact with actuality, not necessarily in the sense that modern Indian art is to be realistic or purely representational, but that it should have greater directness of inspiration.

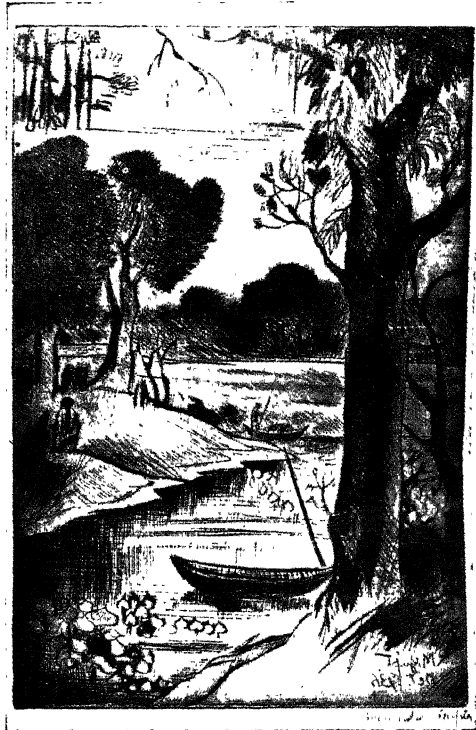
It would not be correct to say that Mr. Gupta is the first painter of the modern Indian school to feel the need of this re-orientation. Not all the work of the new school is

taken up with mythological subjects, and Mr. Gupta himself is a fairly assiduous practitioner of the legendary cult. But as one surveys the paintings brought together in the exhibition, it becomes clear that there is a more deliberate intention, or rather urge, and a more sustained purpose in his break-away from the accepted tradition. He is not like some other painters of the new Indian school who have been moved strongly enough by their direct visual experience to depict scenes of every-day life and landscapes, but have at the same time been so ashamed of this heterodoxy that they have tried to remove all traces of actuality till their pictures of rural Bengali life became converted into excerpts from folk-tales. Mr. Gupta's approach to the actual is more straightforward. When a scene of Bengali life has moved his artistic consciousness he has translated it into a pictorial composition without regard for preconceived canons of execution. Take for example his drawing of a Bengali interior (No. 57 in the catalogue). This may justly be regarded as a masterly drawing, with a strong rhythm of line and faultless distribution of masses. But it is likely to shock the conventional admirer of modern Indian painting, if indeed so small a work ever receives the attention it deserves, as much as Manet's "*Dejeuner sur l'herbe*" shocked his contemporaries. Perhaps our reactions to artistic events and trends are not strong enough for us to pursue the object of our dislike with the same fury of invective as was showered on Manet's head. But if we were alive to the implication of things we should certainly stop before this work and take stock. It introduces, certainly for the first time, a clothes line with hanging *lingerie* into modern Indian art. This is not only bold; it also achieves the distinction of being successfully brought in, successfully from the point of view of aesthetic significance.

This little drawing is singled out for special mention on account of its value as evidence of a sensibility towards the painter's raw material untrammelled by preconceptions. But there are other paintings in the exhibition which indicate the same yearning for freedom. The whole collection of Mr. Gupta's exhibited work falls easily into two halves, one of which is conventional and the other experimental. Mr. Gupta seems to be a painter standing on the threshold of a room with period furniture, not quite sure about the propriety of leaving its respectable and recognized precincts, yet casting a very wistful glance at the open spaces before him. But the impact of the real is too strong upon him to be resisted. That is why there is an

obvious dichotomy in him. Mr. Gupta might well have shown his paintings in two rooms, one bearing the inscription "I paint as I please" and the other "Take what you expect."

From the point of view of spontaneity, gusto, and live quality there is, however, no doubt as to which group bears the palm. It is



A Village in Bengal
Drypoint By Manindrabhushan Gupta

no accident that Mr. Gupta's landscapes sparkle and speak. The raw material for these were supplied by three of his most vital and fruitful experiences, the environment of his native village in the first instance; next, westernmost Bengal where he served his apprenticeship as painter; and, lastly, the Kumaon Himalayas, an excursion into which was a great inspiration to him. It will be found that all his landscape work depicts one or other of those three regions and catches their spirit with a truthfulness rarely achieved in contemporary Indian painting. Among these again, one is inclined to assign a decided superiority in intuitive perception and artistic transformation to the landscapes of Bolpur and Dacca. These scenes, from which Mr. Gupta's vision must have drawn its nurture

in the formative years of youth and early manhood, show his work at its most lyrical and eloquent. In actual fact, the outward aspect of neither Birbhum nor Dacea is deeply stirring, though both have a quiet beauty that grows on one. But in Mr. Gupta's drawings they are transfigured, not into pretty and far-fetched fancies but into real works of art. In art as in literature, the difference between the real and the clever counterfeit is very hard to define in terms of rational exposition. But the mind fastens on the one and rejects the other all the same. The test here is too subtle for words. But it nevertheless has an indubitable existence.

The emphasis laid in this short note on only one aspect of Mr. Gupta's work has not been dictated by caprice nor by accident. The larger works of Mr. Gupta shown in the exhibition are in the style now made familiar to all and recognized as *comme il faut* even by the crowd. They do not require much interpretation. But the case is different with the paintings in which Mr. Gupta makes a departure from the established convention. They have puzzled many serious and sincere lovers of the new school and led them to wonder whether they

would be right in admiring them. Just as thirty years ago there was a strong predisposition against the work of the nascent Indian school, today the very success and vogue of the school has created a counter-inhibition among Indians claiming to be cultured against artistic creations which do not follow this set pattern. Perhaps even Mr. Gupta is not quite sure within himself whether this new type of picture which he is turning out is to be included in the corpus of his serious work, and whether they are not just freaks or at best the private and intimate wanderings by the way of an artist who is in duty bound to throw himself into quite another attitude when the public gaze is fixed upon him. For this reason, it is necessary to insist that nothing would be so fatal to the growth of a genuine and vigorous art tradition in modern India than a surrender to convention. The pioneers of the new school declared that Indian painting will not find its soul through imitation of the academic work of the West. They were right. It is time for their disciples to proclaim that nor will it attain salvation through an equally lifeless imitation of Ajanta and the Rajput school. And they too would be right.

PRESENT-DAY CAMBODGE

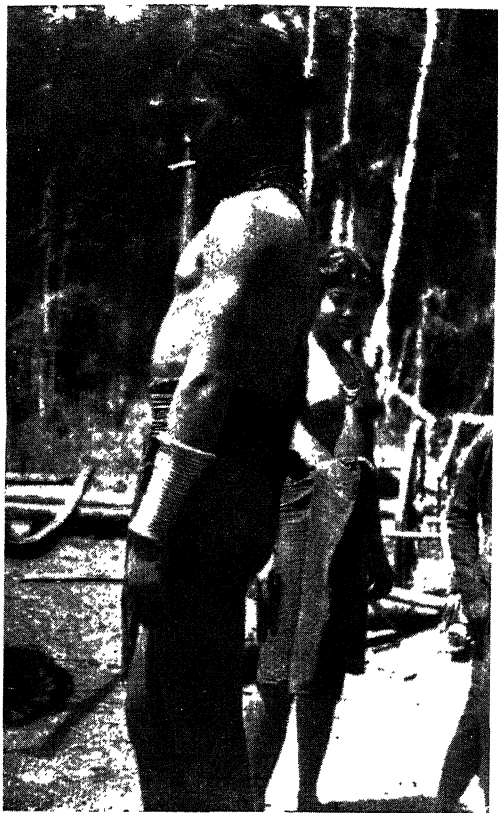
Indo-China is more or less terra incognita to the average Indian reader. We have some knowledge about the contacts of the Hindu civilization with the pre-existing "Oceanic" cultures in that region and the brilliant results thereof. But so far as the inhabitants of the country are concerned and their present-day environments, we have little or no knowledge.

In this issue we give some illustrations which will be no doubt of great interest to those who are interested in such lore. It will be seen that there is a great deal in common with us from the point of view of the continuity of cultural trends.

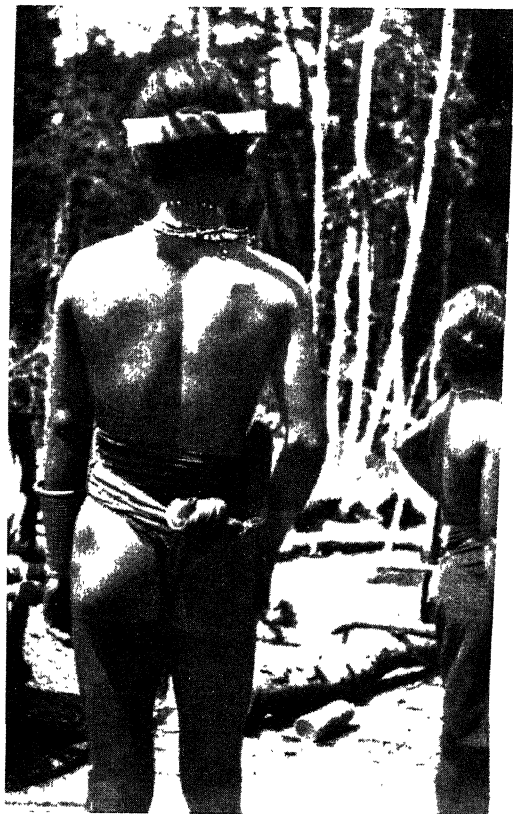
We are indebted for these photographs to the Royal Library of Cambodge.



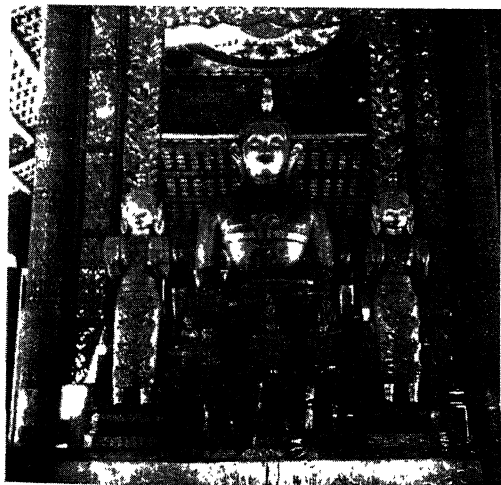
CAMBODIA



Young Phnong of Cambodian hinterland



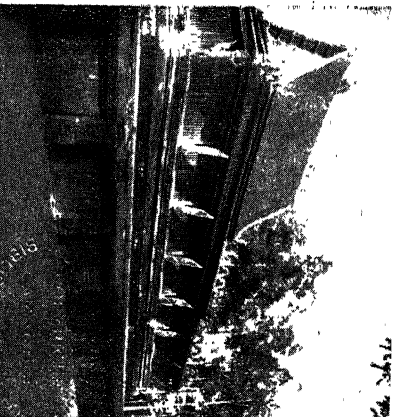
Hair-dressing of Cambodian hinterland women



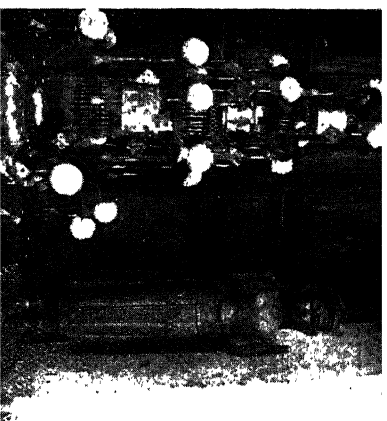
Shrine of a Cambodian temple



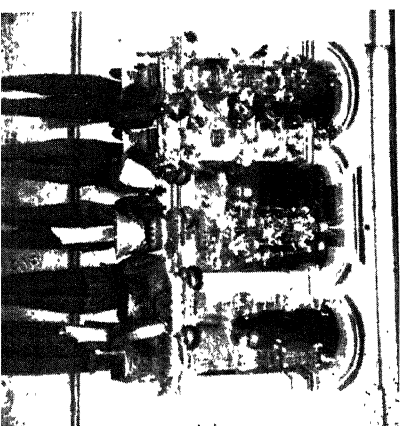
The burning place of a Cambodian pagoda



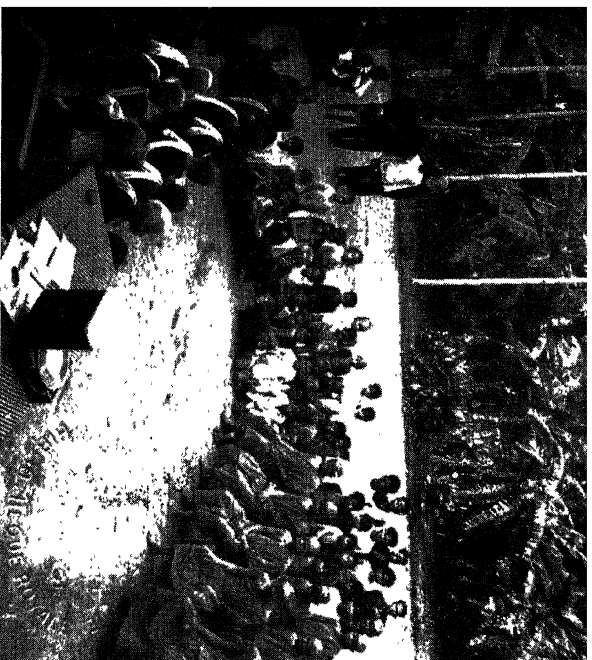
An old sala in a Cambodian Pagoda



Wooden statue of Buddha



Typical flower offerings in the Cambodian pagodas of Cochinchina



Buddhist Cambodian priests and lay people listening to Cambodian gramophone discs



Cambodians listening to a radio program

FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Soviet Press

The one country where newspaper circulation approximates that of the U. S. A. is the U. S. S. R. (points out Lawrence Martin in the *Current History*) where, from a Tsarist circulation (1913) of 2,700,000, it has grown to forty millions. Within this year, the writer expects, the Soviet Union will take first place in the world for number of copies of newspapers consumed. The writer concludes:

The task of the Soviet newspaperman is unique because Soviet journalism is unique. Long ago its purpose was defined by Lenin as being that of the scaffolding on a building in process of construction. It is to help build the new society and the new type of citizen. The Soviets inherited from Tsarist Russia 150,000,000 people, the vast majority "dark" and backward by any civilized standard. It had to give these a sense of social responsibility, some kind of vision, and a day by day program of effort. It had to make them want to read, want to be clean, to be on time, not to beat the children, not to desert the little ones, not to cheat one another. It had to teach them manners we have forgotten must be learned: not to tolerate bugs and mud; to change the underwear and brush the teeth, care for the sick, and rely on irrigation and not on holy water when drouth threatens.

It has been the job of the press in that exciting country to spur on 180,000,000 people in their trek into a socialist future.

In this situation, and with this perspective, it can be seen how beside the mark it is to insist that the Soviet press is muzzled, that it does not tolerate anti-communist propaganda, and that the Government has its grip on every paragraph of it. It is true that the *Peasants Gazette* will not print a debate in the spirit of the *Forum* magazine: "Which is superior: Soviet or capitalist agriculture?" It may run an article on the fate of the Arkansas share-cropper, but although it will confess that the Iowa farmer produces three times as much to the acre as the Soviet farmer, it will hardly intimate that therefore individual farming may be better than collective. When you have settled on a plan, when you have a blueprint, when you are building your house, it is not the part of common sense or of the building of a state to quit laying bricks and consider whether you oughtn't be putting up a number of tents instead.

They may be wrong, but they are working out their destiny along the line they marked down. They have increased the circulation of their newspapers by fifteen times over the best Tsarist year, and it is only a beginning. They are fitting the movie, radio, and television in with the press into a comprehensive journalism. The results, in the future, will be bound to influence other journalisms.

Nobel Prize Novel

Malcolm Cowley, in the course of a review of "Summer of 1914" the novel by Roger Martin

du Gard, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature, tells us how the award reacted on the novelist:

Both in his own country and abroad, Roger Martin du Gard was as little known as any writer who ever won the Nobel Prize. It was not that his career had been unsuccessful. His older books had been kept in print; his newer ones were favorably reviewed and were even sold in fair-sized editions. But the author himself had a positive taste and talent for remaining obscure. Once he had said, "As for literature, write it if you must, but for God's sake don't talk about it." Acting on this principle, he refused to give lectures or statements or get involved in literary quarrels or raise his voice at public meetings; and except for the few weeks that followed the publication of a novel, he managed to efface himself completely from the public mind.

When the good news came over the wire from Sweden, his apartment in Nice was besieged by a small army of journalists and camera men, local, Parisian and foreign. There was nobody at home. Having been notified about an hour before the newspapers, Martin du Gard had taken a travelling bag and vanished, after telling the concierge that he was leaving for a trip. A search began that soon extended over all France. Trains were inspected, hotel registers paged through, the police were on guard, there was a special watch at the frontier. In Paris the rumor spread that Martin du Gard had been assassinated—by whom, nobody knew, for he had no enemies.

Meanwhile the object of the search had stolen back to his own apartment, very late at night, and was sitting there alone with the shutters closed, exactly like John Dillinger in a Chicago hideout. Telegrams, cablegrams, letters of congratulation, publishers' offers, radio contracts, all were piling up unread in the concierge's office. For two days the Nobel prizeman lived on ham and eggs, and trembled at every shuffle of feet outside the barred door.

The reviewer then gives us some facts about the novelist's earlier career:

His first novel, "Devenir!" was published in 1908. It made no great stir in the world, but it led to his becoming acquainted with the group surrounding the *Nouvelle Revue Française*—Gide, Riviere, Copeau, Schlumberger and others—serious writers concerned with ethics and esthetics and corresponding roughly to the Bloomsbury group in London; these have remained his closest friends. In 1913 he published a second novel, "Jean Barois," dealing with the Dreyfus case and with an unbeliever who returns to the Church. I am told that it exercised a considerable influence on the pre-war generation, among whom questions of religious faith seemed all-important.

At this point the novelist's career, like so many others, was interrupted by the War. Martin du Gard served in the military transport, commanding a section of thirty-six trucks on all the fronts from Alsace to the Somme. When he returned to civilian life it was with the project for a new novel, longer and more ambitious

than anything he had done before. "Les Thibault" was to deal with the fortunes of two Paris families, one Catholic and the other Protestant, during the years before 1914. It was to appear in a whole series of volumes, which the author hoped to publish at intervals of about six months.

"Summer of 1914" is the final section (an epilogue, however, is still to be published) of this project. It continues the story of the brothers Thibault; their personal story is, however, 'transformed into the story of how Europe drifted into war':

On this subject, Martin du Gard writes impressively. With his archaeological training, he seems to have studied all the available documents; and he has reduced them to as simple a narrative, as clear a statement, as any honest student could achieve. He neglects the munitions trust, but everything else is included and everyone receives his share of blame—in the front rank, the deliberate war-makers like Berchtold and Isvolsky, who knew just what they were doing; then the Austrian and German and Russian general staffs; then, on a second plane of guilt, the cold legalists like Poincaré who did nothing to noid Russia back (indeed they encouraged her to mobilize) and the noble souls like Sir Edward Grey who might have discouraged either side simply by saying frankly what they proposed to do.

The Realities in Palestine

Pierre Van Paassen, a non-Jew sympathetic to the Zionist cause, presents the Zionist point of view in an article published in the *Asia*:

The anti-Jewish agitation in the Holy Land has been made to appear as a case of the poor Arab rising against the Jewish usurper: of the underdog biting back at last. The suggestion has even been thrown out that the Arab Higher Committee, which directs the opposition to Jewish immigration, was following in the footsteps of the non-cooperationists in India, and the Mufti of Jerusalem has been compared with the holy personality of Gandhi—as if the Mahatma has not always insisted upon non-violence as one of the essential provisions of civil disobedience. But what has generally escaped attention abroad in the midst of false slogans and deliberate muddling of the situation, is that in the course of the disturbances the Arab peasants never for a day interrupted their work on the land and that the so-called general strikes in the cities were kept going only by means of a bloody terror not only against the Jews but chiefly against Arabic citizens. The mass of the *fellaheen* did not participate in the strikes. They harvested and threshed, tended their truck-gardens and watered the orange groves as if no Higher Committee existed. Every day they brought their produce to the cities, and it was there that they were set upon, beaten, robbed and often killed by terrorists and gangsters. This is the plain simple truth about that "phenomenal explosion of Arabic nationalist sentiment" which filled the British press, and part of the American, with amazement. The Arab village was subjected to a constant bombardment of anti-Jewish propaganda, the local *muftis*, on the model of their spiritual leader in Jerusalem, Friday upon Friday, delivered the most inflammatory harangues in the mosques, and still the fellah refused to budge.

What Zionism envisaged with the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was to create a haven of refuge for the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe who live under conditions that can scarcely be described as human. There was nothing Utopian in this undertaking; for it answered to the age-old Jewish aspirations for a return to Zion. The new Palestine is the product of existing realities in Jewish life. This point is generally overlooked by those who are concerned lest the Arabs in Palestine suffer by reason of what is sometimes called the Jewish "invasion." They have no regard for that background of unutterable Jewish woe in Eastern Europe and seldom see the Jewish world problem as one and indivisible. What will happen to the Arab, it is asked, if the Jews are permitted to buy up the land? It is, of course, an excellent thing that oppressed Jews should find a breathing space in Palestine, but what of the original inhabitants, where are they to go? It would be distressing if so fine a scheme of relief as Zionism sponsors were to prove an encroachment on the rights of the Arab people to lead their own life and build a civilization on their own traditions and character.

That the Arab middle classes have been immensely enriched by the Jewish influx and the development of the country, that the standard of living even for the humblest Arab peasants, who were so mercilessly exploited by their own landlords, has gone up constantly so that today they stand shoulder high above the *fellaheen* of neighbouring countries, that for every Jew five Arabs have entered the country, that the Arab population has virtually doubled in the past twenty years, whereas in the course of the preceding century it had remained stationary—these things are left out of consideration.

Alien Antipathy in Europe

Titto Frate writes in *La Rassegna Italiana*:

The peoples of Europe can be divided into the following groups, (1) Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, part of Belgium and of Switzerland and a few smaller regions, occupied by the neo-Latin races, (2) Balkan races (Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Jugo-slavia, Greece, Albania), (3) The Czecho-polish races (part of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Lithuania), (4) German races (Germany, Austria, Holland, Lettland, part of Switzerland, of Czechoslovakia, of Belgium and of Poland), (5) Scandinavian races (Sweden, Norway and Denmark), (6) Finnish-ugrish northern races (Finland, Esthonia), (7) British Islands. Now, a parting line runs on the north of the first three groups, dividing the European races into two characteristic halves, each distinguishable from the other, not only ethnologically, but also psychologically and intellectually. As between the northern and the southern parts, there exists an antipathy, which is a curious combination of contempt, hatred and lack of understanding. The "Nordopathy," as I may call it, makes people, living below 45° lat. feel inspired with the mission of "northernising" those living below 40° lat. In France, which lies in the centre, this phenomenon has been observed long ago and has found expression in the proverb: "Chaque pays a son midi (each land has its south)." For the Englishman, the black and the yellow races stand on the lowest rung of the social ladder; the Levantines and the Balkan races are almost on the same level; the Latin peoples come somewhat higher up and the Germans and the Scandinavians stand much higher.

The Southerner is characteristically hospitable and frank and can speak to a stranger without an introduc-

tion. The Northerner is a proud individualist and distrustful. It is especially in Holland, that they have the cleanest houses in the world, but not so clean streets and public areas, because the latter are "anonymous." He has "the superiority complex," which, in fact, is the sign of a sense of inferiority, which induces them to make friends more readily with animals. The Northerner holds himself fast to whatever is strict and regular, because he feels himself secure within the limits of a law of general application and hesitates to take the initiative and give scope to the spirit of independence. The sense of uniformity is predominant especially in the English character. This is more or less true of the American, the Scandinavian and the Dutch, although much less of the German character With Sir W. Scott, all rogues and swindlers are Italian . . . This is rather a form of foreign hatred than a case of widespread Chauvinism. The Northerners coming to the South are delighted and enchanted with the blue sea and the warm sunshine, but they always nourish a feeling of distrust towards the Southerners, implying that the latter, culturally backward as they are, are, indeed, an agreeable, harmless and picturesque but after all a faithless people. . . . The Southerners regard the Latin culture as centrifugal, whereas the northern races conceive the modern culture as centripetal . . . There is race-feeling in the South and race-pride in the North.

[TRs. DR. V. V. GOKHALE]

Manchuria Now

Writing in the *Spectator*, Ralph Morton makes a survey of the condition of Manchuria after six years of Japanese control.

The most obvious development is in the increase and improvement of communications and in the new buildings and greatly increased Japanese population of some of the larger towns. The railway system has been unified, extended and modernized. Motor roads, built by forced labor, extend all over the country. They are built too slightly to last long, but will probably soon be macadamized and are primarily for military purposes. Air service between the main towns is also well developed. The cities are becoming more and more Japanese, but though the Japanese on giving up extra-territorial rights gained among other benefits the right to own land anywhere, not many are to be found in the country places. The currency has also been unified and nickel takes the place of the old small notes.

Security of life and property is no better, and the standard of living has not improved. Japanese efficiency has dealt, as foreign efficiency is liable anywhere to deal, with the externals of living alone. The streets are cleaner, there is some attempt at public health and dogs and bicycles must be registered. To the people such efficiency is a matter of irritation and of suspicion. They give more serious thought to the large tracts of land which are now abandoned. For in many parts, from fear of bandits, the Japanese have forced the peasants to destroy their houses and to live in towns far from their fields. In some of the more settled places their land has been given to Koreans.

The Chinese inhabitant of Manchukuo finds the present dark for himself. He sees the future darker for his children. He sees the best jobs going increasingly to Japanese. Jobs are few so he keeps his children at school as long as he can, but he finds that the door of

the school is not opening any wider. There has always been a strong desire for education in Manchuria, and the proportion of illiterates has been fairly low. Each village managed to have a school of sorts. Now the Japanese have raised the standard of efficiency in the schools, and the effect has been to close a great many schools which were certainly not up to standard but which were doing very useful work in the villages.

The Japanese ideal is to make what schools there are efficient in the work of turning out the kind of citizen they want. Many primary schools have been closed, and secondary education is now restricted to four years. Great attention is paid to sport and physical training and to manual work. In many schools the pupils do all the cleaning. Along this line of physical and manual education the schools show a great improvement.

But the authorities would see in physical training the only outlet for the pupils' vitality. Intellectual education is carefully standardized and curtailed. Reading is discouraged and discussion forbidden. The textbooks are few and inadequate and, of course, propagandist, and the teachers are forbidden to give any instruction outside them. More time is always devoted to the study of Japanese than to the study of the pupils' own language. English is taught only in boys' secondary schools and there only for two hours a week. In opposition to the ideal of sex equality in Chinese education and in line with Japanese practice, intellectual education is even more severely curtailed in girls' schools.

Indian Music

Margaret E. Cousins, author of *The Music of Orient and Occident*, observes in the course of an article contributed to *Inner Culture* :

Western musicians do not know that India is a musical nation, or that it has developed its own musical science and instruments. But what do we actually find? That since the earliest days music has been studied and venerated in India. Musical research proves more and more that if Greek and Egyptian music were not derived from the root stock of Indian music, then there must have been some forgotten race which acted as musical parent to all three. The old Greek modes are all found in common use among Indian musicians.

Both East and West have twelve divisions of the octave as their common stock of sound material within an octave. The Indian system alone, however, further divides these into the twenty-two *shrutis* and uses, though not frequently, these delightfully fine sub-divisions called quarter-tones. The sense of hearing of the average musician of the West, or of the non-musician, simply cannot distinguish these minute variations from its well-known sound.

The contrast between East and West in the use of the twelve semitones or *swarans* is most remarkable and from a study of it India emerges far and away superior to Europe. Every form of permutation and combination of these twelve *swarans* in arrangements of seven has been scientifically classified ages ago and, as the seventy-two *melakartas* (scales), form what Westerners would call seventy-two complete different scales. These again have been selected from to form derived partial scales or *ragams*.

What do we find in the West? Only *three* out of the seventy-two are used. Only to three combinations of the twelve sounds taken seven at a time does the Western ear respond with keen pleasure or understanding; only

to three scale foundations has it become accustomed. The Greeks chose seven out of the possible combinations and used them for some centuries; but since about 1500 A. D., four have fallen entirely into disuse either through Western prejudice or its limited æsthetic psychology.

Thus the fact remains that all Western music is formed from *Dhira Sankarabharana*, *Kiravani*, and *Gauri-manohari ragams*, according to South India terminology; in other words, from the major scale, the harmonic minor scale and the melodic minor scale. Nothing of the beauty of *Mayamalavagaula*, the sweetness of *Kalyanai*, the pensiveness of *Bhairavi*, the strength of *Todi*, are known to the Western world.

The Western ear is accustomed only to rhythmic divisions of two, three, four, six, nine, and twelve units. The Indian musician delights in those composed of five, seven, ten, fourteen, and the intermediate numbers right up to twenty-nine, in addition to the few common in the West. It is this Eastern peculiarity of rhythm that often causes the Western listener so much æsthetic discomfort. He cannot find his rhythmic bearings and feels entirely at sea. He tries to fit Western times into these complicated *talams* and of course it cannot be done. In disgust, he exclaims, "There's no method in their madness!" whereas the fault lies in his own ignorance of what is being worked out.

There is a final aspect in which the East differs very much from the West in musical matters, namely, its sensitiveness to an æsthetic of hour, season, mood, with the mode in which the song is sung.

We Need a Vision

The following extract from *This Publishing Business* is reproduced here from *The Catholic World*:

The Communist who matters is a man who has seen a vision. If you want to know the essence of his vision, Our Lady said it two thousand years ago:

"He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble.

He hath filled the hungry with good things:

And the rich he hath sent empty away."

It will go ill with us if we fail to see its splendour. For we shall go on meeting the Communist with our

solemn arguments, showing this fact by statistics and that fact by psychology, confronting this statement of Marx with that statement of Stalin and both with some rignmarole from the local Communists' party platform, destroying all his foundations with the ruthlessness of our common sense—and leaving him as firmly grounded as before, but angry with us and more passionately in love with his vision than ever. You cannot destroy a vision by nibbling at it or laying violent hands on it or throwing stones at it. You cannot meet the vision with arguments at all. You can meet a vision only with a vision. . . . We scarcely think in terms of vision at all: visions are visionary and we are as sensible as any agnostic. . . . With all the Sun for our birthright we are cold and they are aflame with their small ray. . . . It may be in God's providence, that the mission of the Communist with his flame was to remind us that our own fire is burning low.

The Moslem World In Transition

Pauls Simpson McElroy, who spent some time as a teacher in a college in the Near East where he had ample opportunity to observe the effect of the modern thought on Islam, contributes a paper on the Moslem world in transition to *The Moslem World*. The following extracts are taken from the abridged version published in the *World Christianity*:

Moslems themselves are now asking if the Koran is literally inspired. Such questions challenge the sheikhs embarrassingly.

It means that the Koran must undergo higher criticism just as the Bible has done. Higher criticism of the Koran can be postponed no longer.

Within a very few years the enrolment in the ancient and conservative theological school, El Azhar University, is reported to have dropped from about ten thousand to less than five thousand. So significant a drop can hardly be attributed to the depression, when tuition is virtually free, and when many have chosen government or foreign schools instead. Modern Mohammedan youths refuse to attend this orthodox institution, revered as it is, many of whose teachings are now regarded as obsolete.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



Problems for Haripura

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes in the *Triveni* :

The problem still remains whether the decision to break the Federation, or to use the moderate language of the Congress, to 'combat and end' it, would permit the Congress to enter the Federation, that is to say, to take part in the elections to the Central Legislatures and thus try to fight from within. It should be clearly understood that there will be ten Ministers' appointments at the Centre. There will be a keen struggle for the Ministerships amongst the members, and as the Ministers are co-opted by the Chief Minister they are apt to be obsessed by a sense of beholdenness and obligation to their Chief and would not be powerful factors in shaping the political destiny of the country under a scheme of dyarchy. It is unnecessary to analyse or appraise the situation in the Provinces on these lines, for we know the exact state of things. Responsible Government may be a splendid institution for carrying out a settled programme of work in the country. But to ensure unity of design as well as of execution in implementing this programme, it is requisite that the Ministers should engineer the fight from within. Human temperaments vary considerably. It serves no purpose to say that we shall go into the house of a dancing girl only to hear music or exchange amenities or appreciate beauty and not to tarnish ourselves or our character by more intimate contacts. The dangers are inherent in the very nature of things. The provision of ten Ministerships is a terrible temptation that lies in the way of our politicians. We are not sure that the problem has not been exercising the minds of Congressmen in odd quarters as to how to capture power in the Centre. We shall not take long to discover that we shall not be capturing power but we shall be captured by power. The story of catching a Tartar is bound to be illustrated in all its grim and gruesome details. In the Centre at least, therefore, it should be our concern and our decision not to form a Ministry.

Art and the Artist

Art is subjective. Its objectivity is a weakness inseparable from its practical necessity to project beyond itself and appeal to a public status. It should be free to express itself. Writes F. G. Baily in *The Hindustan Review* :

Art must needs be free from arbitrary restraints, taboos and cults calculated to keep it under straight-lace and the cultivated disciplines of regional loyalties. But art owes it to its freedom to be loyal to its creative impulse and traditions, to surrender itself magnificently to the conditions of its origin. It is one of the conditions that it does not wear hoofs and horns for a merely

meretricious display of escapades. A poem, for instance, is good both by virtue of its inner content and the vehicle through which it is expressed. Its beauty and intrinsic worth are related both to the manner and matter of its presentation. To that extent, it shares some of the restraints imposed by syntax, meter (in so far as that is allowed!) and several other recognised canons of form. Within the limits thus set, there is scope for the wildest creative freedom. The fact that it does not give way all at once to the free use of foreign words and expletives, of absurd intonations and a hundred other proclivities of cultivated insouciance, cannot by any means detract from its freedom.

Every art is a rebel against its predecessor.

If not for some gleam of novelty, some freshness of vision, some variant of accumulated experience, no new art could really be art properly so-called. But are human measurements so impeccable that artistic creation can be the subject of passionate creed wars in which both parties assume canons of values so rigidly maintained that one or the other of them must be lunatics or imposters? It is true that in the history of man's collective rise in the scale of evolution, there have been ups and downs, that art has enjoyed spells of extraordinary exuberance followed by relapse into grey immobility over long stretches of time. It is certainly possible for art not only to cease to be vitally creative, but also to become a parasitic stranglehold upon creative possibilities. In science as well as in art, there exists the dominating sense of restraint from some ultimate frame of reference which cannot be betrayed, something which both artists and scientists must needs take for granted as a naive faith, like Causality or, as I showed with reference to poetry, the laws of literary composition or the characteristic ethos of particular cultures. The alternative is a paralysing scepticism suitable for philosophic contemplation, but seldom conducive to constructive achievements.

Examinations—Values and Dangers

The examination system has to be overhauled and the questions should be based more on the tests of intelligence and grasp of the subjects than on mere memory. D. Purushotham arrives at this conclusion by estimating the values of examinations in *The Indian Journal of Education* :

The Chinese were the first to introduce the system of examinations in 4000 B.C. The Emperor Antonius Pias of Athens selected teachers from a competitive examination and the teachers in their turn used this system for their pupils. In Greece, people got on for nearly 600 years without any examination. England copied this system of examination from China, and we, from them.

The first written examination was conducted in Cambridge in 1702 and in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay in 1857.

In the Madras Presidency, before the eighties of the last century, there were comparative examinations at the end of the Upper Fourth Class. In 1880 the Middle School examination was introduced for Third Form. Then came the Lower Secondary examination and the Primary examinations. So, there were, practically, three public examinations before one entered the University.

Examinations like all other human instruments depend upon human behaviour. When the legitimate position of the examination is that of a servant, it is aspiring to the status of a master or even a tyrant.

There are two schools of thought, one school favouring it, and the other condemning it downright. The first school considers it as indispensable and justifiable. It may be valuable both to the pupil, the teacher and the employer. It encourages better mastery. It is no doubt useful in elevating the pupil's work and for measuring his progress. It stimulates their learning. For the teachers, they know the result of their work and the level of the pupils in general. The educational authorities know the efficiency of teaching. There is also much demand for some examination by the parents, to educate their pupils to a certain standard of efficiency; so that, the employing agency may appoint persons, with the required standard of education for respective posts. According to some, it may be considered to be the best measurer of their achievement as far as it goes. The value of examinations, they think, outweighs their manifest defects.

The present-day external examination is not entirely successful in discovering the culture which the pupils gain, by their contact with all aspects of life in school and outside; and many of the so-called failures show by their subsequent careers that they were far from being educable at school. They are successful in life. How can this English system, with the fixed number of lectures, the prescribed text-books and the exclusively written examination, work happily? Examinations by their very nature are not sure tests. One of the reasons that crippled the elementary school pupil's activities in the last century, was the tight and tyrannical grip of the rigid system of examination. Now the Secondary schools are having their turn.

The examinations consume much of the pupil's precious time and make them unreasonably industrious.

The examinations cause undue and unnecessary strain upon the poor children besides the unwholesome influences on class instructions and they naturally encourage cheating. Such is the unhealthy physical, moral and mental effect.

The practical, the executive and the artistic elements latent in the pupils receive little or no recognition. They do not test any *fitness*, except perhaps the fitness to pass the examination, which is closely associated with promotions, which ought not to be.

The Magic of Words

There are cases where a crisis has been averted or a situation improved or a difficult problem solved by eloquence or persuasion.

N. S. Srinivasa Aiyar cites some instances in *The Mount Magazine* :

Lord Birkenhead once pointed out that the distinction between a man of words and a man of deeds was artificial and misleading; and in many instances, words themselves have been deeds.

It is well therefore to consider some instances where the magic of words and phrases has exercised a powerful and practical effect on the course of events.

"We will not put on the brow of labour a crown of thorns, we will not crucify humanity on a cross of gold" declared William Jennings Bryan, member of the democratic party in the United States of America, at a conference held to discuss the silver standard for currency. These observations led to a nation-wide protest against the abandonment of silver.

The case of Calvin Coolidge is even more interesting. He was the head of the State Government of Massachusetts and there was a police strike. The strike was put down, and the strikers were dismissed from the service.

"There is no right to strike against the public safety anywhere, at any time, in any place" said Coolidge. In the atmosphere of reaction in which the idealism of President Wilson had been swallowed up after the war, Coolidge was hailed as the deliverer of his country. It was a period when the nightmare of Bolshevism had thrown its baleful shadows across the land. The silent, epigrammatic Coolidge found himself in the White House, not long after he had enunciated his unilluminating indictment against strikes.

"In a climate soft as a mother's smile, on a soil fruitful as God's love, the Irish peasant mourns," said an Irish poet Davis. The tragedy of Ireland found apt expression in these mournful lines. To Irishmen they constitute a stirring call to duty and an incentive to patriotic work. Like the biblical column of smoke by day, pillar of fire by night, the haunting melody of these words inspired the fight for freedom of Ireland. . . .

In the sphere of literature, too, instances are not wanting of the effect of words. After the battle of Blenheim, Addison, then little known to fame and occupant of a garret over a small shop in the Hay-market was officially requisitioned to commemorate the victory in verse. The poem "Campaign" which produced a great effect on the country and gave Addison fame and office, was produced accordingly. The unexpected success of the poem was due, not to its intrinsic poetic merit, but a single line, which occurs in the course of a simile comparing Malborough to an angel guiding the whirlwind.

Poetry of Iqbal

In the course of a broadcast talk reproduced here from *The Civil and Military Gazette* Dr. Amiya C. Chakravarti observes :

There are elements in Iqbal's poetry which can yield their full savour only to those who are familiar with the intangible atmosphere of his language and ideology. But the power of his thought has reached far and wide. The dynamic quality of his appeal to selfhood, the challenge he has offered to modern man to achieve a harmony of ideas and reality in his spiritual, social and national life reveal the universal in his message.

His philosophy of self-expression is an antidote to the doctrine of emotional luxuriance and introspective ecstasies, which so many of us are apt to accept as the reality of a spiritual life. "Do not scatter thy handful of dust", Iqbal has said in a poem—a memorable phrase.

Conservation of energy, then, and along with it a rugged determination to face the arduous of life, to use one's spirit to harness the material world for our good.

As he says in *Asrar-i-Khudi* :

"It behoves thee to go back to the Arabs :
Thou hast gathered roses from the garden of Persia
And seen the springtide of India and Iran :
Now taste a little of the heat of the desert
Drink the old wine of the date !
How long make thine abode in gardens?
Build a nest on the high mountains,
A nest embosomed in lightning and thunder,
Loftier than eagle's eyrie,
That thou mayst be fit for Life's battle,
That thy body and soul may burn in Life's fire !"

His deepest utterances show a blend of contemplation and the urge for action toward the freedom of man. Iqbal's lyrics have transcended the frontier of community, sect and nation : they have entered the inner shrine of literature.

Ancient Power to Create a New World

There is a greater hope of India's being able to stem the tide running so fast towards the self-destruction of modern civilization than of its being checked in the West. India still retains a deep inner conviction of the non-material values. F. G. Pearce in his article in *The Twentieth Century* discusses the importance of Yoga—a term which he has chosen to signify the technique of mastery over man's inner world of consciousness :

If you know that Life is One and indivisible, and that the separate 'I' is but a figment of the mind, can you moreover help to maintain, can you tolerate, a system under which three-fourths of mankind groan beneath a burden placed on them by the remaining fourth? Can you tolerate slavery, exploitation, cruelty of any kind? True, you cannot hate the slave-driver, the exploiter, the torturer, but you strive to release him from his devil's work. Is this an arm-chair creed?

All do not feel that it is theirs to try to reform the world, to effect political and economic revolutions, or even to teach. "They also serve who only stand and wait." One might add that it is not impossible that they also serve who only sit and think. One of the arts that the West has largely forgotten, to its great loss, and the East is in danger of undervaluing through imitation of the West, is that of contemplation. And when, as in the case we are considering here, contemplation is not merely an end in itself, but a means to an end, and that end is the dissolution of the illusion of the 'I', it becomes both an art and a science of the highest importance.

The poet who wrote about the East being plunged in thought while the legions thundered by, might have been surprised if he had lived to read Mr. Heard's book, and to know that a western writer on modern science would actually foretell the speedy end of western civilization through the thunder of those very legions and their instruments of scientific destruction, and still more if he had heard that the same writer and a good many others of his time, believe that the only way to save the civilization, if it be not too late already, is a re-discovery of those very things concerning which the East was 'plunged in thought,' while the West, as he imagined, rushed victoriously ahead.

He concludes :

We in India, have certain definite advantages for that re-discovery. The traditions of that very technique which enabled the Indus Civilization to outlast by a long period of time the parallel civilizations of the Sumerian and Egyptian peoples are still among us. Added to them, we have the traditions of at least three other outstanding techniques of the kind, the psychological system of the Buddhists, the 'Yoga' of Patanjali, and the mysticism of the Sufis. Because these are all usually associated with religion and religious organizations, they are mostly attractive to the type of mind that wishes to escape from the world of hard facts and are often anathema to the mind anxious to face the world and to change it. But, as I have tried to show, it is just to the latter type of mind that this technique should be most valuable, since, if rightly comprehended, it has an effect the very reverse of enervating, distracting, or side-tracking from the practical problems of modern life. It is the very reverse of that 'opiate of the people' which Marx, perhaps justly, accused orthodox religion of being. It gives a new integration of heart and mind, new health of body, new confidence in the future of mankind, in brotherhood and in freedom, new certainty of the power of the Life within to create, in its own way and its own time, the new forms necessary for its fullest expression,—forms which must arise, and which cannot fail to arise, in spite of failures, even on the scale of the dinosaur and the mammoth, because the energy of Life, that 'inherent capacity of the living cell' has steadily wrought out its forms in the past, and *must* as surely create them ever anew through all the ages that are to come.

The Inspired Lead

The Hindu Outlook of Delhi makes the following comment on the presidential address that Vinayak Damodar Savarkar delivered at the Ahmedabad Session of the Hindu Mahasabha :

Mr. Savarkar is no mere dreamer. He has his foot firmly planted on earth and is never afraid of looking at the facts full in the face.

To him the independence of India means the independence of our people, our race, our nation.

"To the Hindus the independence of Hindusthan can only be worth having if that ensures their Hindutva their religious, racial and cultural identity. We are not out to die for a Swarajya which could only be had at the cost of our Swatwa our Hindutva itself."

"When will our unity-hankerers understand" exclaims the Mahasabha President "that the real question at the root of the Muslim displeasure is not a word here or a song there?" He utters a much ignored psychological truth when he says that "when an overwhelming majority in the country goes on its knees before a minority so antagonistic as the Mahomedans, imploring them to lend a helping hand and assures it that otherwise their major community is doomed to death, it would be a wonder if that minor community does not sell its assistance at the highest bidding possible, does not hasten the doom of the major community and aim to establish their own political suzerainty in the land."

At a time when in the rivalry between the Congress and the Government to buy Muslim support Hindusthan is being made over to Muslim communalism, the Swatantra-Vir's address comes to us as the Message of Hope. With the authority of his position as the President

of the Hindu Mahasabha, he assures the minorities that "the Hindus are willing to form a common united Indian nation and do not advance any special claims, privileges or rights reserved only for themselves over and above the non-Hindu sections of Hindusthan."

"If you come, with you, if you don't, without you, and if you oppose, in spite of you, the Hindus will continue to fight for their national freedom as best as they can." Thus succinctly and truly he lays down the position of Hindu Nationalism in its struggle for independence.

The Dance in India

Sreemati Pratima Tagore writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Long ago, in India, the art of dancing had fully developed and could express the highest reaches of human thought and feeling. This can be seen in many ancient paintings and especially in the cave frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh. Moreover, dancing held a large and important place in the cultural life of India.

We have three kinds of representative Indian dance which still exist : the South Indian dance, the Manipuri dance, and the North Indian dance. The South Indian dance is very ancient in origin and its influence has spread even to the Far-East; it is to be seen in Java, Indo-China, Burma, Ceylon, and even in China and Japan. In the same way the influence of Indian fresco-painting can be seen in Boro Budur, in Anuradhapura, in Sigiria, all of which date from the Buddhist era.

The classical dance of the South expresses six kinds of human emotion; in Sanskrit we call them 'Rasa,' a word which is as untranslatable as the German word 'stimmung.' The different 'Rasas' in the art of the dance represent the following : parental feeling, friendship, conjugal love, strength, heroism and humour.

In our ancient scripture, *Natosastra*, there are numerous descriptions of the various forms of feeling that have a universal aspect. We also find therein a list of the qualities an artist should possess if he wants to dedicate his life to the art of dancing. The most necessary among them are : a good figure, sense of rhythm, grace of expression and of repose. This word 'repose' implies that the artist or dancer must not think of the outside world; that he must avoid the temptation to attract his audience; it also means that he must merge himself into his art, into what he is creating for the moment, in order to detach himself entirely from the sense of the outer world.

In the South Indian dance the different movements or poses of the hands suggest the inner meaning of the drama and represent in visual form the language of dance. The symbolical name given to these movements is 'Mudra.' The Southern dance, which is probably the most ancient, takes its themes from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. One can witness this dancing still in the 'Katha-Kali' dance in Malabar. This art developed certain dramatic qualities, and expressed them in a shape that might be called cubic in conception, in which the movements of the arms and hands are at right angles, and not in the swelling and curving motions of other Indian dances.

The writer deals with the other two schools of Indian dancing also—the Manipuri dance and the North Indian dance. She then observes :

These movements express great strength and offer a fascinating display of rhythm; through them movements become as expressive as a spoken language. I have seen

a South Indian dancer acting the part of a deer at the same time as he was representing the character of the hunter. When taking the part of the deer he had not only transformed his soul into that of a gazelle, but even his ears, his eyes, until every movement of his body, reflected the inner tragedy of the poor creature threatened by the hunter in the forest. The impersonation was really marvellous. The same thing was true of the Dance of Shiva. It carried the mind away far above the earth, to a supernatural world, and made us feel the dynamic force of creation in a way that is impossible to describe.

At our Dance School at Santiniketan we have been trying to revive all the indigenous forms of dancing which were seriously in danger of dying out for want of patronage.

From our studies a new art is evolving; a synthesis of all the forms handed down by tradition. In other words, our artists, musicians and dancers, in giving expression to their own feeling and emotion, are creating new forms on the foundation of the old.

At Santiniketan we have made dance a part of our education and an important subject in the art-life and training of our pupils. Not only are the students trained to adapt the classical rhythms and poses to newer themes and more complex emotions, but participation in the seasonal festivals, which are a regular feature of the life in Santiniketan, makes it possible for them to realise the basic relationship of dance to Nature's rhythm.

To The Painter

You maker of pictures, a ceaseless traveller
among men and things,
rounding them up in your net of vision
and bringing them out in lines
far above their social value and market price.
Yonder colony of the outcaste,
its crowd of rustic roofs,
and an empty field in the background
scorched by the angry April sun
are hurriedly passed by and never missed
till your wayfaring lines spoke out, they are there,
and we started up and said, indeed they are.

Those nameless tramps fading away every moment
into shadows
were rescued from their nothingness
and compelled us to acknowledge
a greater appeal of the real in them
than is possessed by the rajahs
who lavish money on their portraits of dubious worth
for fools to gape at in wonder.

You ignored the mythological stead of paradise
when your eyes were caught by a goat
who is only noticed with our expostulation
when straying on our brinjal plot.
You brought out its own majesty of goatliness
in your lines
and our mind woke up into a surprise.
The poor goat-seller remains ignorant of the fact
that the picture does not represent
the commonplace beast
that is his own,
but it is a discovery.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

—This poem, translated by the Poet from his original Bengali, was inspired by certain sketches by the artist Nandalal Bose.

Notes

"A Great Indian Scientist"

Under the above caption, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, editor of the *Chicago Unity*, who many years ago hailed Mahatma Gandhi as "the greatest man in the world," writes as follows editorially in his paper :

The death last month of India's foremost scientist, Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, reminds us anew of the amazing genius of the people of India who, according to standard English doctrine, are incapable of self-government. Dr. Bose was one of the supreme scientific thinkers and researchers of the contemporary world. His studies of plant life, as poetically beautiful as they were scientifically accurate and profound, caught the attention of mankind, and made his name as famous in the West as in the East. In any list of the ten or twelve most distinguished scientists of the last generation, Jagadis Bose's name would not only be included but ranked high. Nor was Bose the only Indian who enjoyed this unique kind of eminence among the world's great men. To him must be added Mahatma Gandhi, whom we still believe to be what we hailed him many years ago—"the greatest man in the world." Then, as a third in a trinity of famous men, stands Rabindranath Tagore, poet, educator, sage and seer. Many would expand this group of three to include a fourth—Jawaharlal Nehru, surely one of the outstanding political leaders of modern times, a statesman as well as an heroic advocate of the people's rights. Where today can be found a nation to match India in four such men as these? Must not such towering peaks leap from an Himalayan range of intellectual and spiritual attainment which covers the length and breadth of this continental land? And note the variety in these men—Gandhi a saint, Tagore a poet, Bose a scientist, Nehru a statesman! But their qualities are shared as well as distributed, for Gandhi is a statesman as well as a saint, Nehru a martyr and saint as well as a statesman, Tagore an educator and philosopher as well as a poet, and Bose used much of his scientific lore to reaffirm and glorify religion. The Indian genius is as varied as it is intense, and as lofty as it is pure. That the race which can produce such men, and has always produced them in its history, should lie in bondage to a military and commercial empire is an irony supremely characteristic of a world founded on materialistic ideas and violent methods.

It is not generally known in India that Mr. Holmes is not an ordinary journalist and minister of religion. He is one of the most eminent scholars in the United States of America.

Calcutta Public Meeting Against "Jinnah-Rajendraprasad Pact"

On the 25th January last a public meeting of Hindu citizens was held in Calcutta to protest against the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in relation to it. This was in addition to similar meetings in the mofussil. There were Congressmen among its conveners and speakers. In spite of other public engagements it was a crowded meeting. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee presided over it. The following resolution was passed unanimously :

This meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta records its considered opinion that the solution of the communal problem on the lines proposed in what is called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad Agreement is against the best interests of the country and is entirely unacceptable to us in that,

(i) it retains the existing proportion of seats between the two communities in the Legislatures and denies to the Hindu minority in Bengal even the minimum number of seats to which it is entitled according to the population ratio,

(ii) it proposes different franchise qualifications for the two communities and deliberately reduces the proportion of Hindu voters with a view to place the majority community in Bengal in a position of special advantage, and

(iii) generally it ignores the just and legitimate rights of the Hindu minority in Bengal and seeks to perpetuate the rule of an inflexible communal majority by an artificial system of reservations.

This meeting, therefore, dissociates itself from the proposed agreement and strongly protests against the attempt to impose it on Bengal, as it will permanently cripple the political life of the people of this province and records its firm resolve not to accept any such agreement in case the Congress should ultimately decide to confirm the same."

There has never been a diplomatic document of British origin which has dealt a more deadly blow to the causes of Indian national solidarity and freedom than the so-called Communal Award. It has been correctly described by Congressmen and others as anti-national and anti-democratic. That anybody should expect any Hindu-Moslem unity on the

basis of acceptance of this Communal Decision is very surprising. Is the Congress president, are other Congressmen, not aware that this Decision was intended and manufactured by British imperialists to make Hindu-Moslem unity and the winning of independence by means of such unity impossible?

The Congress at first neither accepted nor rejected it. Later it grew bolder and, through its president, rejected it. It even allowed Bengal Congressmen to agitate against it on national grounds. But now the Congress president says :

"In regard to certain political rights, the Communal Award stands for the present and we have stated repeatedly that we seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned. We have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which was arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad, acting as Congress President, and Mr. Jinnah."

The Communal Award may stand not only "for the present" but permanently as a monument of British imperialistic statecraft and Indian National Congress unwisdom, weakness and lack of statesmanship, but Bengal Hindus will not accept it or be reconciled to it.

Mr. Nehru says, "We seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned." But he can declare that the Decision "stands for the present" without obtaining the concurrence of or even consulting the Bengal Hindus, who *are* among those concerned !

As regards "the provisional agreement" referred to, many Bengal Congressmen objected to it when negotiations were going on about it in Delhi and subsequently also. It is unnecessary to repeat what Mr. Jinnah has said about it. He has said in effect that he had nothing to do with its drafting.

In relation to Panditji's declaration in his statement "that we seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned," he and other Congressmen may find the following passages from *Sir N. N. Sircar's Speeches and Pamphlets*, pp. 260-262 and pp. 263-264, interesting :

The [Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald's] warning referred to a *provisional temporary arrangement*. When one turns to the decision, if he is unwary, he will believe that nothing more has been done—because the decision purports to be for ten years only.

The decision, however, provided that "modification might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities concerned."

Mr. Nehru's assurance that no change will be sought except with the concurrence of those concerned, is in other words, MacDonald's proviso that "modifications might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities concerned."

With regard to the latter the following occurs in Sir N. N. Sircar's pamphlet, named by him "A 'Temporary' Permanent Arrangement" :

I put a question to the Secretary of State (Q. 7,223, p. 818 of the Reports of the Proceedings of the Committee):

Q. "I was going to ask the Secretary of State, if he will permit me : As the communal decision stands it means this : Assuming for the sake of argument one party has got more than it ought to have, it must assent to that being given away *before there can be any change at any time. You have got to get the assent of somebody who has got more than he ought to have.*

Ans. If Sir N. Sircar makes that hypothesis, it is so.

After quoting this question and answer in his pamphlet Sir N. N. Sircar observes in his pamphlet :

In Bengal the Muslims will have an immovable majority—a majority sent in by votes of a particular community. They have got more than what can be justified on any logic,—and unless they are guilty of unexpected generosity in giving up their undeserved advantage, "there cannot be any change at any time."

Purporting to make a decision, which holds good for ten years only, the authors have shown remarkable ingenuity in making it in effect, and in fact, good for all times.

Sir N. N. Sircar concludes his pamphlet thus :

If I were told that I was giving a temporary lease I would object to the expression, if it was a condition that the lease could not be terminated at any time unless the tenant agreed.

But then I am merely a lawyer and not a statesman having the destiny of 22 millions in my hands.

Some British statesmen have succeeded in drafting a lease of Bengal for ten years to a community insisting on special electorates—and after ten years the lease cannot be terminated without magnanimous renunciation on their part.

Who can say that this is not a remarkable achievement?

The whole pamphlet deserves to be read by Mr. Nehru and other Congressmen.

The so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact gives to Moslems greater advantages than even the British-made Communal Decision and in addition to those given by it. But even this is not considered satisfactory. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru adds in his statement :

What remains? If there is anything of importance left over, let us have it out by all means and consider it.

Here there is not the faintest or remotest suggestion that in considering it Hindus, Bengal Hindus, are to be consulted or given a hearing.

The Congress is a non-communal body. If it represents Hindus, it represents Moslems also. If it has more Hindu members than the Hindu Mahasabha, the Varnasram Swarajya Sangha and other Hindu bodies, it has also more

Moslem members than the Moslem League. If in spite of the latter fact, it feels it necessary to negotiate with the Moslem League, then in spite of the former fact, it ought to feel it necessary to consult the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu bodies also. By proposing to negotiate with the Moslem League on a matter concerning the Hindus as well, it exposes itself to the Moslem accusation that it is a Hindu communal body, which it is not.

On Mr. Jinnah's reply to Mr. Nehru's statement, it is not necessary for us to say much. We will make only two comments.

Mr. Jinnah does not say what he wants, nor does he say why he is silent on the point. So his reasons can only be guessed. Perhaps he does not wish to lose the bargaining advantage. If he stated his terms and Congress accepted them, no further and additional demands could be made. But if, as he wants, Congress made certain offers to him, these could be made the starting-point and basis for further demands. Moreover, the Congress offer could be carried to the Government, which could be told: "Here are the concessions which Congress is ready to make; what more can you give? Out with it, please. Quick."

In the course of his rejoinder, dated Bombay, January 10, Mr. Jinnah says:

"As for the oft repeated slogan that the Congress has declared and given full assurance with regard to religion, culture and language, I have made it clear that we cannot rely upon such declarations and assurances. I want Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to realise that neither he nor the Congress is yet in the position of a sovereign power to make declarations and give assurances. We want definite and effective safeguards and effective weapons by means of which we can protect not only our religion, culture and language, but our political rights and maintain our place and position in the government and the administration of the country.

It is not our business to state how far Mr. Jinnah is correct and how far incorrect in the passage quoted above. It is the business of Mr. Nehru and other Congressmen. What we cannot understand is, if Mr. Jinnah cannot rely upon such [Congress] declarations and assurances, why he does not say that he will have nothing to do with the Congress. Nor can we understand why the Congress or any Congress leader should be anxious to negotiate with and placate Mr. Jinnah. The "definite and effective safeguards and effective weapons by means of which" Moslems "can protect not only [their] religion, culture and language, but [their] political rights and maintain [their] place and position in the government and the administration of the country," cannot be given by the Congress, as he himself has said, nor by any other non-governmental representative body.

They can be given only by the British Government, which enjoys the sovereign power now.

The Congress is the most powerful popular representative organization. As Mr. Jinnah does not care for its assurances and declarations, it follows he would not care for assurances and declarations proceeding from other, less powerful, popular bodies. He wants such safeguards and effective weapons, of course, from the Government, as would enable Moslems to do what they thought necessary in their interests without the co-operation, sympathy, friendliness, etc., of other communities. This practically means that he wants for his community the majority of seats in the central legislature and in the provincial legislatures. This conjecture may sound startling. But let Mr. Jinnah say what he wants, if he does not want what we have mentioned.

The following paragraphs in Mr. Jinnah's statement in reply to Mr. Nehru's show perhaps that the Pandit and other Congressmen have got to deal with a rather slippery customer:

"I must, first of all, correct the statement which coming from a responsible person like the President of the Congress constitutes a serious misrepresentation of my position when he says, 'we have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which has been arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah.' I have repeatedly said that there was no agreement arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and myself, and that I had no authority to enter into any agreement, but I was willing to place the formula of Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends before the sessions of the League provided it received the solid support of the Hindus and the Sikhs. Now it is proved and admitted that it was opposed even by a very influential body of Congress leaders at the time and the Mahasabha and Sikh leaders in a body rejected it, and hence the matter was dropped.

"Next when he says, 'We have further declared that we shall stand by' (meaning Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula) what does he mean by 'we.' Of course, I am aware he is speaking with authority of the President of the Congress."

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Keshub Chunder Sen

An account of the life and work of the great Bengali religious and social reformer, Keshub Chunder Sen, was broadcast by Mr. C. F. Andrews from the Calcutta broadcasting station. Keshub Chunder Sen was born on November 19, 1838, and this year marks the centenary of his birth.

Mr. Andrews said:

"Keshub started a society for religious conversion called the Sangat Sabha. The members met frequently, and, with fiery zeal for self-reformation, laid bare their whole hearts, freely and frankly discussed their own faults, coveted mutual aid and criticism, and under Keshub's guidance made most genuine progress in spiritual and moral life. Hunger and fatigue seemed to have no power

over them. They sat up the whole night in Keshub's room, comparing experiences, practising penitence, making resolutions, offering prayers. In them Keshub found congenial spirits; and together they formed a nucleus out of which the best materials of Keshub's subsequent movements were supplied.

"Out of this religious fervour two practical results followed. First, a deep sense of the reality of sin, as shutting the human soul out from communion with God. Purity and chastity in domestic life became paramount and a high standard of moral idealism was established among them. This high standard came at a very critical time in the life of modern Bengal and produced characters, both in public and private life, of which the whole of Bengal has been rightly proud. Such saintly lives as that of Krishna Kumar Mitra, and others too numerous to mention, came directly out of this religious revival. In the second place, Keshub realized the supreme necessity of philanthropic and social service in the cause of the poor. During the famine of 1860-61, Keshub was able to organize relief on behalf of the sufferers in a way that had not been done before. Here, again, he set up a high standard of social service, which left its deep impression on future generations of students and awakened an echo in other provinces also.

"The Crisis in Culture"

On the 5th January last Professor Radha Kamal Mukherji of Lucknow University delivered a lecture on the crisis in culture. He observed that in Europe and America a profound crisis in moral and social life has been brought by the supremacy of the State and the class, and the invasion of the community by relatively impersonal and mechanical modes of behaviour and relationships in every field. Continuing he said :

"The great society, created by steam and electricity, is no community; it is, however, aspiring to be a community through the regional and functional idea, which is based neither on the power of the State nor on the ideology of the class, but on a planned participation of all social groups and individuals in the fair fruits of culture. The aspiration of modern industrial planning whether in Soviet Russia or in the U. S. A., is the breaking up of big business into small governing workshops, co-operatives, corporations and guilds with powers of self-government, giving opportunities for active citizenship, for art and culture."

As regards the East the speaker observed :

"In the East, on the other hand, wherever the ancient social frame-work—caste, rural community or joint family,—has thwarted individual initiative and efficiency, grave cultural crisis is averted by importing the ideal of individualistic justice from the West. That ideal, derived as it is from the contractual-rational aspects of social life, has shown its abuses in the West, but is now bringing about a vital orientation in the East."

In his opinion,

"Such cultural interpenetration is not a matter of mere ideology, discernible only in our thought and faith. It is a social process and experience which India has to achieve and develop by bridging the present gulf between the academy and the masses. That is the essential goal of the mass-contact stressed by the Congress today in India."

The relations between the propertied classes and the masses require to be revised and re-adjusted.

"Wherever the peasant stoops under an excessive burden of debt, the tenant is denied permanence and heritability, or the farm-hand workers as a bond-slave without the wherewithal of a bare subsistence, the relations between the landlords, tenants and agricultural labourers and between creditors and debtors cry for a revision in terms of the new scale of individualistic justice. Where in our factories and workshops industrial labour is exploited, and in the squalid chawls and bustees of our industrial cities manhood is brutalised, womanhood dishonoured and childhood poisoned at its source, a new conception of economic rights, the rights of all workers to a minimum wage, to a decent standard of housing, education and the amenities of life must aid us in securing social justice."

Similarly individualism must come to the rescue of India's womanhood.

"Where, again, the over-awing authority of an institutional religion or a male code of ethics has perpetuated the ignorance, incapacity and subservience of Indian womanhood, there is need of stressing the new individualistic ideal for obtaining a fair treatment to one-half of India's humanity."

The speaker then proceeded to point out the part which the universities should play in bringing about the coming changes.

"In economic legislation in land readjustment, in the labour movement, in social reform and in political reconstruction, the universities of India must now supply the leadership."

In conclusion Prof. Mukherji appealed to the youths to prepare themselves for this great task of leadership, which would be "an apprenticeship for service to science, to the nation and to humanity. It is the assiduous thinking, realism and courage of convictions of the youth of India which alone can renovate the social and economic life of the masses in the best interests of social harmony and justice and tide over the cultural crisis through which India is passing today."

Violent Fighting in Abyssinia

London, Jan. 26.

The Ethiopian Legation has made a statement claiming that according to direct reports from Abyssinia, violent fighting is continuing in several provinces in the north and north-west.

Attempts by flying and motorised Italian columns to recapture lost positions have met at the most only with temporary success. The positions occupied often proved grave the next day.

The statement alleges that three battalions of Eritreans have deserted and claims that in the past two months Italian losses total 20 officers and 5,993 Italians and Askaris. The Abyssinian losses are equally large.

The Abyssinians captured 43 lorries, many rifles, machine-guns, artillery and ammunition.

The statement alleges that following the non-observance of certain conditions by the Italians 18 officers were massacred at Debra Markos, the capital of the

Gojan province and for reprisal 30 to 40 aeroplanes leave Addis Ababa daily and bombard the towns in the province.

The statement concludes that the Abyssinians are masters of the situation in many districts.—*Reuter*.

ROME, JAN. 26

The statement of the Ethiopian legation in London is most strongly denied in official quarters. It is stated Italy is in full control of every part of Ethiopia. It is suggested the Ethiopian statement is designed to prevent any step by the League members in favour of future recognition of Italy's Ethiopian empire.—(*Reuter*).

LONDON, JAN. 27.

In view of the Ethiopian story and its denial it is interesting to note that the official newspaper "Armed Forces" published in Rome admits that there was severe fighting in North Abyssinia last September in the course of which 400 Italians were surrounded by rebels in the neighbourhood of Lalibela and a relieving force of 200 were similarly surrounded at Bilbala and Gorgis.

The beleaguered Italians were only saved from destruction by the tireless efforts of the air force from Diremawa, 200 miles away, which dropped food, money and munitions to the invested troops and bombed and machinegunned the rebels. No information is afforded regarding the rescue of those surrounded.—(*Reuter*).

U. P. Government Mistfers and Esquires All Provincial Officers

Allahabad, Jan. 26.

The Government have prohibited the use of Lala, Babu, Munshi, Maulvi, etc., in addressing the provincial service officers in U. P.

The action has been taken in pursuance of objections raised by some provincial service associations. In future all officers of provincial services except the doctors will be addressed in official communications as "Esquire" and the prefix "Mr." will be used with their names in all official orders, correspondence, etc. The Government point out in a circular letter that they do not consider there is anything derogatory in the use of these traditional appellations according to Indian social usage, but in view of the feeling among some provincial officers and to secure uniformity they have issued these orders. It appears that representation had been made by some provincial service associations.

It has been often observed that those persons who mister and esquire themselves and insist upon being mistered and esquired by others consider themselves superior to babus, lalas, munshis, maulvis, etc. They are snobbish. Those lalas, babus, munshis, maulvis, etc., who have a sneaking preference for being mistered and esquired are also snobbish.

The Hindu Mahasabha on the Sino-Japanese Situation

New Delhi, Jan. 26.

Apropos the controversy about the alleged support of the Hindu Mahasabha to Japan's aggression in China, the Hindu Mahasabha Head Office has issued a statement to the Press in the course of which it says that no resolution was moved in the Subjects Committee or passed in the open session at Ahmedabad, as it was considered unwise to make any declaration of support to either side at the present moment. The subject was

never considered officially by the Mahasabha either before or after the session.—U. P.

The controversy would never have arisen if Seth Padmaraj Jain, who is general secretary to the Hindu Mahasabha and one of whose letters to the Japanese consul-general has given rise to the controversy, had either not written to the consul-general the letter in question or made it quite clear in the letter that he was giving expression only to his personal opinion.

We did not know or suspect ere this that any Indian had pro-Japanese and anti-Chinese sympathies so far as the present Sino-Japanese relations were concerned. Perhaps we ought to have been able to imagine that Indians who profited by business relations with the Japanese might probably sympathise with them.

As regards sympathy with Japan on religious grounds, if Japanese Buddhists could be said to be Indian Hindus' fellow-believers, why could not Chinese Buddhists also be considered Indian Hindus' fellow-believers?

Some years ago the editor of this *Review* was connected with the Hindu Mahasabha. One of the reasons, though not the only reason, why he severed his connection with it, was the practice of some important honorary office-bearers of that body of making statements on behalf of it which were not authorized by it officially and formally.

The Bible Held Not Infallible By Anglican Commission

London, Jan. 14.

The report of the Commission appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922 to consider the Christian doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of agreement within the Anglican Church and investigating how far the differences can be removed or diminished, has now been published.

It challenges the traditional beliefs at several points and rejects the infallibility of the Bible, saying that its authority must not prejudice investigation in any field.

The report regards the historical evidence for virgin birth as inconclusive and declares that the literalistic belief in the physical resurrection of the dead must be rejected.

On the other hand, it declares that the resurrection of Christ was an event as real and concrete as the Crucifixion.

The Commission is divided with regard to whether miracles occur, but it is agreed that God can work miracles if He pleases.

The report says there is no objection to the Theory of Evolution, which can be drawn from creation narratives in the Genesis. Christians agree that these are of mythological origin and their value for us is symbolic rather than historical.—*Reuter*.

Shahidganj Appeal Dismissed

Lahore, Jan. 26.

A Full Bench of the Lahore High Court, consisting of the Chief Justice and Justice Bhide and Din Mohammad pronounced orders today in the Shahidganj

appeal filed by representative Muslim organisations for declaration of the right to say prayers in the Shahidganj mosque.

The Chief Justice and Justice Bhide dismissed the appeal with costs, holding that the rights of the Muslims to say prayers in the mosque were extinct due to adverse possession.

Justice Din Mohammad disagreed, holding that the demolition of the mosque gave the Muslims cause for action.

The decision of the High Court has caused a great stir among Muslims. Some Muslim shops situated in predominantly Muslim localities have been closed as a protest. Public meetings are being organized by the Majlis-i-Ahrar and the Ittihad-i-Millat separately. Muslim papers are publishing supplements with black borders. The daily "Zemindar," an organ of the Ittihad-i-Millat, is observing a one-day hartal.

Elaborate police arrangements have been made throughout the city. Police reserves are kept at all police stations to cope with the situation in case anything untoward happened. Police pickets have been reinforced, particularly in the vicinity of Shahidganj.—A. P.

The tenacity of purpose displayed by Panjab Muslims is noteworthy.

Japanese Reverses in China

Shanghai, Jan. 25.

The Chinese announced re-occupation of Hohsein. A Japanese army spokesman admitted the loss of the port, saying that the Japanese troops were withdrawn as they are no longer required there. The Chinese claim that over 300 Japanese soldiers were either drowned or fatally injured when bombed as they crossed the tributary of the Yangtse.

Meanwhile, there is renewed fighting in south of Wuhu, where Chinese strengthened reinforcements launched another attack and furious hand-to-hand fighting occurred at two villages which changed hands several times.—*Reuter*.

Shanghai, Jan. 26.

Judging from the despatches reaching here there is good reason to believe that Tokio is worried by the continued check to the Japanese forces that have been marching towards each other along the Tientsin-Nanking Railway with their common objective as Suchow. These forces are about 150 miles apart.

Progress from the south is halted at Mingkwan near Pengpu, while the Japanese troops in the north appear to have suffered reverses south of Yenchow. The Japanese have encountered bad weather and far greater opposition than they anticipated and they also seem to fear that any further extension of their lines might be disastrous to them.

It is reliably reported that General Matsui asked Tokio for four more divisions, but the request is stated to have been refused on the ground that none could be spared in view of other possible contingencies.—(*Reuter*).

Anti-Phooka Bill Passed

On the 26th January last the Bengal Legislative Council passed the Bengal Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Bill sponsored by Mr. Lalit Chandra Das.

The aim of the act is to put an effective check on, prevent and stop the crime known as "phooka," by Amending Act 1 of 1920, which

so far has not proved to be very efficacious in that respect. The practice of "phooka" by gowalas for wringing the last drop of milk from cows and other milch animals is very prevalent in and around Calcutta and Howrah and in many cities outside Bengal.

The present act makes the crime punishable with imprisonment, which may extend to two years and fine to Rs. 500.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on States' People's Rights

Presiding over the fifth Ajmer-Marwara Provincial Political Conference, held at Beawar on the 26th January last, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai declared :

"The Congress stands for the same rights and status for States people as for British Indians, both in the matter of civil liberties and responsible Government, and in the future constitution."

Mr. Desai repudiated the princes' "divine right" to rule against the people's will, which was supreme at this age. He sympathised with their struggle and advocated "satyagraha" for the States' people, which carried British India forward, declaring that Congress would support their cause.

Speaking about repression in the States, Mr. Desai referred to the restriction on Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in Jodhpur. The attendance of fifteen to twenty thousand people in a meeting organised to accord reception to Mr. Bose, he said, should be an eye-opener to the Princes and the absence of enthusiasm in Princes' reception should show which way the water flows.

Mr. Desai expressed satisfaction at Lord Lothian's remarks about non-supply of British help for States' people's suppression, condemned the proposed rendition of villages to Jodhpur and Udaipur as a bait for entry into Federation and dealt at length on the disadvantages of Federation.

He deplored the condition obtaining in the non-regulated State of Ajmer-Marwara and exhorted the people to chalk out a programme for struggle, if provincial autonomy or amalgamation with the United Provinces were not settled.—(*United Press*).

Is Calcutta University "Sri"-less and "Crest"-fallen?

The Amrita Bazar Patrika writes :

The University of Calcutta has, pending a final settlement with the Government of Bengal, with regard to the inclusion of "Sree and Padma" in its crest, discontinued the publication of the crest in its recent publications. This move on the part of the University, it may be supposed, has been absolutely voluntary. Is it also a concession to the feelings of the sister community, since an enterprising news agency which has been "reliably informed" would have us believe that no proposal of any kind on that question was made by the University to the Government or to any individual, 'formally or informally'? Or, is it by a mere accident that the University has done this?

If the Baghbazar paper has been correctly informed, the University of Calcutta has, at least for the time being, lost its "Sri" and

become crest-fallen. Let us hope, it will ere long regain its glory and again raise its head.

Salary Cut in Madras Provincial and Subordinate Services

A Madras Government communique, published on the first January last, announced a graded reduction in the salaries of the provincial services in Madras.

It says the scales of pay of Provincial and subordinate services were reduced in 1933-34 on account of fall in prices, but even the revised scales are too high and capable of further reduction especially in the case of Government servants drawing over a hundred rupees. The Government have accordingly decided to further reduce the scales of pay of Provincial and subordinate services by the adoption of the following graded reduction on the present revised scales subject to such adjustment as is necessary to prevent anomalies or injustice in individual cases.

Subordinate Services : Salaries over Rs. 100 and not exceeding Rs. 200, 5 per cent. reduction.

Over two hundred : $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Provincial Services :—

Salaries of 200 and below 5 per cent.

Over 200 and not exceeding 500 : 15 per cent.

Over 500 and not exceeding 1,000 20 per cent.

Over a thousand : 30 per cent.

The new revised scales are worked out on this basis for Provincial Services and will be brought into force from 1.1.38. A similar order will be passed in due course to bring into effect the new revised scales of pay for subordinate services, which are now under preparation.

Generally speaking, according to these orders, every person who has been or will be appointed to any service or post on or after 1.4.37 or who has been and will be promoted for the first time or after a break to any service or post on or after 1.10.37 enters on the new revised scale for such service or post.

The communique at the outset says the present Government was returned to office expressly pledged to the electorate among other matters for a substantial reduction in salaries of all public servants and the retrenchment of the cost of administration. They are of the opinion that it will be impossible with any sense of justice or proportion to maintain the existing ratio between the earnings of most people, who pay taxes and the scales of pay that are being given to the services for maintaining the administration.

As the Madras ministers reduced their own salaries to begin with, there is no inconsistency in the announcement of cuts in other public servants' salaries. The salaries paid to I. C. S. men and other imperial services are higher than those of provincial officers of similar standing. But these cannot be reduced by the ministers. as under the law they have no power to do so.

Reduction of salaries is as urgently needed in Bengal as in Madras. But it must not be expected here.

Problems Facing Indian Soap-makers

The policy of rate-cutting in prices of manufactured goods by the Soap manufacturers was

severely criticised by Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray presiding over the fifth annual meeting of the All-India Soap Makers' Conference on the 11th January last.

Acharya Prafulla Chandra also condemned the attitude of educated classes towards the Swadeshi articles which they thought to be inferior in quality to articles of foreign make. The speaker asked the Association to use their seal which would go to prove that the articles were manufactured of pure ingredients. Every effort should be made so that the articles might command universal approval.

In the opinion of Mr. B. N. Maitra, chairman of the reception committee of the conference, the greatest danger to the Indian soap-making industry is the foreign competition from within, that is to say, the establishment of big factories in India with foreign capital. Among the resolutions passed by the Conference were the following :

This Conference of the Indian soap manufacturers urges on the Government of India that in any trade agreement with Japan or any other foreign country the present rates of duty (*viz.*, 25 per cent. ad valorem or Rs. 20 a cwt. whichever is higher) on toilet soaps should be maintained as a necessary antidumping measure.

This Conference is strongly of opinion that as the bulk of the supply of essential oils and aromatic chemicals come from the continents, in no future trade agreement with U. K., Imperial preference should apply in respect of the above articles.

While thanking the Railway Board for introducing a new classification of "toilet requisites mixed" under class VI, which partially meets the demand of the All India Soap-makers' Association, this Conference urges that (a) the matter be reconsidered and mixed toilet preparations be charged under class IV and (b) the minimum weight of consignments per goods train be lowered to 7 seers.

This Conference views with alarm the proposed extension of the provisions of the Factories Act to power factories employing less than 10 persons, as this will seriously affect the soap industry which, in India, is largely a cottage industry. This new move also goes against the expressed policy of the Government to support small industries of the country. This conference therefore urges on the Government to desist from such a course.

This Conference learns with satisfaction that the Government is contemplating the enactment of suitable Act for the registration of Trade Marks and in view of the urgent necessity for such a measure, urges that the same may be given effect to within the course of the current year.

Celebration of A Doctor's Attaining His 81st Year

Last month the Sylhet Union celebrated the completion of the 80th year of his life by Dr. Sundari Mohan Das, the doyen of Indian medical men in Calcutta. He has devoted fifty-five years of his long life to the relief of pain, the prevention of sickness, and the promotion of

sanitation. He is one of the foremost Bengali writers on sanitary and hygienic topics. He is an ardent Congressman and has been noted throughout his long career for independence of spirit. He is fervent in his piety and is a distinguished singer of *Kirtans*. The following passage is taken from a character sketch of the doctor in the *Hindusthan Standard* :

But the greatest inspiration of his political work came from Shivanath Sastri, one of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1876 under the latter's leadership was organised a society the members of which took vows for securing freedom, social, religious and political. Bipin Chandra Pal in his "Memories of My Life and Times" thus refers to this episode :

"The original copy of the pledge which we signed was lost many years ago, how we never found out. It was a remarkable document drawn up by Pandit Shiva Nath. The first article pledged the members to put up a strenuous and uncompromising fight against current image-worship and caste-domination in the Hindu Society. The next article of this pledge was distinctly political. It started with the declaration that "self-government is the only form of political government ordained by God. . ." They added a significant rider to this political declaration to the effect that while obeying the laws and institutions of the present foreign government in the country, they would not, even if faced with extreme poverty and economic destitution and all the miseries consequent upon it, take service under this Government. The exact Bengali words were "never to agree to accept the *slavery* of this foreign Government." The next article in this pledge discussed ways and means for advancing the country to this goal of self-government. Education came here first; the removal of the disabilities under which the Hindu widows labour. . . , and the breaking down of the "purdah" system . . . The national physique must be simultaneously cultivated and improved along with the national intellect. The signatories, therefore, pledged themselves lastly to learn to ride and shoot and preach the duties of acquiring this military training and aptitudes to their fellow countrymen. There was as yet no Arms Act. . . ."

Rector Laurin Zilliacus on Santiniketan

The International Delegation of the New Education Fellowship visited Santiniketan on the last day of 1937 and the first day of 1938. Interviewed by the *United Press of India*, its leader Rector Laurin Zilliacus, said, in part :

"I have unfortunately not been able to see the school or college at work but I have met its teachers, seen some of the healthy and happy children and explored its remarkably equipped libraries and other departments. Above all, I have the privilege of sitting once more at the feet of the Poet and I can understand that Santiniketan is a place of pilgrimage for all those interested in education and devoted to the great traditions of the human spirit."

Regarding village work of Sreeniketan Rector Zilliacus said :

"It is the kind of thing we have been dreaming about in New Education. This work of Visva-Bharati is directed to an active recognition of material basis of life. It happily aims at fulfilling the first need in educa-

tional reconstruction by developing better economic and sanitary conditions and such economic organisations as are indispensable to that end. But the work of Sreeniketan also realises that a great deal more is required. Man does not live by bread alone. Due attention is therefore paid to the spiritual side of reconstruction; hence they have art, music and traditional festivals and ceremonies—all woven into the texture of the life of the institution. Education must move on all fronts and improve all sides of life. India is fortunate in having the Poet as its great leader of educational reconstruction in the widest sense of the term."

Kenya Highlands to be European Monopoly

With reference to the proposed issue by the Government of Kenya of an Order in Council reserving the ownership of land in the Kenya Highlands for Europeans, Mr. C. F. Andrews has called attention to the subject in the course of a press statement. Therein he says inter alia :

"The issue was one of the gravest importance because if an Order in Council is passed reserving 16,000 square miles in the Kenya Highlands in perpetuity for Europeans, permanent injustice would be done not only to the Indian community but also to indigenous Africans who will thus be shut out for ever from the most healthy and fertile part of Kenya."

Mr. Andrews adds :

"Ever since the Kenya conversations in 1920, nearly 10,000 square miles had been reserved for Europeans under the Governor's veto but that was quite different from an Order in Council. Under the Morris Carter Commission of 1934-35 it had been proposed to add 6,000 more square miles of fertile territory to the ten thousand already reserved for Europeans. Now it seemed an effort would be made to reserve 16,000 square miles in all not merely under the Governor's veto but also by an Order in Council which will make the whole matter final."

A Tennis Expert on the Bratachari Movement

Harijan states that Mr. L. Brooke Edwards, Secretary of the All India Lawn Tennis Association, studied the Bratachari movement and said that, when viewed from the all important point of view of the development of national health, there was not much to be said for the game (tennis). Mr. Brooke Edwards was reported to have added that the game was expensive to play and in India there were many millions of people who would never be able to buy a really good racket and if they were to try to do anything toward bettering their health, they must endeavour to find some form of exercise that could be enjoyed with practically no financial outlay. Mr. Brooke Edwards, continues *Harijan*, is firmly convinced that Mr. G. S. Dutt has found such a form of exercise in his Bratachari movement.

The "Bhavans" of Visva-bharati

The objects sought to be promoted by the foundation of the Hindi Bhavan will be found stated in detail in Mr. C. F. Andrews' article on the subject. Other "Bhavans" may be opened in course of time at Santiniketan for the promotion of the culture enshrined in some of the other provincial languages and literatures of India. Those students of Visva-bharati whose mother-tongue is not Bengali—and even the Bengali students themselves, who want to derive all the possible advantage from study and residence at Visva-bharati will naturally understand that just as non-British students in British Universities, non-German students in German Universities, non-French students in French Universities, and so on, have to know English, German, French, etc., in order to derive the greatest possible advantage from their study and residence in those universities, so the Bengali language and literature—particularly the Bengali works of Rabindranath Tagore—require to be studied by them if their object is to be gained. Visva-bharati does not make the study of the Bengali language and literature compulsory for every college student or student of the research department, so far as we know. But we take it for granted that those who go to Visva-bharati for study, do so to receive what Bengal and Rabindranath Tagore can give. In addition to providing facilities for the imbibing of the spirit of the cultural movement for which Rabindranath Tagore stands, he has been gradually providing facilities for the study of Chinese culture and different Indian provincial cultures. Buddhist studies, Zoroastrian studies, Islamic studies, for which Visva-bharati gives facilities, give proof of the broad outlook of Visva-bharati. There is no overt or covert religious, linguistic or cultural imperialism there.

This is what we understand to be the spirit of Visva-bharati.

Mr. M. N. Roy's Advice : "Join the Congress"

After an absence of about a quarter of a century from Bengal, where he was born and had his upbringing, Mr. M. N. Roy came back to his native province last month. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee presented him with an address of welcome. In the course of his reply to it, Mr. Roy said :

"I shall say only a few words in connection with one of the points raised in the address. It is mentioned there that during my long sojourn abroad I had had opportunity of coming in contact with revolutionary movements in other countries, and consequently have had

some experience thereof. My country expects to be benefited by my experience. I may tell you at the outset that I have returned to India with that purpose. I have returned to India for the purpose of placing at the disposal of the political workers of our country the little experience I have acquired in consequence of my participation in the revolutionary movements of other countries. Now how to do that? That is the first question that has confronted me."

The answer followed :

Having considered the question from all points of view in the jail, I came to the conclusion that anybody who wants to participate effectively in the struggle for the political and social liberation of our country, must join the Indian National Congress. Twenty-five years ago, the Indian National Congress was entirely something different. Today the Indian National Congress represents a mighty revolutionary movement. It derives its strength from the politically awakened masses of our people. It is no longer an organization of some middle-class amateur politicians who meet once a year, pass some resolutions and ultimately forget all about them. The Congress is a mass organization, a living organization. It represents the revolutionary urge of our population. Therefore, it provides a platform to all who are interested in the social and economic liberation of our country. On the other hand, it being a broad common platform, it cannot go up to the expectations of everybody. There are politically-minded people in our country who regard the Congress as an extremely revolutionary and dangerous organization. On the other hand, radical and revolutionary element in our country looks upon the Congress as a conservative, impotent, weak, vacillating and counter-revolutionary organization. The truth is on neither side. The truth is in the middle. Congress is the organization of the oppressed and the exploited masses of the Indian people. It does not represent the interest of any particular section. Therefore, those who join the Congress must do so not as representing any particular section, but as representing the common interests of the oppressed and the exploited majority of our population. That is not an ordinary majority, but that majority includes more than ninety per cent of our population.

Swaruprani Nehru

Srimati Swaruprani Nehru's life will for ever remain an example for India's women to follow and a source of inspiration to them, whatever their position and work in society may be. Wife of a great and heroic leader in India's fight for freedom and mother of heroic children who have taken part unflinchingly in the same patriotic struggle, she was herself a heroine in the best sense of the word. Not many are the patriotic families in the country of which all the members—father and mother, son and daughter-in-law, daughters and a son-in-law, have made sacrifices and courted and undergone imprisonment in furtherance of the country's cause. Nurtured in the lap of luxury, Srimati Swaruprani Nehru bravely endured the hardships of jail life, bore on her person without flinching lathi charges of the police, and dauntlessly faced separation from her nearest and dearest.

"Professor" Ramamurti

The death of "Professor" Ramamurti removes from India a man who perhaps more than any other Indian strong men demonstrated to the world India's ability to produce men who could compete on equal terms with the world's strongest men and perhaps surpass them in some respects. He was a distinguished physical culturist.

Mr. Butler on 40-Hour Week

When on the 4th January last the president of the Ahmedabad Mill-Owners' Association welcomed Mr. Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva, and made a suitable speech,

Mr. Butler, replying, said he was glad that industrial peace had been maintained here for many years through the machinery of arbitration initiated by M. Gandhi. The labour problems in India were not difficult of solution. He particularly agreed that a 40-hour week was not suitable to India.

He concluded: "You are not a backward country. Your Labour problem is not the same as that of the West and a separate treatment would be more practical and would produce more concrete results. The conditions in this city are better than in any other industrial centre in India. With such an organization as yours, there is a great future for the Indian textile industry."—*United Press*.

What We Told Mr. Butler in 1926

Mr. Butler's visit to India reminds us of the conversation which we had with him at Geneva in September, 1926. He was then Deputy Director of the International Labour Office. What we told him then, as recorded in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, pp. 588—589, may be of some interest even now. Here is part of it:

"I observed that so far as India's desire and efforts for political emancipation were concerned, the League of Nations would be of as much help to her as a college debating society. He did not say either yes or no. I went on to add that, on the other hand, the International Labour Office might be able to do some good to the labouring population of India, if it did its work properly. As there were in India many women among factory labourers, I suggested that there should be an educated Indian lady to represent these women at the International Labour Conferences held under the auspices of the International Labour Office. For men are not always able or eager or willing to represent women's grievances. I said that an Indian woman like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu would be able to speak up as eloquently and courageously and with as much information for women workers as any male representative of male workers has hitherto spoken or may hereafter speak for both male and female labour. But, I added, that it was not likely that the Government of India would nominate a woman like Mrs. Naidu. Thereupon Mr. Butler interposed the remark that the International Labour Office could independently and directly invite a woman delegate. But I see that this

year (1927) at any rate no Indian lady has been invited. Whether any such person would be invited in any future year, is more than I can say. And Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is not the only woman whose name could be suggested....

"Our conversation drifted to the topic of the efficiency of labour in India. I suggested illiteracy and ignorance as among the principal causes of the comparative inefficiency of labour in India. I added that, far from the Government of India doing anything in the direction of free and compulsory education, it adopted a worse attitude than that of mere indifference to the late Mr. Gokhale's primary education bill, which was thrown out. Other bills of a similar nature, dealing piecemeal with rural and urban areas in some province or other, have some times been passed, but Government has not yet evinced any particularly unusual enthusiasm in this direction. I also said that during the last great World War, if not earlier, it has been proved that the more educated the privates of an army are, the more efficient is the army. That being the case, it goes without saying that in industrial pursuits, the more educated the workers are, the greater would be their efficiency and the better the quality of the manufactures. Mr. Butler spoke little. But on this topic he put the question, "Is there a demand for universal, free and compulsory education in India?" I replied, "Yes, there is."

"I did not say anything more on this subject. But the question has not ceased to haunt my mind. I have often asked myself: "Must there always be a demand for a good thing on the part of the people before it is supplied?" Take the case of Japan. When the Emperor Mutsuhito proclaimed that it was his desire that there should be no village in Japan without a school and no family with an illiterate member, did he do so in response to any popular demand? No. When elementary education was made free and compulsory in Japan in 1871, was that again due to any popular demand? No. Or take the case of England herself. When after the passing of a Reform Act, the numbers of voters greatly increased, and in consequence Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, said words to the effect, "We must educate our masters," and subsequently the first steps were taken towards providing national education in England, was that done because of any universal demand?"

Dr. Goswami Discovers Method of Preparing Plastics

A discovery of far-reaching industrial importance has been made by Dr. M. N. Goswami of the Applied Chemistry Department of the University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta. He has been successful in preparing Plastics of all kinds such as grease, wax, resin and bakelite-like products from common vegetable oils.

After laborious research work extending over years in this line he accidentally got his first product which was soft like vaseline.

Surprised but encouraged at the same time, he examined minutely the conditions of his experiment as on the surface they appeared to be the same as in the previous cases of failures. He found that this time, through mistake, he had used an apparatus which was hopelessly defective and the chemical added was very impure.

He, therefore, proceeded at once to scrutinise the defects and analysed the impurities present in the chemical which seemed apparent.

Under the same defective conditions he repeated his experiments numerous times, getting the same result in each case. He then began to study the process thoroughly from the point of view of temperature, pressure and other conditions by altering the later factors and successively

got semi-solid, waxy and finally beautiful resinous substances.

Realizing now full well that he was face to face with products of extreme industrial importance, Dr. Goswami then devoted nights and days to standardizing the conditions in which each of the substances could be exclusively obtained on a large scale with minimum cost of production and his labours have now been crowned with success.

He has prepared in semi-large scale superfatting material for soaps, lubricating grease for machineries, hard shining waxes for polishes and hard resins for varnishes, insulating materials and gramophone records. The cost of production varies from three annas to six annas according as cheaper or costly oils are taken.

India imports on the head of resins and waxes alone, goods worth about half a crore of rupees. The success of Dr. Goswami's process utilizing a raw material in which India will never be wanting, appears to have brilliant future as his results are fraught with enormous industrial possibilities.

His laboratory is now full of plastics (technical name of the products mentioned) of different kinds and he is busily engaged in studying the characteristics of his products in all their bearings.

Dr. Goswami's process is very simple: he heats the oil with a small amount of a chemical (which is very cheap and found in abundant quantities in India) and the entire mass of oil becomes solid of desired state within a short period. The sight of the shining waxes and resins and the circular boxes and other products prepared therefrom appears to be quite interesting, considering their origin—a simple common vegetable oil.

Persons in Bengal Under Detention

During question time in the Bengal Legislative Council, on Friday, the following questions among others were asked and answered:—

PERSONS UNDER DETENTION

Mr. Shrish Chandra Chakravarti asked:—Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(a) the total number of detenus who have been detained without trial;

(b) when they are expected to be released;

(c) the total number of political prisoners who have been sentenced after trial;

(d) where they are imprisoned, whether within Bengal or outside Bengal, but in India;

(e) whether all the prisoners, who were at the Andamans, have been brought back to Bengal;

(f) if not, how many are still there and when they are likely to be brought back; and

(g) whether any of the said prisoners are suffering from the effects of hunger-strike and if any person or persons have died as a result thereof?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin replied:—The hon'ble member's question is of such a comprehensive character that the statistical information required for the answers does not exist and cannot be collected without an amount of labour which I regret Government are not prepared to undertake.

Prompt Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners Demanded

Public opinion has been insistently demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners. Generally speaking those persons have been detained without trial whom Government suspected of plotting to make attempts to subvert

the government. Their object was to win self-government for the country. Political prisoners are those who, in the opinion of Government, have been found guilty after trial of some political offence. Their object was also to win self-rule. Now, in the opinion of Government, self-government has been given to India by the Government of India Act of 1935. The attainment of self-government by countries not previously self-governing is generally followed by the release of political prisoners. That is one reason why India's political prisoners should be released. There is stronger reason for the release of detenus, for their guilt was never proved or even attempted to be proved.

The persons who are now ministers in the different provinces—particularly those of the Congress party, were elected members of legislatures partly because of the promise contained in their election manifestoes that they would release political prisoners if they were elected. They should, therefore, now keep their promise.

It has never been proved that the detenus were terrorists, and all political prisoners were not terrorists. Those among either group who believed in the cult of terrorism have solemnly declared that they no longer believe in terrorism. They all want to follow non-violent methods in their future political activities if they engage in any. There is, therefore, no reason why they should be kept deprived of liberty any longer. That they would, if released, work for winning independence for the country is no argument against setting them free. Are not the Congress ministries all working openly for independence? We know definitely that some editors were warned because their journals contained allegations that the British Government in India was an exploiting government or an oppressive government, or a government which had destroyed the culture and spirituality of India, and some similar allegation. Some have been actually tried and punished on those grounds. But on the Independence Day, exactly identical declarations have been made all over India.

So, it seems once a man is dubbed a political criminal or a political suspect, he must continue to suffer, whilst other men, never or not now behind prison walls, may be doing or saying things for which those unfortunate persons lost their liberty!

The non-release of political prisoners is greatly exercising the mind of Mahatma Gandhi, delaying his restoration to normal health. The release of political prisoners will greatly expedite his recovery and the prolongation of his life. His life is an asset not merely to his countrymen but to Government also. He is standing between

Government and the forces of a possibly violent revolution. Government can never expect a more considerate opponent, one more devoted to non-violence. So, if our British rulers were wise, they would do everything in their power to prolong his life and increase his influence. Unwise rulers may thoughtlessly rely on their power to crush violent attempts at revolution. But, assuming they possess such power, would not even abortive attempts at revolution by violent methods cost men and money and encourage enemies of the British people in the West and the East to work against them?

Whatever Government may think, we want all our young men and women to enjoy liberty so that their intellect, their heart affluence and their energy may be utilized to the full for their own good and the good of India and the world.

Japan's Apologies

Japan has been insulting various Western powers in many ways and apologizing to them thereafter. If any comparatively weak country had insulted these big powers, they would have let loose the dogs of war. Not that we want them to fight Japan. What we cannot but think is that those who bully the weak are exactly those who kotow to the strong.

It need not be concealed that, though we hate and condemn Japanese imperialism, there is in India a sneaking admiration for Japan's spanking Western bullies.

Independence Day Celebrations in India

"Independence Day" was celebrated all over India on the 26th January last. Foreigners should not make the mistake of thinking that that day was the anniversary of the date of India's winning independence. No. It was merely the day when India repeated her resolve to win independence—a far different thing.

Independence Day Celebrated in Britain

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* own correspondent in London has telegraphed to it that

The Independence Day was observed in London in a well-attended enthusiastic meeting tonight when Indians pledged themselves to complete Independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cabled that there cannot be any solution of the Indian problem without complete independence.

Sir Stafford Cripps in a message says that such complete independence as will enable Indians to develop their own lives and culture unfettered by Imperialist shackles is the only goal that can satisfy those who really believe in freedom and democracy.

Prof. Laski said that British rule in India was as autocratic and high-handed as Hitler's in Germany and Mussolini's in Italy.

"When we protest against bombing of Madrid, Canton and Abyssinia we forget that our hands are not absolutely clean. We forget that British imperialism is bombing defenceless people in the North-West Frontier Province. We forget that thousands of Indians are detained without trial and put in concentration camps."

Prof. Laski hoped that Indians are fighting not only the British Imperialism but also for the emancipation of the Indian masses.

"No Voluntary Gift"

Mr. Strauss declared that the Government of India Act of 1935 was not a voluntary gift of British Imperialism. The British governing class realised the strength of the Indian people under the leadership of Congress and was forced to make a concession, though small and insignificant.

In asking the British working class to support the Indian demand, Mr. Strauss declared that liberty, freedom and democracy are not national creeds, they are international creeds for which the British labour movement whole-heartedly stands.

Similar Independence Day meetings were held tonight at Manchester, Edinburgh, Oxford, Cambridge, Reading and Glasgow.

Reclamation of Barren Soil by Molasses

In the course of a lecture on the reclamation of barren soil by the use of molasses delivered at Cawnpore by Professor Dr. N. R. Dhar of the Allahabad University, it was said:

Dr. Dhar found that "usar" lands in India have many defects, chief among them being high alkalinity deficiency of Calcium deficiency of Nitrogen deficiency of organic matter and deficiency in bacterial activity but these defects according to him could be removed by the use of molasses in alkaline soils. As an example he cited the case of Mysore Government where 1250 pounds of rice were obtained in an acre for two consecutive years without further treatment by molasses. The Mysore Government was highly satisfied with the results and are now making large scale experiments. He suggested that the best way for using surplus molasses is to use it for reclamation of alkaline lands.

The Blank Cheque That Mr. Roy Would Have Given

Addressing a crowded meeting at the Muslim Institute, Calcutta on the 27th January last, Mr. M. N. Roy said:

"If I had any hand in shaping the Congress policy, I should be prepared to give my Muslim brethren any guarantee, any protection, in any form they want."

Such a blank cheque could have been given only by robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Whatever that may be, Mahatma Gandhi, who since 1920 has shaped Congress policy more than any other person, did give such a blank cheque to the Indian Muhammadans. But they did not accept it. And why? Because a condition was attached to the cheque. The condition was that Indian Muslims were to have that blank cheque if they made common cause with the Hindus in India's struggle for freedom. Now, Indian Muslims are wise realists, not

foolish idealists. They know that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. So, they consider it better to curry favour with the British rulers of India, who wield sovereign power, and get from them *now* what they want, than accept the Congress blank cheque, which can be cashed only in the future on the advent of Swaraj, which may never come.

Nevertheless, they do not object to carry on negotiations with the Congress through some persons belonging to their own community. Such negotiations have this advantage that what Congress may propose or offer in the course of them may be used for getting some more concessions from the Government. For example, when at the Unity Conference at Allahabad it was agreed that Moslems were to have 32 per cent. of the seats in the Central Legislature, it came about by some mysterious process that, a day or two after, the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons that the British Government had decided that the Muhammadans were to have 33½ per cent. of the seats in the Central Legislature!

Mr. M. N. Roy's blank cheque will be acceptable to all Moslems provided he can convince them that what is mentioned in the cheque can be drawn now immediately on presentation, not in the future Swaraj days and provided also that he does not lay down the condition that Hindus and Moslems should unite in a common struggle for freedom.

Our observations do not apply to those nationalist Mussalmans who have joined *unconditionally* with non-Muslim nationalists in the common struggle for freedom.

About Sir J. C. Bose

All facts relating to the life and researches of Sir J. C. Bose are valuable. Such is the following letter which has been recently found among his papers:

SOCIETAS SCIENTIARUM FENNICA

Helsingfors,

November, 23, 1929.

Sir Jagadis Ch. Bose,
Emeritus Professor,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I have the great pleasure of sending you the diploma as Honorary Member of our Society.

Since many years I am especially occupied with the study of the misunderstood structure of Lichens, but in earlier years I was pursuing physiology. I was a scholar of Sache at the

same time as Francis Darwin, and I was the first one to prove that in transpiration the water is moving in the interior of the vessels, not in their wall. I considered that this propulsion of sap could be mechanically explained, but your experiments have completely converted me.

Your views of the fundamental unity of life reactions in plants and animals and also of the agreement between the Living and Non-Living will certainly have an immense influence on the evolution of Biology. I am glad to have lived to see the commencement of this new era and hope that you will give us more sublime thoughts and marvellous apparatus.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Fredr. Elfving

Dr. Fred. Elfving, the writer of the letter printed above, is Emeritus professor at Helsingfors, Finland, and plant physiologist and lichenologist. The experiments which he refers to in the second paragraph of his letter relate to the ascent of sap in trees.

Romain Rolland on Sir J. C. Bose

The following sentence occurs in "Letters from the Editor", published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, page 591:

"When we were led to speak of Sir J. C. Bose's work, M. Rolland observed that the Indian scientist had also the imagination of a poet."

The Indian Science Congress Jubilee

The silver jubilee of the Indian Science Congress, celebrated in Calcutta last month, was a great event, not only for Calcutta and Bengal, but for the whole of India. Besides distinguished British and other foreign scientists, many Indian scientists, including some lady scientists, assembled here on the occasion. Those who were in charge of the arrangements are to be congratulated upon the smoothness with which everything passed off. For days together Calcutta had a surfeit of scientific lectures. The foreign ladies, some of them scientists themselves and others the wives of scientists, were helped by some Indian ladies in sight-seeing, seeing educational and other institutions and in making purchases of specimens of Indian arts and crafts.

India's Backwardness in Science

The number of Indian scientists who came to Calcutta last month and the distinction of some of them must not be allowed to blind us to the very backward condition of India in the matter of scientific education and scientific research. A country of which barely 10 per

cent. of the population is literate and whose schools, colleges and universities give very inadequate facilities for education in science cannot but be backward in science.

It is no doubt true that during the last 40 years, since Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray started scientific research the progress which India has made in original scientific work gives ground for hope. But the extent of our backwardness in science may be realized if we think of the population of India with reference to the total population of the world.

The estimated population of the world in 1933 was 199,70,00,000—say two hundred crores. According to the census of 1931 the population of India exceeded thirty-five crores. So India contains more than one-sixth and less than one-fifth of the total population of the world. Hence, if it were claimed that India had made sufficient progress in science, it would have to be shown that it contained more than one-sixth and less than one-fifth of the distinguished scientists of the world. But the distinguished scientists born in India in the last and present centuries can be counted on one's fingers.

If the promoters of the Indian Science Congress, including some of the highest officers of the Government, try earnestly to promote scientific education in India, India's scientific backwardness may be gradually removed.

Grievances of Detenus and Political Prisoners

The Bengal Civil Liberties Union continues to give publicity to the grievances of the released detenus, detenus who are still interned and political prisoners. It were much to be desired that there were some means of bringing effective pressure to bear on the Government to remove these grievances.

Hungerstrikes of Prisoners

Some political prisoners in some provinces have actually gone on hungerstrike and others intend to do so if their grievances are not removed or if they are not released. Our political leaders are justified in telling those who are fasting to break their fast and in trying to dissuade others from going on hungerstrike. For hungerstrikes stiffen the attitude of the powers that be. They say they cannot yield to the threat implied in hungerstrikes. But, on the other hand, if the prayers, petitions and requests of the prisoners, backed by the expostulations and arguments of the leaders, be of no avail, how long can the aggrieved and miserable political prisoners hold their souls in patience?

Relative Contribution of Muhammadans to Indian Science

The Indian Science Congress celebrated its Silver Jubilee last January and held a joint session along with a strong delegation from the British Association of Science. Any one who is anybody in Indian Science and who had a paper worth publishing in his *own* estimation submitted it. The total number of papers thus received is 875. Many of them are joint-papers. Counting joint-papers as $\frac{1}{2}$'s, the total number of papers produced by the Muhammadans is $40\frac{1}{2}$. Their percentage is thus 4.6; although in the general population their percentage is as high as 24.

J. M. DATTA

Opposition to Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The public protest against the Bengal Government's move for the control of Secondary education in Bengal has resulted in the establishment of a Secondary Education Committee, consisting of representative educationists and public men, with Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee as Chairman, and Sjts. Nepal Chandra Ray and Sudhir Kumar Lahiri as joint secretaries. This Committee was appointed by the public meeting at Albert Hall, to which reference was made in our last issue. The Committee is circularising important public bodies in Bengal for giving vent to the public indignation at the Government's proposals. We whole-heartedly associate ourselves with the appeal.

"A Critique of the Secondary Education Bill"

The Politics Club of Calcutta, a body of academic men and educationists, have issued a very opportune brochure entitled "A Critique of the Secondary Education Bill," jointly contributed by, among others, Prof. Nripendra-chandra Banerji, Sjts. Anath Nath Basu, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Sachin Sen, and edited by Prof. B. N. Banerjea. Portions of it were published in our last issue. The brochure lucidly discusses the implications of the proposals, points to the failure of the Boards established in other parts of India and draws pointed attention to the experience of democratic countries, which is directly opposed to the pernicious principles underlying the draft of the bill published in the press. The brochure can be had of the Politics Club, Post Box 175, at the price of four annas only per copy. We would request the public to refer to the brochure for enlightenment on this vital issue facing the province.

“Contemporary Art of India”

Under the caption printed above, a recent number of *The Morning Post* of London contained an article which is reproduced below. It relates to an exhibition, held in London by Mr. S. Khastgir, of some of his and his pupils' works.

WORKS OF MR. S. KHASTGIR AND HIS PUPILS VITALITY OF A FINE TRADITION By T. W. EARP

Sudhir Khastgir, the art master of the Indian Public School, Dehra Dun, at the foot of the Himalayas, is holding an exhibition with some of his pupils at India House, Aldwych. On its own account, and as a symptom of the artistic renaissance now taking place in India, the show is rich in interest.

It asserts the vitality of a fine pictorial tradition, too long dormant, but never extinct. Though Persian and Chinese art have helped to form it, the centuries have moulded it into a native, independent instrument of expression.

Its characteristic, a peculiar conveyance of lyrical rhythm, is well brought out in Khastgir's "Dance," "Krishna-Radha," and "Sorrow." A sense of harmonious movement, of the whole picture being the projection of a gracious gesture, distinguishes them.

Western art's demands for volume, distance and grades of light yield, as in the fresco-like "Woodcutters," "Storm," and "After the Rain," to the attainment of dynamic design in two dimensions. At Khastgir's hands it is a splendid vehicle for giving mood in landscape or quickening realism with poetry.

Of the pupils' work, those qualities glow in the clear line and living pulse of Khusamed's "Mother," Iqbal Ahmed's "The Craftsman," and Jelani Khan's "Dry and Green"; and in the emotional unity of A. K. Ray's "Fishing in the Rain" and D. S. Bajpai's "Evening."

The paintings exhibited were praised in some other leading British journals also.

“A Cabinet Minister Accused of Lying”

Unity of Chicago writes :

Charles A. Dana, the famous editor of the *Sun*, used to say that if a dog bit a man, it was not news; but that if a man bit a dog, that was news! Yet, here in a headline despatch in the *New York Times* it is announced that a French cabinet minister is accused of lying! In the spirit of Dana we should say that, if a cabinet minister did not lie, that was news.

It were much to be wished that the cap fitted nobody in India.

A Modern Sanskrit Poet

Professor Hem Chandra Roy Kavibhushana, M.A. of the Edward College, Pabna, who met with a sad death on the 12th of January last due to a surgical operation, was a Sanskrit poet of rare merit. Half a dozen epic poems composed by him in Sanskrit were published during a comparatively short period of about ten years ending in 1916. The names of his works arranged in the order of their publication as far

as could be ascertained are : (1) Parasurama-charita in 10 cantos, (2) Haihayavijaya in 9 cantos (1909), (3) Rukminiharana in 12 cantos, (4) Subhadraharana, (5) Satyabhama-parigraha in 4 cantos (1915), (6) Pandava-vijaya in 12 cantos (1916, 1930). Two of these (Nos. 3 and 6) were re-issued several years ago with minor additions and alterations. All these works were highly spoken of by eminent Sanskrit scholars all over the country and earned for him an enviable distinction. It was admitted on all hands that these reminded one of the old classics of Sanskrit and reflected no mean credit on the author. As a matter of fact, he has no equal in this respect among the host of M.A.s who have specialized in Sanskrit, and very few even among those who study Sanskrit in the old style schools and are generally considered more profound.

It was sheer love of the Sanskrit Muse that led Prof. Roy to choose this dead "language of the gods" as the vehicle of his literary productions, for the hope of any earthly gain therefrom was little. He realized that there were few readers for modern works in Sanskrit, and freely distributed copies of his works to scholars who were eager to go through them.

We hope the Bengal Sanskrit Association will properly honour this most deserving poet of modern days by introducing one or other of his poems at the examinations conducted by it, now that it has, of late, adopted the practice of prescribing modern texts in Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Military Training for Bengalis Demanded

On January 28th last two representative bodies gave expression to the demand that military training should be given to Bengalis. The first was the Bengal Legislative Council. On the motion of Rai Bahadur Keshab Chandra Banerjee, the House unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that the Government of India be moved by the Government of Bengal to admit Bengalees for military training so as to form a permanent unit of the Indian Army.

Mr. W. G. B. Laidlaw (European) said that to his mind a sense of discipline and of *esprit de corps* was essential for the building up of a nation and he welcomed any move to extend facilities for military service to the Bengalees. Recently the 5th Bengal Presidency Urban Infantry Battalion was started with the object of giving opportunities to Bengalees to taste the joy of military training. He had practical experience on the matter for 3 of his employees recently joined this unit and attended the annual camp. They returned looking fittest, happier, and much smarter, in fact each of them a soldier. "To

said," remarked Mr. Laidlaw, "that the Bengalee is unsuitable physically for military training is, to my mind, nonsense."

The second body to voice the demand was the Calcutta Corporation.

Following a lively debate the Calcutta Corporation on Friday adopted a resolution recommending to the British Government that for the protection of the civil population of cities like Calcutta from enemy's attack, the citizens and ratepayers of Calcutta between the ages of 21 and 40 be given full military training for three months at least every year with full military equipment.

"In the opinion of the Corporation of Calcutta," the resolution added, "half-hearted or makeshift measures will not solve the problem of defence of such cities, as at present the world seems to be rapidly drifting towards war."

The Europeans did not participate in the voting.

Crowded Public Meeting Demands Release of Political Prisoners

At a crowded public meeting, held in Shradhdhananda Park, Calcutta, on the 22nd January last, which was presided over by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee and attended among others by Mr. C. F. Andrews, the following resolution was passed unanimously :

The citizens of Calcutta assembled in the meeting clearly express their opinion that it was the first duty of the Ministers elected by the people to set all political prisoners under the previous Governments at liberty. There could be no substantial reason behind this undue delay in discharging the responsibility. Specially when all the political prisoners had abjured terrorism that delay could by no means be supported. This meeting therefore demands the immediate release of political prisoners of all provinces, specially of Bengal.

Moreover, alarmed at the recent hunger strike resorted to by political prisoners in different jails this meeting from the viewpoint of civic rights as well as humanity place the demand before the Ministers and urges upon them to release the political prisoners immediately thus putting an end to the possibility of an unwelcome reaction that might result from the delay in effecting the release. (Translation.)

The proceedings were conducted in Bengali. A large number of ladies attended the meeting. Among the speakers was Principal Miss Mira Datta-Gupta, M.A., a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Heramba Chandra Maitra

The venerable teacher, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, passed from this world last month in the eightieth year of his age.

More than half a century ago it was my good fortune and privilege to be one of those who sat at his feet. We not only derived from him intellectual illumination but also felt that his words and personality had a spiritually uplifting power. He taught both by precept and example. A man of noble and spotless character—guileless, sincere and earnest in all that he

said and did, he could not but influence the character and conduct of those who came into close personal contact with him.

His refined and noble presence was impressive.

Stern he was on occasion, but how true and tender and affectionate !

He was rigidly puritanic. Saintly he was. But no sour-faced, morose saint was he. He could laugh and make others laugh.

He was delicately sensitive to beauty in man and nature. And he adored spiritual beauty.

Meditation, communion and prayer gave him the sustenance which his soul needed.

In the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University he occupied the first place in the first division among those who passed in English in his year. He had an extensive, scholarly and profound knowledge of the English language and literature. He could have secured a professorship of English in the Bengal education department, but he chose to accept the office of professor of English in the City College, Calcutta, on a lower salary. And except for a few years spent in Dacca as principal of Jagannath College, the fifty-four years of his educational career were devoted to the service of the City College, first as professor of English and afterwards as principal. As a student, I have attended the lectures of many professors of English, European and Indian, in three Calcutta colleges. Without injustice to any of them, I can say that Professor Maitra enabled me to grasp the profound thoughts of some English authors and to appreciate the literary beauty of some English poems to a greater extent than any other professor at whose feet I sat in college. I have borne this testimony to the quality of Professor Maitra's teaching of English many a time in the past and I do so again now. He had a passion for accuracy. And hence, even in class, when in doubt, he would consult big dictionaries to find out the exact shade of meaning of a particular word in a particular sentence.

As a writer of English, he was noted for the beauty, poetic quality, accuracy and simplicity of what he wrote. His language would occasionally rise to the heights of sublimity and eloquence. His thought was profound and his observations true.

When his essay on Emerson obtained for him the Griffith Memorial Prize, the examiners, not knowing the name of the writer, which was within a sealed envelope, thought that it might have been copied from some great writer. And so, the story goes, the best works on Emerson

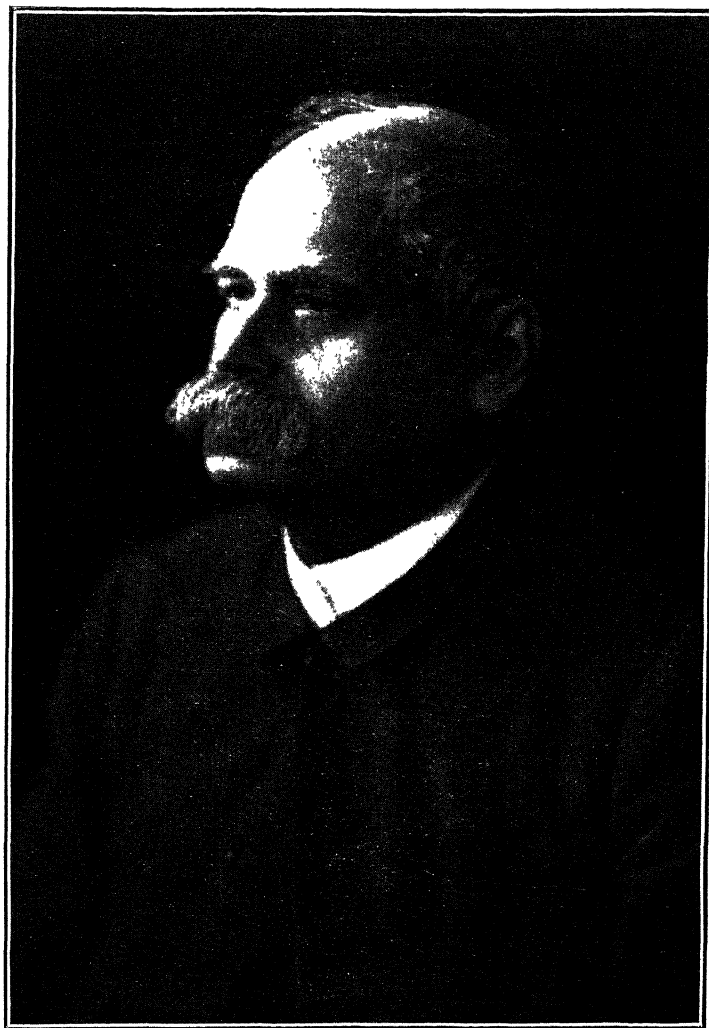
were procured from abroad to ascertain whether that was the case. But when it was found that the essay was an original production, its writer was awarded the prize. Heramba Chandra Maitra was considered by those who knew him as among the highest authorities on Emerson's works. Carlyle and Wordsworth were among his other favourite authors. He wrote many excellent essays and many more newspaper and magazine articles of high quality. But it is greatly to be regretted that he has left them unpublished in book form. Like many others who have a passion for perfection, he was never satisfied with his work and always thought that lure of the most excellent has kept us up till now deprived of what is really excellent in his work in a collected form.

Heramba Chandra Maitra could write good Bengali essays also. When the *Sanjibani*, of which he was one of the founders, was started, he wrote some articles for it. It is to be regretted that after some time he ceased to write anything, except personal letters, in Bengali. But the divine services which he conducted in Bengali and his Bengali sermons gave to fellow-worshippers an idea of his fine Bengali style and his rich vocabulary. He was a minister of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and performed divine service in English also.

He was an eloquent speaker in English. His speeches were remarkable for depth of thought and were garnished with quotations from his favourite authors.

It has been stated above that he was one of the founders of the *Sanjibani*, which under its lifelong editor, Krishna Kumar Mitra, rendered signal service to the country by fearlessly

agitating against indentured labour in Assam, against the opium evil, against the partition of Bengal, for promoting the Swadeshi movement, against child marriage and other social evils, against the abduction and ravishment of



Heramba Chandra Maitra

women. . . . Though Heramba Chandra Maitra's main work was done as a teacher, he was noted also for his political and social reform work. He was for decades prominently connected with the Indian Association, and the Indian National Congress. Before non-co-operation days, his speeches on the education resolution in Congress

sessions were looked forward to as a special treat. He felt deeply for all political sufferers—specially for those who were deprived of their liberty without trial. He was an earnest seeker and lover of freedom.

He was honorary editor of *The Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmoc Samaj, for decades. As one of his honorary assistants, I served my apprenticeship in journalism under him for years and learned much from him. But the art of telling the truth about men and things, even the naked truth, with dignity and without bitterness, of which he was a master, is not easily learned.

He was a Fellow and Member of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University for years, as also its University Professor of English. Long after it was over-due the University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa. He also served abroad as the Calcutta University delegate to a British Empire Universities Congress.

He visited Europe and America to speak on the principles of the Brahmoc Samaj. And wherever he spoke, his lectures and sermons were appreciated.

He was very affectionate to the members of his family and his friends. Affectionate, too, he was to his pupils. And they reciprocated this sentiment and revered him. Truth compels me to record an exception. Some years ago communal frenzy, fanned by political leaders, led many of his students to carry on a violent agitation against his college and to insult and try even to assault him and his colleagues. This agitation all but ruined his college. This was one of the greatest afflictions of his life. But he bore it with dignity, courage and calm fortitude.

He treated me more like a younger brother than like a mere student unrelated to him.

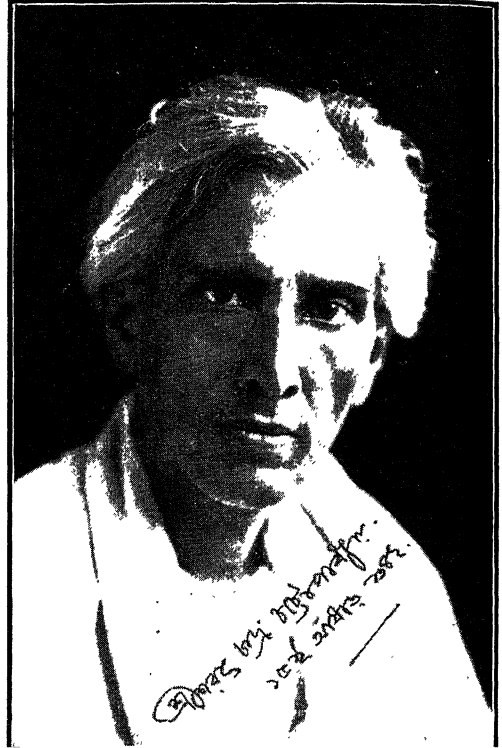
It has been said above that he could laugh and make others laugh. But at heart he was a man of sorrows. His personal bereavements were many. But in addition to these afflictions he made the sorrows of others whom he knew his own. Nobody can say how many he remembered in his prayers, and how often.

His and his family's hospitality reminded all who enjoyed it of the good old spacious days that are no more.

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

Death has removed from our midst Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the distinguished novelist and story-writer, who, in the opinion of so great an authority and so eminent a

litterateur as Rabindranath Tagore, was Bengal's most beloved author. His great popularity is evidenced by the numerous meetings, held in the towns and villages of Bengal and by Bengalis outside Bengal all over India, to mourn his death. Those who do not know Bengali will be able to form an estimate of his powers as a literary artist from the English translation



Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

of *Srikanta*, published some years ago. And old readers of *The Modern Review* will remember that some years ago we published serially a translation of another work of his, viz., *Bindu Chhele* or "Bindu's Son."

As regards translations of some work or other of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee into foreign languages other than English, the following extract from No. VIII of our "Letters from the Editor," published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, will perhaps bear reproduction:

"We learnt that M. Rolland had read Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* in an Italian translation, made from the English translation of that novel. The great French author (M. Romain Rolland) remarked that

Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order, and enquired how many other novels he had written. I told him the names of some of them."

It was the publication by us of this opinion of M. Romain Rolland in *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* that first enabled our countrymen to know that Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's fame as a novelist had reached the continent of Europe.

About the time that Dacca University conferred on Sarat Chandra the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature, he said that up till then all his novels and stories had related principally to Hindu Bengali Society and its underworld, but that afterwards he would write novels and stories relating to Mussalman society also. It is to be regretted that he has not lived to carry out his intention. Faithful pictures of Bengali Moslem society by him would certainly have enriched Bengali literature. But one cannot be equally sure that they would have been as highly appreciated by Bengali Mussalmans as those stories and novels of Sarat Chandra which depict Bengali Hindu society have been appreciated by Hindu Bengalis.

Subhas Chandra Bose Elected Congress President

The unanimous election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to the Congress presidential chair is to be taken as an indication of the confidence which Congressmen in general have in him all over India and as a tribute to his ability and sacrifices in the country's cause. It is also a gesture of British India (that odious name!) outside Bengal indicating that the provinces other than Bengal, as well as Bengal, agree that Bengal is again to have some effective voice in all-India Congress politics and that the political situation in Bengal is to be placed before the public prominently by a Bengali.

Bengal—Hindu Bengal in any case, is greatly exercised over the distressful plight of the released detenus and uncertainty as to when the other detenus and the political prisoners are to be released. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in relation to the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact has also been agitating the mind of the Hindu public in Bengal. It will not be at all difficult for Mr. Bose to devote some passages of his address to the question of the political prisoners and the released and unreleased detenus, if necessary and if he be so minded. But it cannot be guessed beforehand whether he will voice Bengal Hindu feeling on the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact at

all, and, if he does, whether he will be in a position to do so quite correctly and adequately. But there is no question that Bengal Hindus,



Subhas Chandra Bose
Photo by A. K. Chettiar

including many, if not all, Bengali Hindu Congressmen, feel that Mr. Bose should correctly and adequately give utterance to what they think and feel on the matter.

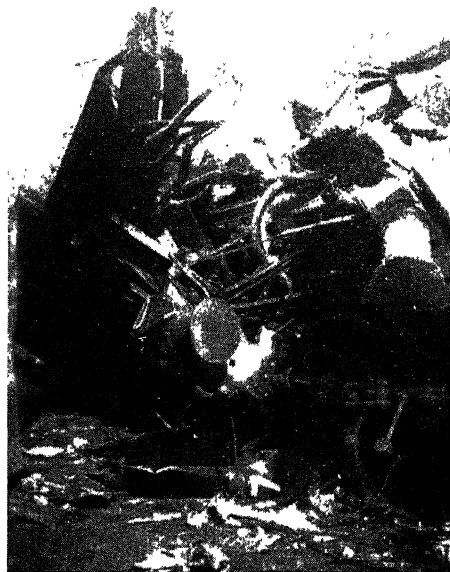
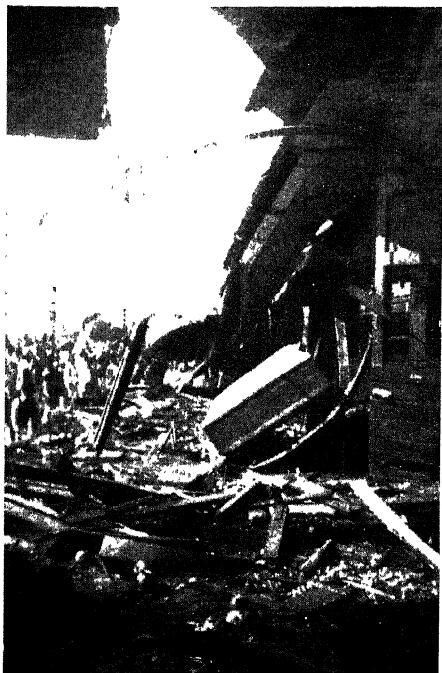
Bamrauli Railway Disaster

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in a statement says :

"The news of the Bamrauli Railway disaster has come as a shock and great grief to me, and my sympathy goes out to the victims. The reports describe it as a disaster greater than the one that occurred at Bihta some months ago. Three bogies which normally carry between 250 and 300 passengers, have been reduced to pulp, and the severity of the impact has caused even the death of the guard at the tail end of the train. Still only seven deaths are reported. To say the least this appears to be improbable. Ugly rumours are in the air, and they add to our anxiety and grief.

"A sifting enquiry should at once be instituted. I offer once again my sincerest condolences to the families of those who have died, and my sympathy for the injured. I would also request all those who have any information relating to the people that boarded this train between Calcutta and Allahabad for a destination beyond Allahabad to write to our office regarding them. How many of them are safe?"

There is widespread and deep sympathy for



Railway bogies reduced to pulp

Photo by Hari Swarup

the injured and the relatives of those who have died. There is also a public demand for a sifting enquiry.

We have received details of the rumours and the reasons why they are not considered improbable. They do not seem to us entirely baseless. But we refrain from giving publicity to the rumours, as we are not in a position to prove them.

Bengal Provincial Conference

The last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Bishnupur in the Bankura district is over. Some other conferences, such as the Youth Conference, the Women's Conference, were also held there during the last week of January. These conferences brought to the place Mr. Jatindramohan Ray, president of the provincial conference, Srimati Labanya Lata Chanda, president of the Women's Conference, and Prof. S. N. Goswami, president of the Student and Youths' Conference. Besides them, leaders like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. M. N. Roy were present there. So the people of Bishnupur and visitors from outside had opportunities of listening to a good many eloquent speeches. There were also the timely speeches delivered by the chairmen of the

reception committees and those delivered by the movers, seconders, supporters, amenders and opposers of resolutions. It would be good if the hearers did not feel overwhelmed by torrents of words and if adequate action followed plenty of speaking.

The resolutions passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference are given below.

The resolution on the Constituent Assembly ran thus :—

"Ignoring absolutely the public opinion, the British Government have set up so-called Provincial Autonomy. This Conference protests against the efforts that are being made to impose over and above it the proposed reactionary Federal Constitution and requests all Congress organizations, public and legislatures to work so that the scheme cannot be carried into effect.

"Indians are best fitted to frame their own constitution. This Conference requests our countrymen to frame the future constitution of India on the basis of adult franchise."

Prof. Rajkumar Chakravorty moved the resolution condemning the reactionary activities of the Bengal and Assam Ministers regarding the problem of political prisoners, workers, education and communal affairs and amendment of tenancy laws. The resolution was carried unanimously.

A resolution was moved by S. J. Narendra Das, M.L.A., welcoming the released detenues and requesting them to join Congress and carry on the work effectively. It was passed without a dissident.

CONGRESS DIFFERENCES

A resolution was moved by Dr. Sure-h Banerjee, which pointed out the existence of disagreement among Bengal Congressmen and authorised Sj. Subhas Bose to form an executive of the B. P. C. C. next year in consultation with leaders and groups.

RESOLUTION ON CHINA

The resolution on China moved by Sj. Hemanta Bose, said that political consciousness had dawned in India which, however, was powerless to help China, but they could express their sympathy in their hour of ordeal. Congress had begun to fight against Imperialism and should extend its sympathy wherever such a fight would occur.

FRONTIER POLICY CONDEMNED

Dr. Prafulla Ghose next moved the following resolution: "This Conference strongly condemns the action of the India Government in throwing bombs on villagers in the N.-W. F. Provinces and protests against 'the Forward policy' of the Government which the Conference regards as responsible for the unrest in the Province."

The resolution on Zanzibar was moved by Sj. Gunada Majumder, who said that Indians had no remedy against the grievance of Zanzibar Indians, but they could stop the trade between Zanzibar and India which would to some extent remedy the grievance. Indians there were fighting for rights and privileges which must have our sympathy. Zanzibar cloves must be boycotted and labourers be requested not to unload cloves.

Sj. Shibnath Banerjee, M.L.A. moving the next resolution on the capture of local bodies by Congress observed that Congress should extend its activities to local bodies, not being content with legislatures. Those institutions are exploited by reactionaries.

Sj. Kamini Kanta Ganguly put an amendment suggesting that Congress workers should be helped by leaders in this work, which was unanimously accepted. The resolution as amended was passed unanimously. Sj. Amulya Chandra moved a resolution on the assessment of Chowkidari tax which ran thus: "There is reason to believe that throughout Bengal Chowkidari tax is not assessed on real income and at some places the tax is assessed on imaginary incomes."

This Conference draws the attention of the authorities of the district and primary Congress Committees to act and requests them to try to assess true income of every class of people in their respective localities after deducting expenditure on trade and agriculture and remedy through legitimate means any injustice committed in assessing Chowkidari tax. The Conference condemns realization of village police tax by Government."

The resolution was passed.

Sj. Gunendra Mukherjee's resolution on the Damodar Canal expressed sympathy with the people of area carrying on agitation against the imposition of tax and opined that provisional acceptance by the Bengal Government of the tax of Rs. 3 per acre was unsatisfactory. The resolution was passed.

CORPORATION AFFAIRS

The resolution on the Calcutta Corporation, put by Dr. Prafulla Ghosh evoked some opposition. While pointing the mismanagement in the Corporation, the resolution authorised Sj. Subhas Bose to reorganise the Congress Municipal Association in accordance with ideal, with power, if necessary, to dissolve the Association.

The resolution was passed.

The resolution of Sj. Mahim Das for the removal of the ban on Midnapore and other organizations was accepted without dissent.

The introduction of an amendment by Sj. Niharendu Dutta Majumder, M.L.A., to the resolution on mass

contact was accepted after a great deal of controversy. The amendment provided that Congress should work in co-operation with Kishan Sabhas believing in Congress principles.

Two resolutions recommending fixation of jute price and revival of local cottage industries moved from the chair were accepted.

The resolution condoling the death of Harendra Munshi in Dacca Jail was accepted all standing in silence.

Death of A Hungerstriking Prisoner

The news of the death of Harendranath Munshi, one of the hungerstriking political prisoners in the Dacca Central Jail today, cast a gloom over delegates and visitors assembled in the Conference pandal. Mr. Subhas Bose made the following statement to the "United Press" in this connection:—

I am too overwhelmed with grief at the sad news from Dacca Jail to be able to say anything. My thoughts go back to the year 1929 when I got the stunning news of the death of Jatindranath Das at Lahore. I only wonder when the heart of the Government will be moved in spite of such tragic incidents. Those who depart from this life leave us for good, but those of us who are left behind have a duty towards the cause they represented in their lifetime. Let us solemnly resolve to carry on with unabated vigour the fight for securing unconditional release of all detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful

Exhibition at Bishnupur

The industrial, agricultural and health exhibition at Bishnupur was opened last month by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. In his speech he showed that in times past India was as great an industrial country as an agricultural one and manufactured practically everything she needed. She got plenty of gold and silver by exporting her manufactures. "... the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms" (*The History of British India* by H. H. Wilson, vol. i, p. 385). As the ruin of Indian trade and industries was brought about by the abuse of political power, so our trade and industries can be fully revived only by a right use of political power. We want that political power, that is, Purna Swaraj. The speaker showed in detail that we are fit for Purna Swaraj.

Excellent silk goods, locally woven, and the products of women's handicrafts were some of the noteworthy exhibits displayed in the stalls.

Silk Weaving Machinery Manufactured in Bishnupur

Looms similar to the Jacquard loom and doing exactly the same kind of fine work, weaving borders of exquisite design and many colours, were exhibited in the Bishnupur exhibi-

tion. They are manufactured locally by the Mallabhum Iron Factory, Bishnupur, and sold at very moderate prices.

Officials and Elections

With reference to elections to legislatures there is a sound and well established rule according to which Government officers are precluded from taking any active part in favour of or against the election of any candidate. In connection with the last general elections allegations were made at the outset that there were indications that this necessary rule was being observed more in the breach than otherwise. The authorities considered it proper to assure the public that there was no desire on the part of Government to depart from the practice that they had hitherto followed in this important matter. The trend of events in Bengal did not however show any anxiety on the part of the authorities to maintain in this regard that attitude of aloofness and neutrality that is enjoined upon them.

On the eve of the last general elections we had occasion to invite the attention of the authorities to these matters, especially regarding the officers of the Industries and Co-operative Departments, in the columns of *Prabasi*. Though the Government ignored our warning, the recent judgment by the Edgley Tribunal over the election of Nawab Sir M. Farouki has more than justified our apprehensions. The revelations cast a great slur on the Provincial Government and we are awaiting the decision of the Government on the officers of these two departments. Mr. S. K. Lahiri also makes the following revelation :

"Regarding election propaganda the recent judgment in the election petition against Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Farouki mentions the names of certain officers of the Co-operative Department who took part in the last election. I am constrained to state in this connection that the Registrar without asking me secured the presence of an officer of the Society in Calcutta and its neighbourhood in the sub-division of Diamond Harbour for the purposes of election. He sent the officer to Mr. Nirendra Nath Bose of the Co-operative Department for instructions. The officer subsequently came to me for orders and this was followed by his disappearance from the scene of operations in Diamond Harbour. This was, however, not the only instance of intervention in the matter of election."

In this connection certain observations made by Mr. Jamshed N. Mehta as President of the All-India Provincial Banks' Conference held at Bangalore in July last would appear to have special significance with reference to the situation in Bengal. He said :

"So far as the Provincial Banks are concerned, I am distinctly of the opinion that they should be entirely free of Government control, except for audit purposes of

the Government. My reason is this. The Provincial Co-operative Banks have huge financial resources and we should be very careful to see that these resources do not become instruments in the hands of Ministers or any political group or party to be used through Co-operative Department, which has widespread wings of influence and power distributed extensively, specially in the mofussil, in all parts, however remote. The influence of Co-operative Movement should be retained entirely for the welfare of the people and should not be utilized for the purpose of any party, group or political ends. If Provincial Banks are not free from such control, lakhs of members in the Co-operative Societies and crores of rupees that are invested in the Movement and all the power behind it could be very easily utilized for party and political purposes. If this happens the Movement will be ere long dead and I am doubtful if it can survive such shocks. We have experience of England and Ireland before us where the Co-operative Movement is scrupulously kept away from political influences. I therefore submit that the Provincial Co-operative Banks of the country should be governed by an All-India Provincial Co-operative Banks Act which may be so designed as to make these Banks absolutely free from control of any political party, group, or such influences. . . . Until such an All-India Act is enacted, it is of vital importance that the nature and extent of the Government control over the Co-operative Movement should be clearly and well defined."

Official Interference with Co-operative Society

Matters which have been published in the local Press relating to a glaring instance of improper official *aid* under a so-called regime of provincial autonomy, should receive serious attention of the Ministry and members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Council.

Mr. S. K. Lahiri, for more than a decade honorary Secretary of the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society, in the course of a statement to the press points out that the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society was started as a federation of co-operative societies in Bengal with the object of promoting the co-operative movement by propaganda and by other means. It received official recognition as an autonomous non-official body set up for the purpose of guiding the movement; and although Government gave grants to the Society for specific services to be rendered by it for the furtherance of the movement, definite assurance of non-intervention in the conduct of the affairs of the Society was given to it. In a letter written in 1918 by Lord Ronaldshay, the then Governor of Bengal (now Secretary of State for India) said :

"The Bengal Co-operative Organization Society . . . is a live organization which is going to make its activities felt far and wide. It is most essential that such a concern should possess the means of making its views widely known, and the new journal (the Bengal Co-operative Journal) will enable it to do so. I do not underestimate the good work which has been done by the journal while it has been conducted under official guidance and control;

but at the same time, I think, there are advantages in its divesting itself of official tutelage and proclaiming itself to the world as the independent mouthpiece of the co-operative movement. As such it will be of the utmost value to officials and non-officials alike, and should prove to be a potent instrument for furthering the success of the co-operative principle. Perhaps, I may add that while Government desire to exercise no control of any kind over the publication, they do desire to assist towards its success, and with this object in view, propose for the present to contribute a sum sufficient to cover the cost of its production."

The policy underlying these words received the seal of further official approval in 1925-26 when in consonance with the aim of the co-operative movement it was decided that henceforth the Society will be controlled by the co-operative societies in the province. Mr. Lahiri then adds :

"Since the middle of 1935, however, insidious but persistent efforts have been made to tighten the control of the Co-operative Department over the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society. This has been attempted by repeated suggestions to have the Registrar elected as President of the Society against the terms and spirit of the bye-laws and to secure a preponderantly large nominated element in the Working Committee of the Society (to be vested with all the powers of the Central Board) which is a wholly elected body. There has further been an attempt to interfere with free expression of opinion in the journals of the Society and at meetings of the Society. Efforts have also been made to use the Society for party purposes for election propaganda on behalf of one of the (former) Ministers and by attempting to secure control over the organs of the Society. All this has been done notwithstanding repeated assurances given by Government ever since Lord Ronaldshay's time and the declared policy of the Society as expressly accepted by Government. These attempts at obtaining control have been against the provisions of the bye-laws of the Society and in complete contravention of the spirit of the co-operative movement."

"The fact is that the Minister in charge of the Co-operative Department called an informal conference at which as a basis of a solution of the present difficulty a suggestion which emanated from an official was made to the effect that out of the eleven members of the Working Committee five or six should be nominated. The Minister and the Registrar supported the proposal and said that if I accepted it the present difficulty would be solved. I said that they could never think of my giving support to this reactionary proposal. As this required an amendment of bye-laws they could formally bring forward their proposal before the Society. This they have not so far dared to do.

"A very responsible official of the Department first suggested to me that the Registrar should be made President of the Society. This was of course opposed by me. But the proposal was off and on revived and talked about at the instance of officials and their supporters. In fact on the morning of the 12th September, 1937, the day on which the last Annual General meeting was held I received a telephonic message from the residence of the Registrar from an officer who was then a member of the Central Board that the Registrar was quite willing to withdraw his circular excluding twelve members of the Central Board from re-election if I agreed to have the Registrar as President in place of Mr. J. N. Basu. . . .

"I am in possession of an official communication

from a very high departmental authority which supports my statement about interference with free expression of opinion by the Society. Such interference has further been accentuated by spoken words and by action by departmental authority. It cannot be argued that this was not known to the Society, for a resolution adopted at the Annual General Meeting of 1935 not only contains a reference to the matter but supports the comments in the journals of the Society to which objection have been taken.

"The Society not having shown any inclination to yield, certain high placed officials of the department with the help of several pliant members of the Board of Directors of the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank and by the use of such improper methods as stoppage of cash credit by the Bank, indirect encouragement in the matter of non-payment of subscription and overdues by member-societies, disregard of all attempts at settlement by mutual agreement, misrepresentation in the Assembly and elsewhere, etc., have made it almost impossible for the Society to carry on its normal functions. It is true that the Provincial Bank and the department have got an opportunity of interfering with the internal management of the Society on account of the fact that the Society has certain overdues. But the amount of overdues was mainly due to excessive expenditure incurred at the instance of the Registrar-President when the Registrar was President of the Society and the present *impasse* is due to the present attitude of the department assumed in utter disregard of the policy consistently pursued by it heretofore in the matter of realizations and the grant of cash credit by the Provincial Bank. In letters addressed to the Registrar and the Provincial Bank the Society had shown that it was possible by mutual arrangement to come to a settlement which would enable the Society to fulfil its obligations out of the resources that are or may in future be available to it. But all such representations have so far remained unheeded."

"Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, M. L. A. (Central), who was President of the Society till the middle of 1937 made every possible endeavour to bring about a settlement, but his attempts were completely frustrated and the department took the extra-ordinary step of excluding him from the election to the Central Board."

In concluding the budget-debate on the grant under the head 'Co-operative Department,' the Chief Minister promised an enquiry, if a *prima facie* case was established, into the affairs of the Department. May we suggest that an impartial non-official enquiry into the allegations is certainly called for, without delay, in view of recent disclosures?

Protest Against Secondary Education Bill

At a public meeting, held at the Ashutosh Memorial Hall on the 29th January last and presided over by Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, leading advocate, the provisions of the draft Bengal secondary education bill were strongly condemned by all the speakers.

As has been shown by many speakers at previous protest meetings also, the bill has nothing to do with the improvement and extension of education. It wants to control educa-

tion with a view to stifling it. And it is an anti-Hindu bill meant to keep down the Hindus by depriving them of their position as leaders in education, which they have acquired by their intelligence, enterprise and self-sacrifice.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, the president, rightly observed in the course of his outspoken and telling speech :

The only compact body among the non-Mahomedan members of the Bengal Legislature was the Congress Party but he regretted that though the draft Bill had been before the public for the last two months and had been the cause of public agitation, not a single Congress leader had come forward to protest against the Bill or to take part in any meeting held for condemning this reactionary measure.

The meeting passed the following resolution :

"While recognizing the urgent need for reforming and revitalizing secondary education in Bengal, this meeting is of opinion that the provisions of the draft Secondary Education Bill are of an extremely reactionary, restrictive and unsatisfactory character and are calculated to stifle the growth of education in Bengal.

"This meeting therefore urges the Government of Bengal to abandon the proposed Bill."

It was moved by Prof. Jay Gopal Banerji, known for his work as University professor of English.

Security Forfeiture Order Against "Basumati" Set Aside

The Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Jack and Mr. Justice Henderson delivered judgment in the application made by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, Keeper, and Sashi Bhusan Dutta, Publisher, of "Dainik Basumati," against an order of the Local Government forfeiting a total sum of Rs. 5,000 out of the security deposited by the petitioners in connexion with the publication of an article in the paper entitled "What is the Duty" on June 29, 1937. The article dealt with the communal situation then prevailing in the district of Pabna and in the opinion of the Local Government the article had a tendency to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between Hindus and Mussalmans as contemplated under Section 4(1) of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act.

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Henderson were of the opinion that the order of forfeiture of the Local Government should be set aside while Mr. Justice Jack took the contrary view and remarked that in his opinion the forfeiture order should not be set aside.

By majority the Court directed that the order of forfeiture should be set aside.

The order of forfeiture has been justly set aside. Mr. Justice Jack, differing, said :

"These [the offending references to events which took place about 30 years ago] appeared to have been written with the intention of inspiring the Hindus with fear of a recurrence of the outrages which occurred 30 years ago in order to induce them to take steps to protect their temples from defilement, by force, or show of force.

His lordship's judgment contains other similar observations. These leave us in doubt

as to whether, in his lordship's opinion, the Hindu community has any right of self-defence.

The Right of Self-defence

The following sentences are extracted from a judgment delivered by Sir Douglas Young, Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Abdur Rashid of the Panjab High Court :

"The facts disclosed give to Kiroo the most perfect reason for relying upon self-defence that we have ever seen . . . The accused was being mercilessly tortured and beaten, and this was being carried on for a length of time horrible to contemplate. In most cases wretched suspects subjected to treatment of this illegal and despicable character are helpless and hopeless; they have merely to suffer until nature does not permit them further to resist, and a 'confession' or discovery of stolen property false or true is made. . . . Cases are not unknown and are within our own knowledge where persons have died under this type of 'investigation' . . . The accused was, in our opinion, justified, even to the extent of killing, in endeavouring to stop the grave and dangerous ill-treatment to which he was being subjected."

An Indian Elected Mayor of Port Louis

The Hon. G. M. D. Atchia has been elected mayor of Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius. It is the first time that such an honour has been

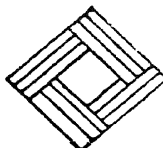


The Hon. G. M. D. Atchia

conferred on an Indian. Mr. Atchia becomes mayor at 44, after sixteen years of hard toil and social service to the people of Port Louis. The municipal council of the town is to be congratulated on their choice.

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ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN BENGAL

BY DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.SC., M.L.A.

M. BERNIER, the famous traveller, visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and made an extensive tour of the whole country. Referring to the fertility, wealth and beauty of Bengal he observed as follows :

"Egypt has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even our modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature : but the knowledge I have acquired of Bengal, during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengal. The latter country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. . . . Bengal abounds also in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of Golkonda and Karnatic, where very little is grown, Arabia and Mesopotamia, through the towns of Moka and Bassora, and even Persia, by way of Bunder Abbasi. Bengal likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats . . . What is cultivated in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the country, and for the making of excellent and cheap sea-biscuits. The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter, form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single rupee twenty or more good fowls may be bought. . . . Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, Bengal abounds with every necessary of life . . ."

Bernier says further :

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindusthan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been some times amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silk and silk-stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengal for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Kabul, and generally

of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent."

He also mentions various kinds of fruits and articles like saltpetre, lac, opium and butter (২৭) which were produced in Bengal in plenty and exported to other countries. Bernier finally observes :

"The rich exuberance of the country . . . has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure."

Such was the position of Bengal 250 years ago. But what is her position now ? Bengal's production of food grains at the present day is not sufficient for her own consumption. Her production of sugar, including both the refined and unrefined sorts, falls far short of her own requirements. As the result of the levy of a protective duty on imported sugar, a phenomenal development has taken place in the sugar industry of India during the last six years. But, unfortunately, Bengal's share in this development has been almost negligible. Five sugar mills, it is true, have been started within the borders of this province, but none of them are purely Bengali concerns. Bengal grows practically no cotton; and although there are a few cotton mills and a large number of handlooms working in the province, Bengal has to import every year considerable quantities of cotton goods from England and Japan as well as from the other provinces of India. The silk industry of Bengal is in a decadent condition, and immense quantities of fabrics made of silk and artificial silk, are annually imported from foreign countries. Fruits and vegetables are still available, but they are becoming less plentiful than before. Fish is less abundant than it used to be, while milk and butter are daily becoming more and more difficult to obtain. No salt is produced within the province.

Jute is practically the only article produced for export; but excessive dependence on a single article as a money-bringing product often gives rise to serious difficulties. Besides, the mills in which jute fabrics are manufactured are mostly in the hands of Britishers and Indians belonging to other provinces. Tea is grown both for local consumption and for export, but Europeans still control a very large portion of this industry. Tobacco is another article of which the production is greater than the local consumption; but while it is regarded as a conventional necessity for the bulk of the people it has not yet occupied an important place in the industry and trade of the province. Commerce, banking and shipping have all been monopolised by outsiders. Even in retail trade Bengalis are finding it exceedingly difficult to maintain their position. The consequences of under-production are unemployment, under-employment, and a low standard of living. Unemployment in this country differs from unemployment in Europe and America in this that, whereas in those countries unemployment is more or less temporary, in India it is practically permanent. The agriculture, industry and trade of the country fail to employ all its able-bodied inhabitants even in the most prosperous years. Besides, most of those who are engaged in cultivation of the land or in industries in Bengal remain unoccupied during a considerable part of the year. As a matter of fact, unemployment is greater in Bengal than in most of the other provinces of India. The Census of 1931 shows that while the percentage of earners is 35.73 of the population in the whole of India, the percentage of earners in Bengal is only 27.3. If we take into account the earning dependents, the result is even more unfavourable to Bengal; while the All-India figure is 42.47, the figure for Bengal is only 28.76. If we take industrial occupations into consideration, we again find that Bengal compares unfavourably with the rest of India.

While the cost of subsistence is tending gradually to rise, the standard of living in Bengal is tending to fall. In the Census of India of 1931, it is observed that

"The Bengal Jail Code provides a dietary course for prisoners which is certainly better balanced than that of the ordinary cultivator who generally leaves prison, if he has the misfortune to be sent there, heavier and in a better condition than when he entered it."

It is true that larger amounts are now spent by the cultivator and the industrial worker in certain directions, such as the use of shoes, shirts, umbrellas, hurricane lanterns and cigarettes; but as this is done at the expense of a full and nutritious diet, the change is an indication more of a vitiated taste than of a

real rise in the standard of living. The average wealth and income of India are much lower than the average wealth and income of countries like United States of America, Canada, United Kingdom, France and Japan. But the average wealth and income of Bengal compare unfavourably with some of the other provinces of India. Thus, instead of speaking of the wealth of Bengal, we have now to speak of her poverty.

Poverty, unemployment and low standard of living have given rise to other evils, such as ill-health and consequent diminution in strength and vitality which, in its turn, has led to loss of efficiency. Thus a vicious circle has been at work with the result that, both economically and physically, the people are becoming progressively weaker day by day.

Coming to the causes of this deterioration in the economic position of the province, we find that agriculture, which is the main-stay of the people, depending as it does on the vagaries of the monsoon, is a precarious occupation. To lessen the dependence of agricultural operations on the monsoon, the former rulers provided the province with adequate irrigation facilities. Bernier found that, throughout the province on both banks of the Ganges from Rajmahal to the sea, there existed "an endless number of channels cut in bygone days from that river with immense labour." This system of irrigation has been allowed to decay and disappear, with disastrous consequences to the agriculture as well as the health of the province. An enormous growth of population and the decay of indigenous industries have greatly increased the pressure on the soil. Besides, agriculture is practised according to primitive methods of cultivation. Owing to the continuous tilling of the soil without remission, its natural fertility is gradually decreasing. Artificial manuring is too expensive for the ordinary cultivator, while the natural manures, such as human and animal excreta, are thrown away. The agriculturist is too poor to be able to buy improved implements. He finds it difficult to procure better varieties of seeds. The illiteracy of the peasant stands in the way of his utilising advanced knowledge in respect of the rotation of crops and of crop diseases and pests. The holdings are so small in size and so much scattered that they hardly afford any scope for improved cultivation. The quality of the cattle is very poor and the number is extremely small.

The cumulative effect of all these drawbacks is that the yield of crops in Bengal is extremely low as compared to the yield in most other countries. The condition of the agriculturist has also greatly suffered owing to the disappearance of industries subsidiary to agriculture.

If the present situation in Bengal is bad in regard to agriculture, it is infinitely worse with reference to industry. Bengal's industries were in a flourishing condition till the end of the eighteenth century. It is unnecessary here to trace the sad history of the decline and fall of Bengal's industry and trade, for it is well known that it was the selfish and iniquitous policy of the British Government which dealt the death-blow to the industrial life of the province. The industrial revolution and changes in fashion were merely contributory causes which could have been counteracted by suitable measures if India had remained free to adopt them. Antipathy and apathy continued to guide the policy of the British Government and their agents in India until the last European War revealed the fact that such a policy was as harmful to the interests of Britain as to those of India. Since then a somewhat more enlightened sense of self-interest has governed the economic policy of India, but unfortunately, owing to various causes, Bengal has not been able to derive any benefit from this change in the angle of vision.

It is not, however, the Government alone that should be blamed in this matter. The people of the province are equally responsible for their present degraded position. They made little effort to recover from the effects of the paralysis which the British Government's blow had created. They lost all confidence in themselves and remained devoid of energy and enterprise in the economic field. Bengal was in the forefront in India's struggle for political freedom; she also led the movement for the economic regeneration of the country, but her people were extremely slow in trying to meet the fruits of their own labours. The *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal in the first decade of the present century gave a great impetus to the revival of industrial and commercial activity, but the actual share of the province itself in the gains which accrued from the movement was exceedingly small. At the present moment Bengal lags far behind some of the other provinces in the struggle for economic regeneration. But we need not despair. There is no lack of talent or capacity in the province. If we can shake off our indolence and apathy, develop a keen sense of realities, and make up our minds to apply our ability and energy to the work of our economic uplift, it will not be long before we shall be able to place ourselves on the road to success. What is needed first and foremost is the determination to do our best to improve our economic condition and when this comes, other things will follow in due course.

It is clear from what I have said that

increased production is urgently necessary in Bengal. To achieve this object, a bold and well thought out policy will have to be adopted by the Government and a comprehensive programme prepared. Such a programme will include the improvement of agriculture, the rehabilitation of handicrafts and small organised industries, and the establishment of large-scale industries.

So far as agriculture is concerned, the impediments which at present hamper its progress will have to be removed. The rivers of the province will have to be properly trained. But care must be taken to ensure a proper handling of this difficult operation. A glaring example of thoughtless waste was witnessed when a few years ago the Government of India spent more than a crore of rupees for protecting the Hardinge Bridge. If this sum had been utilized for restoring the old channels and cutting new ones from the Padma, the destructive force of the river would have been converted into a beneficent agency for the good of both western and eastern Bengal. If the fertilising waters of the Padma, the Bhagirathi and the Damodar are made available to the cultivator, his dependence on rainfall will diminish, the soil will become richer, and it will be possible to bring large areas of fresh land under cultivation. But false steps must be avoided. In the name of development additional tax-burdens must not be placed on the shoulders of the people. No instance of bungling can be more glaring than the way in which highly oppressive rates have been levied in the Damodar canal area. The Bengal ministry will do well to take a lesson from the attitude of the enlightened ruler of Mysore who said a few weeks ago :

"There was a time when we hesitated to undertake a work unless it promised a return on the capital of 6 per cent. But times have changed, and we now look for our interest, not only in the return to the treasury, but also in the wealth and happiness of the raiyat, and if we can assure ourselves that a work of this nature is going to bring property to the countryside, that fact in itself affords a generous return."

The other problems of agricultural improvement can be solved in three different ways. The first is the capitalistic system of farming. This method, while it is likely to increase production by the application of science to agricultural operations, is sure to bring in its train many fresh troubles. Therefore, except in cases where large areas of land belonging to a single individual or corporation can be brought under the plough, this experiment should not be tried. The second method is that of socialism. It is doubtful whether the agriculturists of Bengal brought up on traditions of present proprietorship will readily accept the new creed.

Besides, a revolutionary change of this nature will give rise to difficulties which will take the life-time of several generations to solve. The third method, namely, co-operation, combines the good features of both individualism and socialism. Co-operative effort has rendered great service to the cultivators in many European countries. But, unfortunately, the experience so far gained of the movement in this country does not inspire us with much hope. In Bengal the co-operative movement is in a much worse condition than in the other provinces. But this failure of co-operation has been due to causes which are not irremovable. Most of the officers who are in charge of this department are either incompetent or devoid of any enthusiasm for their work. Besides, no serious attempt has been made to educate the people in the fundamental principles of co-operation. If these defects are remedied and if the co-operative system is reconstructed, revitalised and expanded in such a way as to meet the needs of the present situation, it may still prove of immense benefit to agriculture and the agriculturist.

For improving agriculture the Agricultural Department of the Government will have to be reorganized. It should be manned by only such officers as possess enthusiasm for their work in the fullest measure and are perfectly conversant with the needs and difficulties of the agricultural system of the country. They should maintain a constant touch with the peasantry and be always ready to help them in every possible way. For instance, they must teach them the use and abuse of manures. "The dirt of the village", as is pointed out by F. L. Brayne, "is the raw material of good crops." The cultivators should be encouraged to utilise every kind of animal and vegetable waste for agricultural purposes. Artificial manures are beyond the means of the average cultivator, but those engaged in large farming may be persuaded to use them. Arrangements should be made so that the good varieties of seeds supplied by the Department may reach even the most distant villages. Increased attention must be paid to the health and breed of cattle. Cheap and simple implements which save labour and do better work will have to be made available to the cultivator. The more expensive kinds of agricultural machinery, like the tractor, the harvester and the thresher, will be found very useful in large-scale farming. Crop diseases and pests must receive greater attention than they have so far received. A considerable expansion of marketing facilities and the development of means of cheap and quick transport will be needed.

One of the principal impediments in the improvement of agriculture is to be found in the smallness of agricultural holdings. Earnest attempts will have to be made for the consolidation of holdings either on a voluntary basis or by enactment of suitable legislation. Steps must also be taken to prevent further fragmentation and subdivision of holdings. Agricultural research has in recent years received the attention of the Government and the universities. This work should be further expanded and the results of scientific investigation must be made known to the tillers of the soil.

One of the greatest needs of agriculture is finance. At present the bulk of agricultural finance is supplied by the local money-lender called the *mahajan*. This person fills an important place in village economy, but he is primarily concerned with his own profit. The rates of interest charged by him are very high. The other agencies, such as the loan offices, the commercial banks and the Government, are not quite suitable from all points of view. As has been rightly observed in the Statutory Report of the Reserve Bank (1937), the best agency for supplying finance to agriculture must have "an educative as well as a purely business side." The Statutory Report goes on to say,

"It should supervise the use of credit and see that the farmer employs the money obtained by him in improving the productivity of the land and making the business of agriculture more profitable . . . An agency which satisfies the requisite conditions for agricultural finance is the cooperative society."

This has been so recognized in all agricultural countries and every effort must be made to render the co-operative movement capable of discharging in the best manner, the highly important function of supplying credit to the agricultural population of the province.

A few words may be said here about the legislation which has been recently enacted in this province for regulating the business of money-lending and dealing with agricultural indebtedness. The two Acts which have recently been passed in Bengal have very laudable objects in view, namely, the checking of unconscionable transaction on the part of the money-lender and the granting of relief to the needy agriculturist. Enough time has not yet elapsed to enable us to judge the full effects of these measures. But an impression prevails in many quarters that these enactments have led to a contraction of credit. For the moment this may not be regarded as an unmixed evil; but if this result be of a permanent character, not only will the purpose of legislation be frustrated but a positive harm will ensue to the agriculturist. It should therefore be the duty of those entrusted with the administration of these Acts to watch

very closely their temporary as well as their permanent effects. With regard to legislation relating to the scaling down of debts and the grant of instalments the following important observations are made in the Statutory Report of the Reserve Bank :

"These are definitely emergency measures to be justified only by the occurrence of unusual circumstances. Their effect in frightening away credit cannot be minimised, but the exceptional circumstances themselves have a similar effect . . . Where, however, there is chronic indebtedness and debts accumulate because the cultivator's income is not sufficient to leave him a reasonable margin of profit, the mere scaling down of debts cannot provide a permanent cure. Even a limitation on the rate of interest which can be charged by the money-lender (if it could be enforced) is not likely to do much good as the rate of interest is not the only cause of the cultivator's inability to pay; such chronic indebtedness requires a comprehensive policy aimed at improving the whole life and economic status of the agriculturist."

But all effort to improve agriculture will prove futile until and unless the condition of the agriculturist is improved. At present he is a helpless, uneducated, poverty-stricken person, without hope or ambition. Villages in most parts of Bengal are exceedingly unhealthy, being the hot-beds of various kinds of disease. Therefore sanitation in rural areas and education for both children and adults are necessary. Steps should also be taken to see to it that the cultivator is not deprived of his legitimate share in the fruits of the soil. When he becomes healthier and stronger and educated the peasant will begin to feel greater enthusiasm for his work. Then, and not till then, will be laid the true foundation for the agricultural progress of the province. Great assistance can be rendered to the cause of agricultural advancement by educated persons belonging to the middle classes of society if they undertake to throw the light of their acquired knowledge on the processes of cultivation and agree to serve the village-folk in many other ways.

The economic life of the peasant is likely to be considerably improved by the adoption of the measures outlined above. But even these may not in all cases be sufficient to secure him the means of a decent livelihood. Therefore, it will be necessary for a cultivator to try and supplement his income from cultivation by engaging himself in subsidiary industries during the spare time at his disposal. Hand-spinning, handloom-weaving, basket-making, rope-making, etc., will be found the most suitable industries subsidiary to agriculture, and the development of these should be encouraged.

Akin to agriculture are fruit-growing, kitchen-gardening, dairy-farming and animal husbandry. There is great scope for expansion

in industries like these, and they are peculiarly suitable as occupations for educated men, who can also desire substantial incomes from sericulture and pisciculture.

But agriculture alone will not solve the question of Bengal's economic regeneration. Agriculture is peculiarly subject to the law of diminishing returns, and no nation in the modern world can become prosperous if it depends entirely on it. Whatever improvements may be introduced into the system, agriculture will not be able to maintain in a state of vigour, health and efficiency the enormous and growing population of the province. Besides, agriculture itself will not be fully improved unless the pressure on the land is considerably reduced. The problem, therefore, is how to remove a part of the population from the land. Industrialisation can achieve this object. Industry and trade have created wealth for the advanced nations of the present day, and if we wish to rise in the scale of nationhood we must tread the path which was trodden by them. This is also the way to solve the problem of unemployment. Nor is there any other method by which the standard of living can be raised.

What is required in Bengal at the present moment in the industrial field is not improvement but reconstruction. But unaided private effort will not be equal to this huge task. Bengal is suffering from a sort of economic paralysis. Individual initiative and enterprise are practically non-existent. The best brains of the province are engaged in pursuits outside the economic sphere. Capital is scarce. There is no organization. In a situation like this a powerful and well-directed stimulus is needed to start the economic development of the province along the path of progress. "Such a stimulus," to use the words of the Industrial Commission, "can only be supplied by an organized system of technical, financial and administrative assistance." The initiative in the matter must be taken by the Government which should follow an active and energetic policy of encouragement and support, and should be prepared to render financial aid in whatever shape or form it may be needed. But even this will not be enough. Success of this endeavour will depend on the combined and sustained efforts of the Government, the intelligentsia, the possessors of wealth and the labouring population.

The proper agency through which the work of reconstruction ought to be organized should be an Economic Development Board, consisting of persons who will command the unstinted support of all sections of the people. The personnel of the Board as well as its ideals and methods of work must be such as will infuse a

new energy and enthusiasm into the hearts of the people and create in them a feeling of self-confidence. This Board will, in the main, be an advisory body for the Government as well as for the people. The chief functions of this body will be to supply information on all economic subjects, to encourage and guide promoters of new industrial ventures, to offer advice to owners and managers of existing industries as to the best way of conducting their businesses, to watch the trend of economic movements in other provinces and in other countries, to influence executive and legislative action in regard to tariff, currency and transport questions, and to make recommendations to the Government and the banks for the supply of financial assistance to industrialists. In suitable cases the Board may urge the Government to pioneer industrial ventures. It may also advise the Government to assist the establishment of new industries by subscribing a portion of the initial capital or by guaranteeing reasonable rates of dividend. In order that the Board may function properly, the Government should place adequate resources in men and money at its disposal. But it will be an unwise and undesirable policy on the part of the Government to interfere unduly with the activities of the Board.

Among the important duties of the Board will be to institute from time to time enquiries and investigations relating to economic questions. It will be necessary for it to undertake an industrial survey of the province. This survey should include enquiries relating to natural resources, raw materials required for different industries, the present position and future prospects of the industries of the province, the causes of the decay of some industries, the possibilities of the establishment of new industries, the markets for products, exports and imports, the effects of tariffs and freight rates on industries, the financing agencies, and labour conditions. There is a Department of Industries in Bengal which is doing some amount of useful work within a restricted sphere. This Department will have to be reorganized and strengthened. It should carry on its duties in co-operation with, and under the general guidance of the Economic Development Board. A Development officer was appointed in Bengal a few years ago, but the province does not seem to have derived much benefit from his activities. The creation of new offices without sufficient necessity or justification is to be deprecated.

The Economic Development Board will direct its attention to the development of cottage industries and small organized industries as well as large-scale industries. Of the cottage industries of Bengal the hand-loom industry is the

most important. Although it is not in a flourishing condition at present, it has been able so far to hold its own against competition from the mills. The other industries worthy of mention are hand-spinning, hosiery, silk industry, brass and bell-metal industry, hardware and cutlery, smithy, tobacco industry, oil industry, toy-making, shoe-making, jewellery, pottery and ceramics.

If the difficulties under which these industries labour are removed and their special needs attended to, it may be possible to place them once again firmly on their feet. Small organized industries also deserve to be encouraged. Of these the more important are the following: Leather industry, soaps and candles, tiles and bricks, rice-milling, fruit-canning, jute textiles, *gur*-making, pencil and pen-making, woodwork and carpentry, celluloids, conch-shell industry, button-making, printing, and boat-building. Industries like these stand midway between large-scale industries and cottage industries. As they can be worked with small amounts of capital, there is a great scope for their future development.

Important and useful as cottage and medium-sized industries are, it must not be forgotten that we are living in an age of large-scale production. If Bengal wishes to live, she must develop large-scale industries. A number of mills already exist in this province, but the children of the province derive little benefit from many of them. There is no reason why more cotton mills and jute mills should not be started with Bengali capital and under Bengali management. Although there is overproduction of sugar in some parts of India, there is still scope for establishment of two or three factories in suitable sites in Bengal for supplying the local demand. Paper and glass industries afford fair chances of success in this province. Some progress has been made with the development of the iron and steel industry, but there is room for further expansion. The local manufacture of machinery, agricultural tools and implements is an urgent necessity. A further development of mining is desirable, but it is an unfortunate circumstance that some of the mining districts which really belong to Bengal have been transferred from it to other provinces. This is a great loss to the province, and an earnest effort should be made for the restoration of these tracts to Bengal. The use of motor cars is steadily increasing and a factory for the manufacture of these vehicles offers a good opportunity for successful working. A further expansion in chemical industries is desirable.

Apart from manufacture, river steam navigation and coastal shipping should be developed

by local effort. Intimately connected with industry are trade and commerce. Time has come when Bengal should make up the leeway in this regard in view of the importance of these fields of economic activity from the national standpoint. Finance is an essential factor in trade and industry, but our businessmen often experience great difficulty in securing financial accommodation. At present there is a number of small commercial banks under Bengali management. If some of these can be amalgamated, commercial banking will be strengthened. The existing loan offices, whose number is nearly a thousand, should be reorganized and brought into line with the general banking system of the country. For the exclusive financing of industries, a special type of banks is suitable. Thus the establishment of an industrial bank is a necessity. In order to mobilize capital for such a bank the Government ought to guarantee the interest on the capital of the bank. Further, if the Government of Bengal, in the discharge of its responsibility for the development of industries within the province, finds it necessary to ensure the supply of financial facilities to industrial concerns, a Provincial Industrial Corporation, as recommended by the Banking Enquiry Committee "with branches, if necessary, and working with capital initially or permanently supplied by the provincial government, should be established."

Industrial education is another subject which must engage the attention of the Economic Development Board. There exist at present several institutions of various grades in the province which impart technical instruction. Their efforts should be co-ordinated and expanded. If necessary, a fully-equipped Technological Institute should be started. The application of science to industry is an indispensable need in the modern world. Therefore, provision must be made for industrial research. The University of Calcutta is doing important work in this connection, but this work requires development and extension. Some facilities exist in the universities and various other institutes for commercial education. It will be desirable to place these efforts on a fine and sound footing. But apart from special instruction, it will be necessary to introduce such changes into the general system of education, especially in the primary and secondary stages, as will be conducive to the better and more efficient training of all the faculties of mind and body.

It will be impossible to give effect to this work of reconstruction unless the Government is prepared to spend considerable sums of money every year. The expenditure needed for some of the purposes mentioned above will be so large that the Government will be obliged to have recourse to loans, the interest and sinking funds of which will fall on the annual budget. This leads me to a consideration of the financial position of the Government of Bengal. During almost the entire period of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Bengal was in an extremely difficult position owing to the inadequacy of the resources placed at the disposal of the province. Even with the help of a heavy amount of additional taxation the Government found it impossible to make its two ends meet. The situation was relieved to some extent when the Central Government and legislature granted a subsidy to Bengal amounting to 50 per cent of the net proceeds of the export duty on jute derived from the province. With the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, however, a considerable change has occurred. The debts of the province to the Government of India have been cancelled and Bengal's share in the proceeds of the export duty on jute has been increased to 62½ per cent. With the improvement in railway finance a gradually increasing share of income-tax proceeds will also be credited to Bengal. Although we cannot remain satisfied until the entire proceeds of the jute duty and a substantial share of the income-tax revenue are made available to us, it cannot be denied that the financial position of Bengal today is much better than it was during the period 1921 to 1935. It is my firm conviction that if the Government of Bengal husband its resources carefully and follows a policy of economy, it will not be very difficult for it to finance this work of economic reconstruction. Considerable sums of money will be saved by a drastic retrenchment in police expenditure, by a general reduction in salaries on a graduated scale, and by avoidance of unnecessary expenditure under public works and various other heads of expenditure. Fresh taxation should not be thought of until all other avenues have been explored.

The economic life of the province can be saved only by bold, energetic and well-directed efforts sustained for a considerable length of time, and it is the sacred duty of every son and daughter of Bengal to do his or her best in assisting the initiation and the continuance of such efforts.

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

BOTANY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL address of Dr. B. Sahni, F.R.S. dealt with the remarkable progress in the knowledge of the fossil plants of India during the last twenty-five years, contributed chiefly by Prof. Sahni and his students working assiduously at the Lucknow University Botanical Laboratory. There was interesting discussion on "Absorption of Salts by Plants" presided over by the eminent physiologist Prof. V. H. Blackman, F.R.S. of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London, the discussion was opened by Prof. P. K. Parija of Cuttack and Mr. B. Sen of Calcutta, Dr. B. N. Singh of the Benares University and Dr. V. Subramanian of the Bangalore Institute took part in the discussion. The second discussion was on "Algal Problems Peculiar to the Tropics with Special Reference to India," it was presided over by the distinguished British Algologist Prof. F. E. Fritsch of the London University. Dr. M. O. P. Iyenger of the Madras University opened the discussion with a number of interesting observations on various Algal associations common in India. Mr. R. Senior White of the Bengal Nagpur Railway narrated his experience about the relationship between Algae and Mosquito larvæ. Dr. B. Pal of the New Delhi Agricultural Institute spoke of the relationship between Chara plants and Mosquito larvæ and Mr. M. O. P. Iyenger contributed some remarks to the problem from entomologist's point of view. The third discussion was on "The Dissemination of Cereal Rusts in India." It was opened by Dr. K. C. Mehta of Agra. Dr. Mehta has been studying the problem since 1923, he holds from a study of the incidence of rusts in the plains as well as in the hills, extending over a period of seven years, that the foci of infection lie in the hills and hilly tracts, where rusts overwinter in the uredo-stage. Prof. Buller of Manitoba said that in Western Canada the source of infection consists of clouds of uredospores which are carried by northerly winds for hundreds of miles from the middle-western parts of the United States to Canada. An attempt is being made to breed rust-resistant wheats suitable for growth in the wheat areas of the hills and thus to prevent uredospores being carried to the plains from the hills along with wind currents. Dr. L. A. Ramdas of Poona Meteorological Department and Dr. H. Chaudhuri, Mycologist of the Punjab University, took part in the discussion.

The morning session of 6th January was devoted to the annual meeting of the Indian Botanical Society at 35, Ballygunge Circular

Road (Calcutta University Botany Department), when Dr. S. R. Bose of the Carmichael Medical College read his presidential address of the Indian Botanical Society on "Effects of Radiation (X-ray, Ultra-violet and Radium) on *Polypores* in Culture". In connection with the annual meeting which was attended by all British Botanists (delegates to this Congress) a conversazione and exhibition of interesting Botanical specimens from Calcutta and other parts of India were held. In the afternoon there was 150th anniversary celebration of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, where the members were invited to tea by Dr. K. P. Biswas, the Superintendent, providing a comfortable steamer across the river. Almost all the British Botanists (Delegates) and Sir James Jeans, the General President, attended the function. A proposal for starting a national herbarium for India with the famous Sibpur Royal Botanic Garden's herbarium as its nucleus was warmly supported by the section. A Subcommittee was formed to work out the details of the scheme with occasional advice and suggestions, if necessary, from Sir Arthur Hill, the Director of the Kew Gardens, who spoke in warm support of the scheme; Dr. S. P. Agharkar of Calcutta was appointed its Convenor.

The distinguished Mycologist Prof. A. H. R. Buller, F.R.S. delivered a highly interesting and valuable lecture on "The Sexual Stages in Rust Fungi" illustrated with beautiful lantern slides and models. Prof. R. R. Gates, F.R.S. of the London University besides contributing an interesting paper on "The Structure of Chromosome" delivered a general lecture on "Modern Genetics" which was highly appreciated. Dr. C. D. Darlington gave a summarised description of his recent valuable work on the "Biology of Crossing Over" which has attracted so much attention in the domain of both plant and animal cytology. The last joint-discussion on "Species-concept in the light of Cytology and Genetics" was unfortunately not so warmly taken up by the members of Zoology and Agricultural sections. The discussion was opened by Dr. E. K. Janaki Ammal of Coimbatore and Prof. Gates and Dr. Erlanson took part in it. Besides, about 30 papers on various aspects of Botany were read by Indian Botanists, and some of them evoked a good deal of discussion in which some of the British Botanists took their part and had the opportunity of exchanging their views with those of the Indian co-workers. On the last day a visit was paid to the Bose Research Institute.

ART AND LIFE

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE, M.A. (Cantab.)

HOWEVER far one might journey into the dim horizon of human history one would be struck with the unity of human emotions and endeavour as expressed by the actions of succeeding generations of men throughout the ages. The passions and yearnings of men have always been attuned to their instincts, and their joys and sorrows, fears and hopes, desires and aspirations have shaped their expressive urges in a way which proves the basic unity of human nature found anywhere and at any time. Love, religion and war; humility, vanity and sympathy; greed and renunciation; curiosity and intellectual speculation; take what we like, we discover a fundamental similarity among the races of mankind, whether of the past or the present.

The evolution of Art or the active desire for establishing intimate contact with the Beautiful, is concurrent with the evolution of man. Men have, since creation, thought lovingly of objects that are elegant in touch, shapely and colourful in vision, musical in sound, satisfactory in taste and pleasing in aroma. This partiality towards the beautiful or the attractive is coexistent with man and, in it, may be traced one of the guiding forces of human evolution. Selection of the beautiful may have been effected towards the dawn of human life, sense by sense, and, more complex psychological processes may have developed slowly and progressively, until philosophers began the meditation of The Beautiful; but it is not the intention of the present discourse to delve deep into the mysteries of abstruse aestheticism. As the purpose of the present discourse is to deal with the plastic arts, it is necessary to keep on *terra firma* and to taste sparingly of the spiritual and abstract vintage.

Advanced civilization and sophistication have not been able to shake man's preference for things that are pleasing in touch, harmoniously colourful, graceful and rhythmic in shape or pleasantly stimulating in aroma. Silver bells can still be distinguished by men from street noise and the enthralling notes from a violin can yet find preference in an age in which the groan and the whine of machinery preponderate. It may appear therefore that a sensory basis of aesthetics may not be entirely useless; and, particularly so in consideration of the

freedom it gives to all, who may so desire, to contemplate beauty entirely dissociated from the contamination of sensory perception. Rupert Brooke extolled not this fish nor that, but The Fish, and, it is not beyond the power of the average intellect to achieve a flight from all things that are beautiful to the Beautiful Itself. But the stratosphere does not demolish the utility of the earth's atmosphere, and humanity, with its grand tradition and heritage of sensory beauty as expressed through the poetry, music, drama, dance, painting, sculpture, architecture, metal work, pottery, textiles, furniture, the different handicrafts, the arts of the chef, the gardener, the florist and the dress-maker and of those others who have made human life luminous with an enlightened and joyful satisfaction; would not be any better off by discarding all that is materially beautiful, with a view to assure the final absorption of the human soul into The Beautiful. Outward things may be the *vikara* or morbid manifestation of the inward reality; but, as a discussion and enjoyment of the imperfect so often leads, through keener enquiry, to a genuine hankering for the perfect and the real, it may be permissible to applaud good music and to stand enraptured before an ancient bronze or gaze up at moonlit dome of the Taz-Mahal, in an amazed submission to the vision of its forgotten architect, without risking any sudden atrophy of one's reason and intellect.

The writer does not deny that the artistic emotion as expressed in the shape of poetry, music, gesture and movement, or painting, sculpture, architecture and the products of the different arts, always remains only partly expressed.

Lessing mourned :

"Would that we could at once paint with the eyes!—In the long way from the eye through the arm to the pencil, how much is lost!"

True, if all artists could express fully, what they felt; rather, if the painter could straight-away reproduce his mental vision, how richer could be his achievement. But, it is no less true that the struggle of the artist, for fuller expression, by means of technique and through obstinate material such as, colour, canvas, bricks, stone or clay, often enables him to arrive at a clearer mental image of what he has felt vaguely at first; and the deficiency of the longer

route of expression not rarely means salvation to the more emotional, as opposed to the perspicaciously thinking type of artist. So that, the alleged superiority of the inward image of art to its materially expressed form is often illusory. The three phases through which all true art has to pass, namely, the creative emotion or urge which is vague and only a sort of "divine" unrest, the mental image or the inward counterpart of what thereafter shall take outward form and the expression or the outward material expression or creation; all these three phases constitute art. It would be pedantry to give superior place to one of these phases as against another. One might assert that the vague unrest or the artistic emotion is more important than the mental image or the outward expression on the ground that this emotion comes first or is of divine origin. But, what is the value of any such emotion unless it result in clear thinking and artistic action? What evidence would one give of its presence unless through expression? A million such vague emotions may flit across the mind without leading to any achievement. The sand dunes of the Sahara may feel emotionally floral but would that yield a single violet? The artistic emotion fails to be artistic, if it does not lead to an artistic mental image; and that image, in its turn, fails to be an artistic image if it does not reproduce itself in outward form.

Whether or not all beautiful things are of divine origin can be discussed only when the things are perceivable. In the unlimited expanse of the universe, there may be greater emotions and visions than men have ever felt or conceived and the nebulae may be the expression of some such grand vision nurtured in the Soul of the Artist of all artists; but one dare not speculate at this magnitude. Michael Angelo thought that "the true work of art is but a shadow of the divine perfection," and so did Dante when he said that "Art, as far as it has ability, follows nature, as a pupil imitates his master, so that art must be as it were, a descendant of God." Such sublime thoughts make all artists feel one with Divinity. But this is not merely true of art but of all aspects of human life and conduct. This good earth of ours, however insignificant its place may be in the endless universe, is nevertheless a part of that infinitely grand scheme of things. Being earthborn, all men try to share, in their own insignificant way, the absolute glory, grandeur and perfection of the universe. But they do it in a human way and, it is only of matters human that one feels competent to discuss. The Niagara Falls, the

Grand Canyon of Colorado or the snowy expanse of the Kanchenjunga would strike any heart with wonder, amazement and humility, but the sight of these works of divine art would neither inhibit creative endeavour in a true artist nor infect him with a mad desire to equal these with his own creations. The knowledge of the speed at which light travels has not disheartened modern builders of automobiles, nor has the modern telescope discouraged earthly travel. The ultimate or absolute Beautiful may be studied and contemplated by artists, art critics and aesthetic philosophers without any obligatory reference to human art and its constitution.

The scope of any study of art lies entirely within the limits of the human mind and its manifestations as concerning the creation of things of beauty perceivable by the senses of man. Questions such as, what is beautiful would be similar to asking what is red or what is musical or what is sweet. We may point out a thousand things that are beautiful, red, musical or sweet; but we cannot attempt at any definition of these primary experiences of the human mind without landing ourselves into absurdity or making the explanation even more unintelligible than the thing explained. The beauty of a thing is that quality in it which attracts and holds the attention of the perceiving mind. The senses want more and more of it as soon as they come to realise its presence. The beauty of fabrics invite prolonged caresses and the joy imbibed through the sense of touch swells and surges in overwhelming raptures of aesthetic delight. The eyes feast long and insatiated upon objects rich in colour or form. Beautiful music entralls the soul and the ears refuse to turn away from the gorgeous waves that descend upon the field of consciousness. With great eagerness would the mind respond to the impressions of rhythm and graceful movement conveyed to it by artistic dancing, and the feast of images provided by really good poetry and literature never leads to surfeit. Objects that repel the perceiving mind or leave it cold and disinterested may be said to lack the spirit of true art, barring such instances in which the artist has expressed something repellent. But, where true art does not aim at beauty and embodies an emotion suffocated with abhorrence, the perceiving mind responds to its art nevertheless and is fascinated with horror and disgust.

Art is essentially human and communicative. By this is not meant that the artist is playing to the gallery with any set purpose of being applauded by others. The urge that impels the

artist to give external shape to his mental image, never ceases until the artist has satisfied himself with the successful objectification of the image. The artist revives his inner experiences as he faces his creation. That is to say the work of art has the power to provoke artistic experience in the perceiving mind, even if it were that of the artist himself and no other. The so-called universal nature of art is seldom universal in the logical sense of the term. The greatest achievements in art would surely meet some minds that are blunt and insensate enough to overlook its appeal. Therefore the communicativeness of art is restricted to the artist or to such others as are sensitive to its message. All the same it is human and communicative. Just as a lonely sufferer may groan alone or a Robinson Crusoe sing the glory of the dawn to himself, so might an artist create to record his inner experiences entirely for his own purpose. But, the communicativeness comes into existence and remains there for one or for a million receivers according to the fortuities of human affairs.

All this has been said with a view to avoid any misunderstanding as to art and its limitations in the universe of beauty. For, beauty there may be in creation, without being of artistic origin, namely, the beauty of the starlit heavens or the glories of nature or yet, the beauty which is born of accident. But only human experience and effort create art. It is no doubt true, that in seeking the sources of the artistic emotion in man, we may have to travel beyond the merely human, but the present enquiry begins, where the infection is found located in man's mind and ends where we find it crystallised as the artistic creation. We leave the ultimate origins and truth to metaphysicians and we leave, to yet other speculators, such question as whether or not, after all, that what we call artistic emotion, imagery or creation, is not entirely illusory—an ever-receding fragment of the Cosmic *Maya*. The world as we know it is merely an alleged world so to speak, in strictly logical parlance. All reports and evidence concerning this world of ours are merely sensory, and the established and accepted summary of the situation is only an average of numerous sense perceptions, no two of which have been exactly identical. Proceeding upon such inexact data, no conclusion of any satisfactory accuracy or exactitude can ever be arrived at. Nor need it be aimed at. No two hearts ever felt actually the same agitation or unrest, no two minds ever formed the same identical images and no two strokes of the brush ever moved exactly in the same way. Nor ever

did any two perceiving minds receive absolutely the same impression from an object of art. We should leave things at that.

We have seen that art embodies three essential elements in it. The elements of emotion, imagery and externally perceivable expression. Mere mechanical rhyming would not be poetry in the sense that poetry is art, nor would a mechanical and well schemed out combination of lines and colours make a painting in the sense that painting is art. An accurate imitation of a natural object may not be called art unless there were an emotional basis to its production. Art cannot begin with reasoning out an image philosophically, logically, mathematically, scientifically, historically or in any other way. It must be felt and must stir up the soul and the image must grow in an effort to appease the unrest. Every branch of human knowledge may be useful in giving proper shape to an image, but the image must primarily satisfy the demands of its intuitional parent which is often vague as to details but very sure of the basic substance. Tradition, convention, technique and environment may condition the formal expression of the artistic image; but the force of the emotion must remain paramount if at all a true work of art is to be born. For any art which is the result of an adulterated image, modified overmuch by considerations other than those of the parent emotion, would fail to communicate itself truthfully. It would therefore resemble an edition of a masterpiece of literature that has been mercilessly edited, expurgated and re-written substantially by alien publishers to suit their own moral, political or economic purpose. When it is said that art must be true, the meaning is that the artist must not deliberately tamper with the true nature of his emotion and modify his mental image substantially in order to lend any special character to his work, as dictated by extra-artistic considerations. Art, therefore, should never have a purpose, other than stating itself accurately and truthfully. Propaganda, making things to measure for sale, observing the dictates of fashion, keeping within the limits of current conventions or laws, subordinating the inner truth to the external ideals set up by technical or other experts, are among some of the causes which work antagonistically to the creation of genuine art. Certain kinds of political oratory or patriotic songs; dramas enacted for social reform or to spread a new religious cult; revivalistic dances, painting or sculpture; architecture dedicated to the glory and omnipotence of the ultra-violet ray; creative compositions in the field of handicrafts

for a fuller realization of the possibilities of chromium-plating, the aerograph, the planograph or some other mechanical contrivance; are good enough examples of external forces obstructing the smooth and easy flow and consummation of the artistic urge. These and similar forces have, we believe, always existed in one shape or another during the millenia comprising the history of human art. True art has never failed to rise above these impediments; but their presence has always been a source of danger to the growth of art.

All this analysis may suggest that art is an elaborate and complicated process of human behaviour and that the artist is a wonderful machine of precision and accurate performance, which feels and develops imagery and forthwith translates the same into externally appreciable and communicable objects of faultless perfection. In fact, the artist often feels and thinks and acts all in a jumble, makes mistakes, moves round and round in a barren circle of inaction and failure and feels, conceives and acts without any definite sequence, for long periods and often through his entire life. The artist does not even realise very frequently that his efforts and creations are the result of any inner urge and that he is giving external shape to any aesthetic emotion. He may be rich in emotion, great in conception and perfect in expression, without consciously knowing that he is anything out of the ordinary. Like Moliere's ambitious citizen who suddenly realized that for long years he had been speaking in "Prose" and not merely talking, the artist may come to learn that his favourite pastime has been "Art" and not just making this or that. Generations of great artists have lived and died and produced beautiful works of art without knowing that they had been in the throes of any emotion or artistic urge. Grand architecture, superb sculpture, exquisite textiles, pottery or metal work have been created in the past, by men who were, perhaps, entirely innocent of any art-consciousness in the modern sense. Art is intensely human and intermingles with life vitally and intimately. It is a sad outcome of a false intellectual outlook that has removed art from the sunny soil of every day life to the hot-house of superior conduct. John Dewey says,

"So extensive and subtly pervasive are the ideas that set Art upon a remote pedestal, that many a person would be repelled rather than pleased if told that he enjoyed his casual recreations, in part at least, because of their aesthetic quality. The arts which today have most vitality for the average person are things he does not take to be arts; for instance, the movie, jazzed music, the comic strip, and, too frequently, newspaper accounts of love-nests, murders and exploits, of bandits. For, when what he knows as art is relegated to the museum

and gallery, the unconquerable impulse towards experiences enjoyable in themselves finds such outlet as the daily environment provides. Many a person who protests against the museum conception of art still shares the fallacy from which that conception springs. For, the popular notion comes from a separation of art from the objects and scenes of ordinary experience that many theorists and critics pride themselves upon holding and even elaborating. The times when select and distinguished objects are closely connected with the products of usual vocations are the times when appreciation of the former is most life and most keen. When, because of their remoteness, the objects acknowledged by the cultivated to be works of fine art seem anemic to the mass of people, aesthetic hunger is likely to seek the cheap and the vulgar.

"The factors that have glorified fine art by setting it upon a far-off pedestal, did not arise within the realm of art nor is their influence confined to the arts. For many persons an aura of mingled awe and unreality encompasses the "Spiritual" and the "Ideal," while "Matter" has become by contrast a term of depreciation, something to be explained away or apologised for. The forces at work are those that have removed religion as well as fine art from the scope of the common or community life. The forces have historically produced so many of the dislocations and divisions of modern life and thought that art could not escape their influence. We do not have to travel to the ends of the earth nor return many millenia in time to find peoples for whom everything that intensifies the sense of immediate living is an object of intense admiration. Bodily scarification, waving feathers, gaudy robes, shining ornaments of gold and silver, of emerald and jade, formed the contents of aesthetic arts, and, presumably, without the vulgarity of class exhibitionism that attends their analogues to-day. Domestic utensils, furnishings of tent and house, rugs, mats, jars, pots, bows, spears, were wrought with such delighted care that to-day we hunt them out and give places of honour in our art museums. Yet in their own time and place, such things were enhancements of the processes of every day life. Instead of being elevated to a niche apart, they belonged to display of prowess, the manifestation of group and clan membership, worship of gods, feasting and fasting, fighting, hunting, and all the rhythmic crises that punctuate the stream of living.

"Dancing and pantomime, the sources of the art of the theater, flourished as part of religious rites and celebrations. Musical art abounded in the fingering of the stretched string, the beating of the taut skin, the blowing of reeds. Even in the caves, human habitations were adorned with coloured pictures that kept alive to the senses experiences with animals that were so closely bound with lives of humans. Structures that housed their gods and the instrumentalities that facilitated commerce with higher powers were wrought with special fineness. But the arts of the drama, music, painting and architecture thus exemplified had no peculiar connection with theaters, galleries, museums. They were part of the significant life of an organised community."

Art has therefore a spontaneous outlook but is extremely selective at the same time. The inborn urge of man the artist to make his life and the instruments of human existence more and more beautiful and to give permanent external shape to his experiences with a view to communicate and recommunicate the same to fellow humans as well as to revive and experience anew the emotions of his past life, has

been the parent of all true human art. The selectiveness, of course, is essential and the process of selection is often complicated. Dewey speaks the language of Keats when he refers to the "innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its thousand materials before it arrives at that trembling, delicate and snail-horn perception of beauty." The meditative attitude, embodying close inner perception and keen aesthetic discrimination, is essential to proper artistic production. Hurrying over things, mechanical imitation, overmuch subservience to the exigencies of environment, dominant bias for particular motifs, colour schemes, meters, idioms, scales, gestures; or for philosophy, logic, geometry, artistic cults of an esoteric nature, etc., etc., would always hamper true aesthetic selection and detract from the quality of art. The true artist therefore is not a preacher and is unfettered by scholasticism, nationalism, intellectualism, and all other 'isms', save and except where these have the power to rouse any real artistic emotion in him. He does not pretend for the sake of appearance, for he prefers to appear as an artist above everything else. Regional and traditional factors no doubt predominate in the mental and technical make-up of all artists, generally speaking; but the history of art provides many instances where artists break away from the bonds of tradition without breaking away from art. As a matter of fact, such secession has often meant the beginning of newer traditions in the field of art. For conservatism and blind obedience to existing forms command the mind of aesthetic workers in the same way as they dominate the thoughts and actions of workers in any field of life. The artist is a born pioneer and is ever prepared to strike out into the unknown. Provided, of course, he does not overlook the demands of his ruling passion or beauty, he is always safe. He has really no cause to die for; he creates his cause as he marches along into the boundless expanse of the universe of beauty in search of aesthetic sustenance for those who stay behind.

It must not be imagined however that the artist is entirely free from all bonds and obstructions in his journeys into the realm of beauty or in his subsequent attempts at giving a true account of what he has experienced. Just as a wanderer in the valleys and slopes of a mountainous region feels an unbounded joy in his freedom to move and explore the glories of nature and forgets, in his ecstasy, the physical limitations set upon him by the laws of friction and gravitation and the relative incapacity of his muscles, internal organs and vision, the artist

accepts the limitations imposed by convention, technique and material and moves ahead, in spite of these, and achieves creation without raging inordinately against these, often essential, restrictions. The stricter the conventions, the more intricate the technique and the harder the material to be handled and shaped into an illusory replica of the artistic image; the subtler becomes the artist in his intellectual discrimination and manipulations. Nowhere is this aspect of artistic work more vitally and vividly shown up than in ancient Indian stone and bronze. Added to the difficulties of the material and relatively undeveloped instrumental aids the now forgotten artists of these grand monuments of human aspiration in the field of aesthetic idealism, had to face and observe a rigidity in conventions, of which no parallel can be found in the art history of any other civilization. The features, the limbs, the gestures, the poses and even the composition, had to pass the Supreme test of the *Shastri* tradition. The different attitudes had to be maintained with a great insistence upon details. That the artists of those days could at all escape a dead mechanical artisanship with all these restrictions, has given us an incontrovertible proof of the amazing subtlety and microscopic discrimination of the artistic mind. Just as, in the past, the Indian musicians have composed wonderful melodies, by adopting a method of subtle subdivisions, and have at the same time preserved the purity of form demanded by classical theorists; the artists have, in their turn, observed all conventions of gesture, pose and composition, and by infinitesimal variations within the small margin provided by an austere conventionalism, achieved creative perfection of an inimitable character. A dancer may move within a thirty foot circle and fail to convince his spectators of any artistic achievement. Yet another dancer may not move excepting very slightly and convey wondrous images of inner realisations to those who could see it.

There is an idea propagated by certain Western thinkers that there is no element of realism in the artistic creations of Indian masters of ancient and medieval times. The Indian artist thought, it is alleged, that attempts at realism or making things appear as real, are bound to fail unless audiences and spectators called imagination in support of the illusions created by art. *Rasa* or the emotional colouring of the mind can be promoted by the artist only by means of suggestion and never by artificial representations of the facts of nature. It is no doubt true that imagination is an important factor in aesthetic

enjoyment. But the differentiation of realism and suggestion is often arbitrary. A knowledge of the cultural traditions of the race is generally assumed in the spectators or audience, by the artist; so that the so-called suggestion is merely an attempt at brevity in externals on the part of the artist. Where Western critics fail to detect any semblance of realism in Indian art and ascribe the entire composition to symbolism and suggestion, they overlook the psychology of those for whose enjoyment the art was meant. To a man in whose native geography and culture the elephant is an unknown quantity, even that vastly real animal might appear esoteric and symbolic. Acquaintance with regional factors is an essential of proper understanding, and, ignorance often leads to exaggerated theories, such as the one mentioned which denies all realism to Indian art and explains it away as a scheme of suggestions. The element of suggestion is present in all art on account of its illusory nature. No one is likely to appreciate the *Laocoon* or the paintings of Michael Angelo in the *Capella Sistina* with any degree of satisfaction without a proper cultural background. Wagner's operas may have the most devastating effect on the mind of an uninitiated audience. The *No* theater of Japan, the lyrical Operas of Italy, the mural painting in the Pantheon of Paris, would all lose a major portion of their appeal to minds which are elemental, totally untrained and utterly unsophisticated. Even the sculpture of the Greeks of the great fifth century is suggestive and symbolic. The *Discobolus* of Myron would lose much of its charm to persons who have no knowledge of the athletic side of Greek civilization. (It might even appear as a representation of a person decamping with a plate). Phidias is acknowledged to have represented "the religious ideals of the whole people and," to have "contributed in no small degree to purify and ennoble these ideals." That is to say, his admirers would fail to admire his art without a knowledge of these ideals.

In order to succeed in symbolism and suggestion, the artist must choose the real as the vehicle of expression. The real may be modified or synthesised according to the requirements of the artist, but reality is the fundamental basis of all great and true art. A ten-handed goddess in an apparently impossible attitude of contortion is, nevertheless, perfectly

real to those who can, by tradition and even everyday behaviour, understand the meaning of the manual gestures. The *Namaskara*, a gesture of greeting made by both hands, is vitally intermingled with the life of all Hindus. So are *Pranama*, *Ashirvada*, and other gestures made in everyday life by Hindus to express affection, threats or utter desolation, etc., etc. These conventional attitudes or movements are as real to the life of this ancient land as are the "Attention," "Stand-at-ease," "Salute" or other martial gestures to the members of the British Army.

There is no such thing as purely real in art. Nor is there anything which is purely suggestive. It is a question of degrees and is more or less the one or the other according to psychological and artistic requirements. The European Doll-maker has created within recent times such highly suggestive things as the Gollywag, Felix, the Mickey Mouse and similar other symbolic creatures for the edification of the juvenile mind. During the same period, the adolescent public have been provided with statuettes for their mantlepiece which prove a continuity of taste from the days of Praxiteles down to modern times. This shows that the artist has moods which synchronise with the moods of those to whom he addresses his art.

Art, if it has any purpose at all, is meant to provoke emotion in those who perceive it. As the majority of humans, rather one should say, all humans depend upon the facts of nature, for practically all their emotions, and as, much of the highly refined and rarefied emotions are broad-based upon reality; an analysis of the real and its synthesis in ideal shapes provide the basis of all art. In his work of analysis and synthesis, the artist practises varying degrees of elimination, exaggeration, multiplication, mutilation, superimposition, and imagination. One can see the whole thing clearly and minutely if one would look long enough and deeply. Intellectual short-cut is the greatest misleader in art criticism. It is no doubt possible to sway the mind of some men by presenting things algebraically, geometrically or in some such way. That would be entirely symbolical and purely suggestive, intellectually speaking, but that certainly will not be art!*

* Inaugural lecture delivered to the University of Madras under the Sir George Stanley Endowment, 1938.



FACING THE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

By ALINE MASTERS

IN these days of oecumenical despondency it is a commonplace to be ceaselessly reminded of the numerous urgent problems that confront the world and the need to solve them with immediate propriety. But the ever voluble advocates of reorganization leave much unsaid. Somehow they feel, almost instinctively as it were, that things require mending. Cato could not have been more vehement in his denunciation of evil. But that is about all. Practicable propositions do not issue from these people; they stop with crying themselves hoarse over this, that and the other. When tackled with tact they can be made to admit their incapacity to show the way out of the rot which they declaim against. The world is infested by these phenomena. Maybe they add something to our sense of enjoyment. But that in itself cannot help much because one has to get down to brass tacks sooner or later.

To face reality bravely, to hit the nail right on the head—this is a flight to which most cannot rise. For one thing, it requires a good deal of courage to try things out. One must needs have 'guts' to dare and to do, in blissful indifference to the criticisms of the self-righteous. After all the world would not be much of a place to live in if it were not for these interesting creatures who arrogate to themselves the right of evaluating. However, too much of nagging can be a veritable pest, for there are enough difficulties to contend with even now.

The same thing can hardly be expected to please every body; the degree of suitability differs with the climate, so to say. That must be why, although the problems are much the same all over the world, the methods of handling them are as divergent as is conceivable. Here it is not a case of sauce for the goose being sauce for the gander as well.

Grave portentous crises stare the governments of the world in the face. National administrations have sought to escape out of their fangs in their own way. Not all of the measures adopted are sound but most are dictated by considerations of expediency and are appropriate to the needs of the times.

There is youth problem, for instance. It has caused many sleepless nights doubtless to understanding statesmen everywhere. Bound within no restricted confines this has affected

all parts of the world with equal intensity; its unpleasant effects have been considerably aggravated during the past few years.

What exactly does it connote?

During the transition from boyhood to adolescence the youthful mind has to adjust itself to a world of mature realities. But the prospect which spreads itself before the neophyte is none too glamorous. Adjustment is no easy joke. It seethes with immense psychological portent. It is the principal issue to be braved but its ramifications are very wide indeed. Every generation has its own peculiar problems tagged on to this main one.

But, it seems to me, the obstacles that have to be encountered at the present day are far greater in the intensity of their power for evil than ever before. Youth today is hemmed in on all sides by the rude inelegance of poverty and weighed down by the burden of joblessness and insecurity of conditions.

America at any rate has something tangible to show by way of a sincere nation-wide campaign against these intangible forces. With all its shortcomings the Roosevelt regime has put through certain arresting schemes which require to be closely studied in relation to the circumstances involving their adaptation. Such is the establishment of the National Youth Administration whose work merits analysis by all who are interested in the well-being of the youth who, to use a cliché, will be the citizens of tomorrow. This Federal institution provides a hint which, with certain necessary modifications, can be tried in India as well.

On the eve of the foundation of this agency, the President voiced the innermost sentiments of all thinking men and women when he declared:

"I have determined that we shall do something for the Nation's unemployed youth, for we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to work and earn for themselves . . . I believe that the National Youth Program will serve the most pressing and immediate needs of that portion of the unemployed youth most seriously affected at the present time . . . The yield on this investment should be high."

The National Youth Administration is not a youth movement and cannot be said to exert

any political or religious influence upon the young people who come under its purview. It has been founded under the ægis of the Government solely to extend a helping hand to all who deserve it. Its entire activity is based on an acute realization of the profundity of youth's helplessness. The very pertinent observation that "the most serious element in the predicament is the moral deterioration that accompanies all unemployment, particularly that of youth: idleness leads to undesirable mental attitudes—feelings of frustration and hopelessness; and inability to earn a living may give rise to anti-social tendencies," has been grasped to the full by the sponsors of the move toward emergency relief.

Shortly after his inauguration in 1933 President Roosevelt made an approach to the solution of youth problems when he launched the Civilian Conservation Corps. It diminished the extent of youthful idleness by putting more than three hundred thousand men to work in the forests and national parks. This was a step in the right direction, for it had a twofold effect. Not only did it find employment for so many but it provided simultaneously a powerful stimulus to the gradual realization of the value of the out-of-doors. It opened the eyes of the American people to the bracing influence of recreation and healthy exercise amid natural surroundings.

But this was not enough. By itself it could not exhaust the potentialities and touched but the fringes of a vast field. There still remained thousands as yet unprovided for. Girls could not join the Civilian Conservation Corps and young boys who wished to continue in school without the means to do it were outside its pale.

And so, quite in the fitness of things, the Executive improvised the National Youth Administration as a corollary to the older institution.

The National Youth Programme with its multifarious aspects is designed to preserve unimpaired the roitness of youth so as to be able to turn it to advantage later in life. Youthful indolence is prone to generate Laodicean inclinations unless it is counteracted by external factors. This is best done by studying the respective requirements of youth at varying ages and seeking to meet them in the most appropriate manner. This is exactly what the Programme provides for.

Student Aid is given whereby needy students at school or college are enabled to go on with their scholastic career which, under other circumstances, they would have been

inevitably compelled to leave. They are furnished with part-time employment under the supervision of school officials on work projects designed to suit their abilities. But there is a proviso to this part of the programme. No one under eighteen years of age is allowed to be employed in this way.

Young people who are out of school are given work on these work projects too. Those seeking jobs are rendered *vocational assistance* and *recreation*, and *leisure time activities* are abundantly catered for. Needy youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five are thus helped in ever so many ways to afford them a start in life.

The National Youth Administration, as has often been mistakenly supposed, does not provide doles. The basis of relief is payment of wages for work performed. The rates are the same as in the community but hours of work are strictly limited. It has been calculated that approximately eighty-five per cent of the agency's annual investment is covered by these wages. Statistics reveal that in the spring of 1936 well-nigh six hundred thousand young people were benefited by this scheme. This can be taken as giving a fair indication of the extent of the help given.

It is to be noted that the purpose of floating work projects is not solely to provide the needy with part-time employment. The training and experience gained thereby are useful in so far as they enable them the better to secure private employment.

The National Youth Administration is, in short, the nucleus of a nation-wide scheme of rehabilitation.

When, twelve months after the inauguration of this scheme, Franklin Roosevelt had occasion to refer to its working, he gave, in a few memorable words, a succinct exposition of the Government's attitude towards the youth of the nation :

"No greater obligation faces the government than to justify the faith of its young people in the fundamental rightness of our democratic institutions and to preserve their strength, loyalty and idealism against the time when they must assume the responsibilities of citizenship. The splendid record of the National Youth Administration in helping some 600,000 young men and women from the despair of idleness seems to me excellent testimony that our means of meeting the obligation are sound."

No mere log-rolling this but the considered opinion of the head of the world's mightiest democracy. Facts bear out the appropriateness of this tribute.

Yes, the yield on the investment was certainly high.

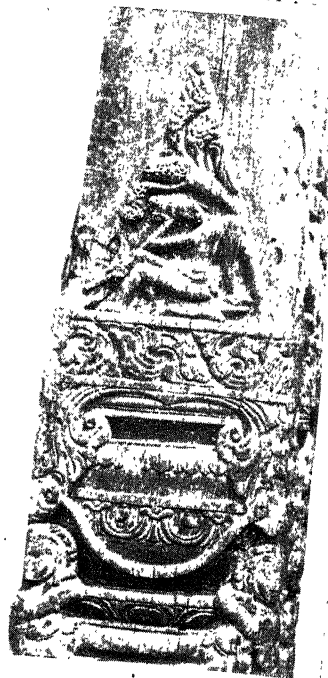
WOODEN SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL



Wooden pillars recovered from
the great tank at Rampal

Sthirachakra Manju-Sri

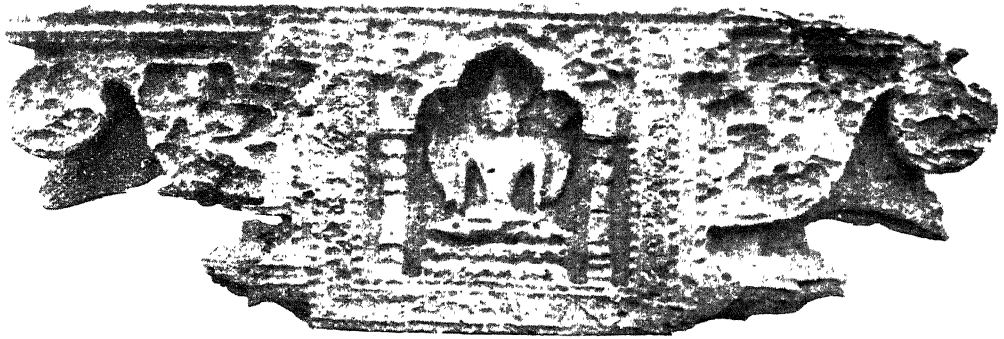
Image of Visnu found at Krishnapur,
Tripura



Pillar I: Face II
Pillar II: Face II

Face III
Face III

Face IV
Face IV



The wooden capital discovered at Sonarang

WOODEN SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL

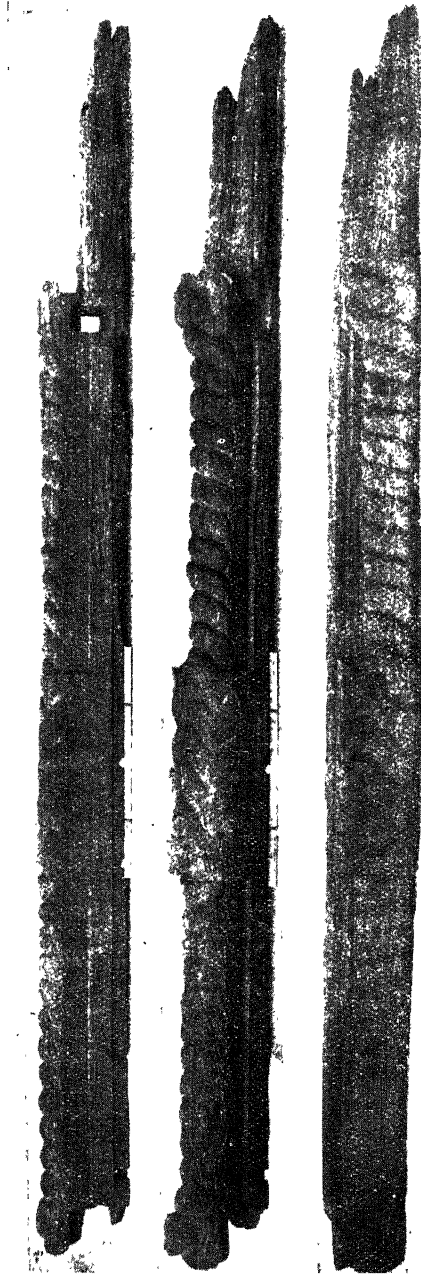
By N. K BHATTASALI, M.A., Ph.D.

In ancient Bengal, stone was undoubtedly the most popular material for the manufacture of images. But the authors of the *Silpasastras* also recommend wood as a material for the expression of the carver's art. Stone is undoubtedly durable. In fact, some varieties like chlorite are practically imperishable. But wood has the merit of being cheaper and more pliant. It is no wonder, therefore, that wood-carving was a most extensive and well-patronised profession in ancient Bengal. Mediaeval images of the Vaisnava apostles in wood are still met with in some of the famous shrines of Western Bengal. In Eastern Bengal, the image of *Yasomadhava* at Dhamrai, Dist. Dacca, is a wooden one. The famous Jagannath-Balaram-Subhadra of Puri are also wooden images. But these last are periodically renewed. What has happened to the numerous wooden images and wood-carvings that obtained in ancient Bengal? Have they totally perished? The Museum at Rajshahi, the Museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat, the Indian Museum of Calcutta house numerous images in stone. But in all these collections, images in wood are conspicuous by their absence.

Bengal is a moist country, a country of floods and rain, of rats and white ants, and of frequent conflagrations during the dry season. It is no wonder that specimens of ancient wood-carving should totally perish in such a country. Fortunately, we have succeeded in collecting

some excellent pieces of ancient wood-carving from the ruins of Sri-Vikramapura, the pre-Muhammadian capital of Bengal in the district of Dacca, now generally known as Rampal, but actually comprising many more villages. These priceless relics of old by fortunate chances found their way to the beds of tanks and were preserved in a more or less perfect condition under the sheltering loam during the succeeding centuries. Some of these are pleasing works of Art and would serve to give the reader an idea of the excellence attained by the wood-carvers of ancient Bengal. Pre-Muhammadian Bengal sculpture is deservedly praised by art-critics for its expression and mellowness. Bengal wood-carving of the period shows precisely the same merits. Impediments to the revival of the art of stone-carving are many in Bengal. The absence of a demand, the total extinction of the trade in carvable stone, the high price of stone, all stand against the revival. But the same cannot be said with regard to wood. Wood-carving as an art can easily be revived, if a demand for such products manifests itself in Bengal for religious as well as secular purposes.

The first specimen of the Bengal wood-carving of ancient days, which we are going to present to the reader, was discovered at the heart of the old capital. It was discovered at the southern bank of the southern moat of Ballal-Badi, which stands out on the accompanying



The wooden lintel discovered at the village of Nateswar

map of the old capital, surrounded by broad moats on all sides except the east.

The exact spot of the discovery is marked

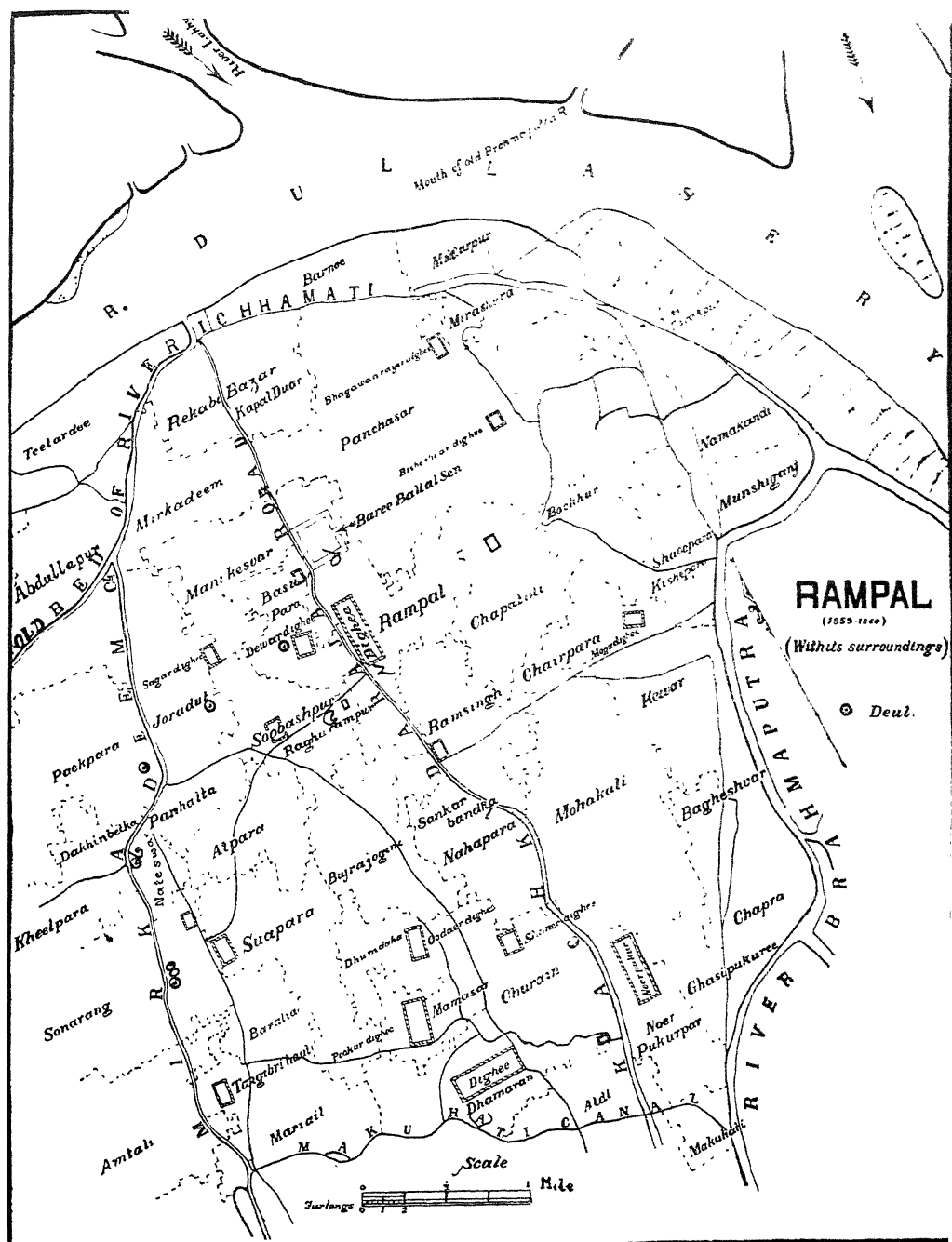
by the Bengali numeral 1. S. J. Mukundalal Goswami of Panchasar-Vinodpur obtained it and presented it to the Dacca Museum.

The piece is carved in low relief and depicts a boyish figure standing in *Tribhanga* pose under a *Rekha* temple with a prominent *Amalaka* at the top. The head of the deity is covered by a *Mukuta*; big earrings are pendant from the lobes of the ears; the hair is done into a chignon like a lady,—an end of the chignon shoots up like the beak of a bird. This conical end is surrounded by two rows of pearls. The god is holding a sword by its hilt in such an artistic and soft fashion that the spectator at once understands that his loosely-hanging sword with its point to the earth has no murderous propensities. A *Chadar* hangs loosely from the left shoulder of the god and flows out at the end. The god holds a second *Chadar* by his left hand. The neck, the arms, the waist and the wrists of the god are profusely bedecked with ornaments like a lady. Strings of jewels hang down from the waist of the god like friezes. The god stands on the right leg, and the left leg with a beautiful anklet on is placed behind the right one in a tip-toe dancing pose. An offering of flowers is seen spread below the feet of the god. The face and the entire body beams with the freshness and suppleness of first youth and these have survived the ravages of a thousand years on this old piece of carved wood to an extent, enough to show that the carver was a master-hand in his art.

The representation of the temple over the head of the god is an indication that the figure represented is the figure of a deity. Who is this young swordsman who is yet not a killer, whose face beams with the freshness of youth and who is almost feminine in his love of finery? The absence of a vehicle would point to the Buddhist pantheon and the sword, the ornaments and the youth of the deity would point towards Manju-Sri, the Buddhist god of learning.

Manju-Sri is known in a number of varieties. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, in his *Buddhist Iconography* enumerates the following : Vak, Dharmadhatu-Vagisvara, Manjughosha, Siddhikavira, Vajranaga, Namasingiti, Vagisvara, Manjuvara, Manju-Kumara, Arapachana, Sthirachakra, Vadirat, Manjunatha. None of these thirteen varieties, appears to agree with the piece under discussion. We can trace some resemblance only in Sthirachakra, which is thus described by Dr. Bhattacharyya :

"In one of his hands, he carries the sword, which spreading its rays destroys the darkness of ignorance, while the other is engaged in bestowing boons of all kinds, or in other words, displays the *varada* pose. His colour



Sri-Vikramapura, the ancient Capital of Bengal

is white and he is decked in garments of the colour of the bee. He sits on the moon over a lotus and wears the *Cirakas* which make his body resplendent. He wears princely ornaments and displays the sentiment of passionate love. He is accompanied by a female or *Prajna*, who is beautiful, displays the sentiment of passionate love and laughs profusely."

Dr. Bhattacharyya did not meet with any image of Sthirachakra and could not illustrate any. He has, with great hesitation, identified an image preserved in the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat as that of Sthirachakra and has also published an illustration of the image. This image hardly agrees with the description quoted above.

What then is the correct identification of our image? Can we identify it with Sthirachakra? The agreement of our image in some particulars with Sthirachakra is undoubtedly very remarkable. The *Chadars* on our image are placed prominently in such a manner that we can easily understand that they form canonistic features of this deity. So, the *Chirakas* (pieces of cloth) of Sthirachakra are here. The sword also is present and profuseness of ornaments is also to the point. But the god is *standing* and is not accompanied by the goddess *Prajna*. The remarkable agreement and the no less prominent disagreement led me to re-read the original *Sadhanas* of Sthirachakra. The result has been very convincing.

These *Sadhanas* were edited and published by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series in 1925. A reference to this excellently edited work removed all doubts. In the *Sadhanamala*, two *Sadhanas* are devoted to Sthirachakra, one in verse and the other in prose. The necessary portions from the first *Sadhana* are culled below.¹

The writer introduces the elaborate *Sadhana* with the *Sloka* (quoted in the Foot Note), which may be thus translated :

Making respectful obeisance to goddess *Prajna* and to him who shines like the fresh shoots; who is beautiful; who has dispelled all ignorance by the power of his speech; who is pure like the shaft of a white light; who holds a sword from which effulgence shoots out; (making obeisance) to that Enlightened one with the appearance of a boy,—this jewel of the Chakra (*i.e.*, the *Sadhana* of Sthirachakra) is fashioned out (written) by me for repeated mental recitation.

1. The first *sadhana* begins thus :

श्रीमद्दीर्गमनिरस्त सकल भ्रान्ति प्रतानोज्ज्वलं
प्रोद्यद्गौरगभस्ति बिम्बविमलं बुद्धं च बालाकृतिं ।
विभ्रानं करवालमुद्गतरुचिं प्रज्ञां च नत्वादरात्
आत्मानुस्मरणाय लिख्यत इदं तच्चक्ररत्नं मया

This *sloka* makes two points clear :

(i) The composer of the *Sadhana* salutes Sthirachakra who has a boyish appearance as well as the goddess *Prajna*.

(ii) Dr. Bhattacharyya was somehow led to assume that *Prajna* should accompany Sthirachakra. But this is not the case.

In the *Sadhana* itself, the god is described as dispelling dense darkness by the effulgence of the red rays, proceeding from his bright garments deep dark like the black bees. He is also characterised as skilful in bestowing all kinds of boons on his devotees. This is probably what led Dr. Bhattacharyya to think that one of his hands has to be in the *Varada* pose. But the text does not warrant any such assumption.

A little further on, we meet with the following *Sloka*,² which may be thus translated :

'Meditate carefully on the feet of the god who is a hero, who wears a boy's ornaments, whose face is beautiful like an opening lotus, and who is steeped in sweet sentiments of passion and is thus pleasant to look at.'

Dr. Bhattacharyya, in his *Buddhist Iconography* reads *abhirāmāṅg*³ in the first line and takes it as an adjective of the goddess *Prajna* who is to accompany Sthirachakra. In his edition of the *Sadhanamala* however, the correct reading *abhirāmāṅg*⁴ is accepted, which is an adjective of Sthirachakra. Thus the goddess *Prajna* disappears. We can now identify this god of boyish appearance, beaming with throbbing life and softness, holding a sword in his right hand and prominently wearing more than one flowing *Chadar*, as *Sthirachakra* Manju-Sri. I hope my readers will join with me in admiring the great genius of the artist who succeeded in animating this piece of dead wood with a vision of beauty which has survived on the frail material the ravages of a thousand years. The image is 4 ft. 9½ inches in height. (See Plates).

Regarding the age of the image, we can generally say that it is of the pre-Muhammadian period. We have to discuss history a little, if we want to be more specific. The discovery of the image from the moat surrounding the site of the royal palace at Rampal is significant. The conjecture is reasonable that it was housed in

2 ललित्यश्ङ्काररसभिरामं

व्याजम्भमानाम्बुरुहस्यलक्ष्मीम् ।

वीरं कुमारभरणं दधानं

व्यायात् पदं तस्य समीहमानः ॥

3 अभिरामां

4 अभिरामं

a temple inside the palace area. This was possible only when the family of the Chandras, of which Sri-Chandra is the best known king, was ruling in Eastern Bengal from the capital at Sri-Vikramapura. This period falls roughly between 985 and 1020 A.D. Our image in all probability belongs to the same period and is thus more than nine hundred years old.

A number of excellent samples of old wood-carving came out from the tanks and ditches of the ancient capital. A look at the map will show how the city grew on either side of a very broad and embanked road that ran south from the southern bank of the river Ichhamati up to the confluence of the Padma and the Megna, fifty miles south. This old pre-Muhammadan road called the *Kacki Darwaja* is still in existence, encroached upon in innumerable places by land-hungry cultivators. This part of Bengal is subject to heavy annual floods, and embanked roads ought to follow the courses of the rivers and currents, as the Kacki Darwaja did. The Dacca District Board is spending thousands of rupees annually over the Munshiganj-Srinagar road, their own creation, which meets the currents at right-angles,—and allowing this old road to fall into disuse through sheer neglect.

On either side of the northern end of the Kacki Darwaja grew up the ancient capital of the Chandras, Varmmas and the Senas, and the extent of the city can easily be recognized on the accompanying map by the presence of a number of large-sized tanks, so vitally necessary for the water-supplying system of cities in those days,—the earth obtained from them serving the useful purpose of raising the surrounding area above the flood-level.

The portion of the Kacki Darwaja between the bank of the Ichhamati river and the Makuhati canal is about six miles long. On either side of this length, and on the raised banks of these tanks, the citizens built their houses and temples. The great tank at Rampal is more than one-third of a mile in length. The tank called Nairpukur and the east-west tank at Dhamaran are both remarkable pieces of excavations and not much smaller than the tank at Rampal. Numerous stone images came up from these tanks and their vicinity. Today we shall confine ourselves only to the wooden sculptures recovered.

Two brothers Abdul Ghani and Abdul Rahaman, in excavating earth from the southern slope of the great tank at Rampal, recovered two excellently carved wooden pillars from the soft mud. The pillars are 9 feet 5 inches long. Their find place is marked with the Bengali

numeral 2 on the map. The carvings on the four faces at the bottom are described below. The pillars have carvings also at the top and in the middle. (See Plates).

Pillar I. Face I. A goddess with a short sword is fighting a demon, also holding a sword.

Pillar I. Face II. An erotic picture of an anchorite and an antelope.

Pillar I. Face III. A couchant camel.

Pillar I. Face IV. Figure of a prince in dejected attitude, with his bow and arrow thrown on the ground. Coupled with the theme



The wooden image of Garuda discovered at Raghurampur

of Face II, the story illustrated appears to be that of Maharaja Pandu.

Pillar II. Face I. The famous pre-Muhammadan sculptural design *Krittikumha*.

Pillar II. Face II. A woman dancing in the *Atibhanga* pose.

Pillar II. Face III. Two girls are shooting at birds with the string of the bow in the air. A comic fling at the feminine attempt.

Pillar II. Face IV. Scroll-work.

The *Krittimukha* marks the pillars out as pre-Muhammadan productions. Both the pillars are good samples of the carver's art.

The wooden lintel illustrated here was discovered from a tank north of the *deul*—the spacious ruins of an ancient temple at the village of Nateswar. The find-spot has been marked with the Bengali numeral 3 on the map. The motif is the well-known coiled serpents, a perfect sample of which in stone was discovered from the ruins of the old city of Kotivarsha and is now preserved in the house of the Raja of Dinajpur. Our lintel formed the upper portion of a huge *Nagadvara*. The scales of the serpents are even now distinct on this well-carved piece.

The wooden capital illustrated on page 261 was discovered about half a mile to the south, in a small tank adjoining the *deul* at Sonarang. The spot is marked with a Bengali 4 on the map. The deity carved inside the capital is Visnu of the *Yogasvami* variety. The wood used was of a particularly substantial nature, and the piece is still as heavy as stone. The carving is even now intact in places.

The wooden image of Garuda was dug out of a tank in the village of Raghurampur, about half-a-mile to the south-west of the great tank at Rampal. The face of the giant beams with such joy and intelligence that we are filled with admiration for the artist who fashioned the image. A wooden image of Visnu found at the village of Krishnapur is also illustrated. (See Plates).

As I have already said, a revival of the old traditions of Bengal sculpture is perhaps still a far cry. Stone of the right sort is difficult to obtain in Bengal. There is now practically no demand for the finished products, which are bound to be somewhat high-priced. But the same cannot be said of wood-carving. Wood is plentiful in Bengal. Workers in wood with artistic bent capable of rivalling their brother-artists of pre-Muhammadan days will stand out as soon as we evince a taste for their finished products. Then, why should not wood-carving be revived in Bengal? Shall we for all time to come remain content with admiring Burmese wood-carving and never care to revive Bengal wood-carving which had such a glorious past?

PREPARE FOR PEACE

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

I SUPPOSE there was never a time in the history of the world when there was so much talk of war and preparations for war and certainly there never was a time of peace when so many thousands of millions of pounds were being feverishly spent on guns and armaments. And yet everyone and every Government wants or professes to want peace. But what are they doing to try to secure it?

Herr Hitler in his New Year speech to the diplomatic corps in Berlin explained to the world that the one thing that Germany wanted and would work for was peace. Signor Mussolini, in his speech intimating Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations, declared that Italy "would not abandon her fundamental lines of policy aiming at collaboration and peace." It is perhaps rather unfortunate that in the same speech he remarked that Italy's arms had been "tempered by two victorious wars." One was in Abyssinia and the other,

of course, in Spain. But Italy is a party to the Non-Intervention Agreement. So one begins to wonder exactly what Signor Mussolini means by peace. Japan also wants peace—or so she says. Her action in China, she says, is "not aggressive but defensive" and she goes on to tell us that "peace will only return when China brings herself to see the error of her ways." It is rather like the peace of the wolf and the lamb. There certainly is a deep peace when the wolf and the lamb lie down together—the lamb inside the wolf.

Too many well intentioned people are quite anxious to avoid war. But they put far too little energy into active preparations to ensure peace. There are certainly even in this time of peace enough preparations for war. Even in my own cottage in the country—40 miles from London—I have been called on officially, only a day or two ago, to state how many people are living in my house so that the requisite number

of gas masks can be issued to us; how many people evacuated from London I could temporarily put up; and what preparations are being made for shelter from air raids. And this at a time when everyone wants peace! As one writer recently remarked, peace has suffered as much from the inaction of its supporters—national and individual—as from the action of its enemies. Our own Government here takes no constructive steps for promoting peace and, with its piling up of armaments, drifts slowly towards war.

In my young days we heard a good deal about the increase in the population of the world and the certainty that there would result at no distant date a scarcity of food and necessities for the people of the world. Now all that is changed. We have abundance and more than abundance of everything. That does not mean that everyone gets sufficient. It simply means that our problem is not now one of production but one of distribution.

The madness of the world and lack of co-operation is seen when we find that in various parts of the world foodstuffs are being deliberately burned or thrown into the sea instead of being distributed to those who really require them. Wheat is burned: millions of pounds of coffee thrown into the sea; and fish either thrown back into the sea or used as manure, so that prices may be kept up. All that is required is international co-operation for the good of the whole rather than considering only the individual profit of one, be it an individual or a nation.

We have the sad fact in the world today that instead of beating our swords into ploughshares we are beating our ploughshares into guns. What is required is a larger conception of life, a realization that we are all parts one of another and that our function in life, whether as individuals or as nations, is to help one another and that by so doing we would really be helping ourselves and the world as a whole.

It is easy for England, which has grabbed most of the desirable parts of the world for herself, to preach contentment to other nations. But England has also got to learn (and to practise) that the interests to be considered all over the world are not those that will benefit herself but that the sole consideration should be the interests of the population of the country governed.

An interesting commentary on Germany's insistence that she must have colonies because she is over-populated at home was revealed in a cable from the *Times* Correspondent in Berlin (on 18th January, 1938)—that Germany has to import over 100,000 labourers for work on the

land and of these 30,000 Italian farm-hands will be arriving very soon.

Does the fact that she has had to import Italian labourers suggest to Germany that her objective—economic nationalism—may after all prove to be a mirage? In this connection it is interesting to note that, for the first time it is said, a foreign criticism of the German economic system has been allowed to appear in General Goering's monthly magazine *The Four Year Plan*. It is contained in an article by Sir Josiah Stamp, the well known economist and director of the Bank of England. He sees the world dividing into two economic groups:

"(1) Those which produce all necessary commodities themselves, with the exception of a few where circumstances force them to collaborate with the rest of the world; and (2) Those which cultivate open international trade, with the exception of a few cases where vital interests and invested capital must be protected."

And he concludes his article with a warning to Germany

"not to deprive the world of her genius, her extraordinary gift for handling public affairs, and of her scientific and industrial experience."

It is in fact an absolute mystery to the outsider how Germany, Italy or any other like-minded nation, imagines it is possible to maintain the standard of living in economic isolation. Particularly when all such nations are the very ones who are depressing the standard of living all the time by directing so much of their energies into rearmament! For whatever appearance of prosperity, whatever increase in employment a rearmament programme creates, arms in themselves are unproductive. In the end they have still to be paid for and paying for them can only depress the standard of living. How are Germany and Italy going to pay for their armaments? What return can they expect on them (but war)?

Are the people of Germany, who have all their reading censored these days, allowed, one wonders, to read such illuminating matter as the speeches which are made in England at this time of the year by the Chairmen of the big Banks? The first of these speeches was made a few days ago by the Chairman of Barclays Bank Ltd. and Germans would do well to reflect on what he had to say with regard to imports and exports and their effect on the standard of living. Germans moreover are not allowed to lend money abroad. What then would they think of the statement:

"British savings invested abroad have played a large part in paying for the imports we need to maintain our standard of living . . . In 1936 we should have needed

to have exported £195 millions more in goods, had we not received income from those savings of the past."

The Chairman, finally, advocated

"three interlocking measures necessary to a return to more satisfactory world conditions, namely, freer trade, a revival of overseas lending, and the stabilization of currencies."

And all these three depended upon one thing—a revival of confidence.

How is confidence to be revived in the world? Anyone looking back on the past year will see the successive blows it has received in Manchuria, in Abyssinia, in Spain, and now on such a scale in China that no one can tell what is going to happen there. When the League of Nations failed to prevent the Japanese ramp in Manchuria, it was not merely the League idea that suffered. Peace, as we see now, tumbled down with it. Read your history, screamed the Japanese delegate at Geneva, as he tried to convince the Assembly that Manchuria had always been an affair between Russia and Japan. And the Beaverbrook and Rothermere Press in this country took up the cry and injected the idea into their public that it was no part of our job to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Well, British chestnuts are in the fire now . . . In fact so many chestnuts are in the fire that, in whatever guise it may be served up, the League idea is coming back again.

Indeed one wonders how long the totalitarian countries, in the present state of their finances, can go on with their wars and armament programmes. The City Editor of the *Daily Herald* pointed out the other day that Italy's total national income is about £800,000,000 a year and of this practically 50 per cent (including the 10 per cent capital levy) is being spent on budget necessities and on military expenditure in Abyssinia and Spain. Only a little more than half of this expenditure is covered by revenue.

The total national savings of Italy are estimated at about £80,000,000 and the Government expenditure out of loans is about double this amount. The result is that the cost of living in Italy is going up at an alarming rate and the people are becoming more and more impoverished. The Government tries to keep down the rising prices with but indifferent success. As in Germany, commodities are being adulterated in order to conceal the rise in the cost of living.

Whereas in Italy budget revenue covers barely one-half of the total Government expenditure, in France it covers about three-fifths, and in Britain about nine-tenths. Britain's Government expenditure is a little under 20 per

cent of the national income, in France it is about 25 per cent, while in Italy it is practically 50 per cent.

Britain's loan expenditure, at say £100,000,000 in the coming year, is about 15 per cent of the national savings. France's is about equal to the national savings at about £160,000,000 while Italy's is about twice the amount of the national savings. France and more especially Great Britain have vast sums in foreign investments, while Italy has practically no such reserve to fall back on. The puzzle for economists today is to guess how long Italy can go on before the smash is bound to come.

How then can we bring confidence back into the economic and international sphere? We have tried one World Economic Conference which was a failure solely because the nations of the world had not learned to subordinate their private interests to the good of the whole. Surely the time is ripe and over-ripe for another attempt to try to get out of the present state of affairs which is more like a mad house than a world of reasoning human beings.

The fundamental difficulty is, of course, that so few of us are able to put ourselves inside the skin of the other man. We see it in every walk of life—between employers and employed, between governors and governed, between nation and nation.

We hear so often in England surprise expressed at riots in India, at the incompatibility of Hindu-Moslem differences and so on. We seem to overlook the fact that there are heads broken even in England and that Europe—I wish I could say the United States of Europe—is seething with animosities that may break out in war any day without notice. And India is larger than Europe if we exclude Russia.

International law seems to have gone by the board. The rule of Law seems to have given place to the rule of Might. International obligations, solemn signatures to treaties, are set aside without even an apology if they seem to interfere with "national" interests. The rule of law will only be established when there is an international tribunal with such authority and power behind it that it will be able to compel the aggressor to come before it. That can only be brought about by the formation of an international police force with something higher than a merely national patriotism. The armies of all countries in the world would be at the disposal of that international tribunal. Such a force would not be to make but to prevent war. Had there been such a force in existence Japan could never have overrun China,

nor Italy Abyssinia. The Civil War in Spain would have been brought to an end practically before it got started and the rights and wrongs of each side would have been considered and adjudicated on by reasoning and law and not by the power of brute force which, in the end, settles nothing. It is not by their arms that the police in England keep order. They are unarmed; but they have the authority of the law and of the whole body of the people behind them. The very fact that the police are there, with that authority, is enough to restrain people from disorder. It would be the same internationally as nationally.

A real League of Nations is a necessity to the world. It is the only alternative to a continuance of the Rule of Might as against the Rule of Right—Force or Law.

The League of Nations has for years been subjected to a campaign of misrepresentation in the Press. Why has it been too dignified to go in for a publicity campaign on its own behalf? Year after year our Government has paid its subscription, but how many people in the country have ever even *seen* the Covenant? It can be bought for a penny from the League of Nations Union, but why isn't it to be found on every bookstall? It is nothing short of amazing to think that the Covenant,, which certainly marked a new departure in history whatever its ups and downs may be, is never to be met with—in our bookshops or our schools or our homes.

These reflections are prompted by the appearance, under the title of the *Peace Act, 1937*, of a most remarkable four-penny worth. For this small amount it is possible to obtain, all together, the Covenant, the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War, and the Locarno Agreements. Surely, if peace-lovers in this country knew their business, this publication would have been widely advertised. (It can be obtained from H. M. Stationery Office. The title is *Peace*. It is Bill 35. 1 Geo. 6). It is of course the Bill introduced recently into the House of Commons by a Private Member, Mr. Mander—and alas talked out. It is his conviction, as it was the conviction of the late Mr. Arthur Henderson, that these treaties and instruments of peace, to which Great Britain is a party, should be embodied in an Act and adopted by the British Parliament. To do so, surely, is to bring them down to earth, to bring them out of the realm of high and mysterious foreign policy, and to habituate the ordinary people to the ideas and instruments of peace which are waiting to be used—but which never will be used unless and until there is an informed public opinion behind the Government.

Mr. Mander may have failed in the House of Commons, but at least, through his introducing this Bill, we have learned something. And perhaps, if we buy the Bill, and study it, we may see to it that it is not talked out next time.

There is another reason for acquiring this Bill. The nations are on the point of meeting to discuss "reforming" the Covenant. Not only will it be an advantage to have the Covenant by us, so that we can follow how it is proposed to alter it, it is a safe guess that any emendations will be such as will be acceptable to the United States. In which case it will be an advantage to have studied the Peace Pact. Article 16 of the Covenant, which deals with Sanctions, is of course due for much discussion. It is said that the Scandinavian nations, discouraged by the half-and-half methods of the Great Powers as regards Italy, are impatient of their own obligations under this Article. But it is to be hoped that Article 16 will survive in some form. We have Signor Mussolini's own bitter testimony, in the speech in which he announced his departure from the League, to the efficacy of even our half-and-half sanctions.

It is notorious of course that at the time of the making of the Versailles Treaty, President Wilson was much more interested in the framing of the Covenant of the League than in the actual terms of the Peace Treaty itself. To him that was a very minor matter if he could get his idea carried out for the formation of what was really to be a world government exercising authority over national governments. Such a League, with the authority of all the Great Powers, including the United States, could certainly have prevented war in any part of the world. It was a calamity, the effect of which can hardly be measured, when the United States Senate for purely local and political reasons refused to join the World League so hamstringing it at the very beginning. Had there been a League including the United States, along with Great Britain and France, war in any part of the world could have been prevented—and not merely war but the very threat of aggression on the part of any nation in any part of the world could have been nipped in the bud. France would have had that sense of security which she has always sought for and the bitter feeling between her and Germany would have been avoided.

The intention of the League was excellent but without the United States the power to make it effective has been lacking. It is because of that that Germany, Italy and Japan have left the League as it exists today. Nevertheless sooner or later a World League will have to be

established with adequate machinery for preserving peace. At the present moment this would be difficult because there is no common denominator amongst the nations as to what is right and no acceptance of what should be condemned as aggression.

The nations will first have to agree on the principles of right and justice and then we may reach the time, which at present, alas, seems far distant, when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."

RELIGION AND MORALITY AS THE BASES OF SOCIETY

BY PROF. UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

II

VIEWING the world of today, we find that it is not religion alone that has to meet the challenge of modern thought. Morality, too, fares no better. If science and social progress have affected religion—more often adversely than not—morality too has not escaped a similar attack by the same forces.

So far as moral problems are concerned, we know what they are, and the discovery of new problems does not appear likely. The distinction of right and wrong, and the reasons for such a distinction and the question of man's responsibility and freedom—theoretically there are about all that we have to determine in Ethics. These questions have engaged man's attention for nearly twenty-five centuries. We have had different views on them but the problems have not very much differed with the passing away of centuries. The progress of science not infrequently throws new light on them but it does not bring new problems to light. Researches in anthropological sciences have sometimes led to the formulation of new theories about our notions of right and wrong, but even they have not added to our list of moral problems. But science has considerably affected ethical doctrines. Ethics could not disprove what science had proved. It could either adapt itself to the conclusions of science or keep aloof. The principle of causality was one such scientific doctrine.

The question of man's freedom divided scientists and philosophers into two hostile camps for a long time. And the theory of determinism in Ethics was an attempt to make Ethics fall in line with science by accepting the principle of universal causation. The theory of freedom was a challenge to the universality of physical causation. Those who accepted freedom but were yet unwilling to deny the universal character of physical causation regarded moral

freedom as an "antimony."¹ From the standpoint of physical science, causality pervaded whole of nature and freedom could be denied to man: from the standpoint of moral experience, freedom was a fact. Freedom was thus a fact as well as not a fact. It was true but was not true according to science.

In recent science, however, the principle of causation has been thrown open to doubt. Its universal character is no longer an unquestioned fact. In Heisenberg's *Principle of Indeterminacy* we have a theory that the whole even of physical nature is not causally determined. Many acclaim this proposition as a scientific demonstration of the fact of freedom. If the behaviour of an electron cannot be predicted—if even an electron is free, how much more must men be so! Many of us think that the pendulum has now definitely swung back from determinism to libertarianism. But whether Heisenberg's *Indeterminacy* or as some prefer to call it uncertainty—or what is equivalent to the same thing, our present ignorance of certain things—does really mean a final rehabilitation of the principle of freedom, yet remains to be seen. Whatever may be the final outcome, it would only mean a triumph for the time being—and perhaps only for the time being—of one theory against another. If Heisenberg's doctrine becomes the ultimate principle in science, for once morality will be benefited by science and a doctrine of which moral science is so fond, will have scientific support.

But science cannot always be expected to support our moral convictions. And what is more surprising, even philosophy does not always do so. The leading doctrine in Ethics is the objectivity of our moral judgments and their

1. Cf. Nicolai Hartmann—*Ethics*.

ultimate nature. Moral law is objectively valid, independent of the circumstances of our life or the peculiarities of our individual nature; and it is valid ultimately beyond the contingencies of individual life and consciousness and of time and space. But so far as its objective character is concerned, Prof. Westermarck, himself a moral philosopher, arrives at the conclusion that

"neither the attempts of moral philosophers or theologians to prove the objective validity of moral judgments, nor the commonsense assumption to the same effect, give us any right at all to accept such a validity as a fact."²

Further,

"all moral concepts, which are used as predicates in moral judgments, are ultimately based on emotion" (p. 62).

Westermarck contends that

"the moral consciousness is ultimately based on emotions, that the moral judgment lacks objective validity, that the moral values are not absolute but relative to the emotions they express" (p. 289).

And the ultimate character of moral values has been challenged more than once. Nearly half a century ago, Fr. Nietzsche gave us the cult of the Superman. He and his followers extolled man as "the noble beast." The animal in man was considered more valuable than the spirit. A sharp contrast was drawn between Rome and Judaised Rome—between Aryan and Semitic morality. The truer morality was the morality of the strong, the powerful, the conquering and the lordly Aryan people; this was the morality of the Romans. But an unfortunate tragedy happened. Rome was Judaised—was gradually converted to the slavish morality of the Jews. The world bows today to three Jews and one Jewess—Jesus, Peter, Paul and Mary, 'the mother of aforesaid Jesus.' Humanity has suffered enough for this conversion. Time has come, so we are told, to make amends for this stupid act.

Nietzsche's cult of superman and superior morality has taken hold of many thinkers and writers—in philosophy as well as in literature. And in practical politics active pursuit of this ideal may easily be seen in more than one country. The drive against the Semites—the ostracism of the Jews—which Germany of today has initiated, may well be traced to this philosophy of fifty years earlier.

The softer and saner and the more humane moral ideal of the great Nazarene appears to be at a discount today. Individual and national greed and avarice hold sway over the mind of

humanity. We seem again to be at the crossing of ways and it is obvious that the future of civilization will depend on the correct choice of ideals.

So long as man remains a moral agent and the distinction of right and wrong remains, such theorising will also continue. A state of social existence in which all men will act uniformly like atoms of matter and will not call for any criticism and valuation, is beyond the range of our imagination. Even atoms do not behave uniformly. They behave differently towards different elements. Hydrogen atoms will combine in the proportion of two to one with oxygen (H_2O) but one to one with chlorine (HCl). The onlooking atoms of nitrogen do not, however, pass any judgment on this behaviour of hydrogen. The behaviour of atoms, call it virtuous or otherwise, is not uniform. But there is no judgment on them—no valuation—no appreciation or condemnation.

But, although it has been the dream of philosophers that a state of society will in the long run be ushered into existence in which *all* men will *always* act *rightly*, when virtue will be the universal law of life—it will be not simply *habitual* but *natural*—i.e., a society from which all wickedness, actual and potential, will be banished—although such an utopia has been dreamed of, yet we cannot imagine man being ever reduced or elevated to the neutral attitude of material existence in which the distinction of right and wrong has ceased to trouble him. And so long as the distinction continues, an enquiry into its nature, validity and foundation will also be there, unless of course the mind of man reaches a condition in which all thought is abjured. Ethical theorising, therefore, will—as far off as we can look into futurity—continue to be of interest to humanity. And so long as such theorising goes on, divergences of opinion also will be unavoidable.

But such differences of view ought not to alarm us. They are after all not so fundamental as to undermine the code of morality that we follow in practice. There may be a quarrel between Hedonists and Intuitionists or between Kant and Spencer, about the meaning of the right, but justice is justice according to both; and in a general way, they do not quarrel about what one ought to do in given circumstances. At any rate, this is what moralists usually affirm. The foundation of the code of morality is usually regarded as well and truly laid. But the history of morality tells a different tale—even here.

In the mazes of theory, we ought not to overlook the fact that Ethics arose as an attempt to

find out the meaning of rules of conduct already in existence. Such rules are the practical side of ethics—its raw materials, so to say. And for a man living his life here and now, the more important thing is not *why* something is right or wrong, but *what* is right or wrong. On this question of *what*, the verdict of history is that it is not immutable. Changing times have changing codes of morals. The present century has witnessed vast sections of humanity give up the ancient code of moral and adopt a new. In Russia we have what Maurice Hindus describes as the uprooting of humanity. The old roots of society are torn.

Old ideas of right and wrong have undergone modifications which are by no means insignificant. Perhaps the right is right for the same old reasons as before; but the right today is not the same thing as 2000 years ago. Need we take examples? Two will suffice. The conception of property and marriage are two of the fundamental ideas on which society is based. Have they remained the same since the foundation of Christianity?

Only recently a love-affair which received world-wide newspaper publicity and in which royalties were involved, showed how fundamental the change has been in the ideas of many men and women regarding sexual propriety. In Christ's morality whosoever cast an adulterous eye on another's wife was guilty of adultery and adultery was an offence against God's law. Today according to many men and also women, there can be heroism even in adulterous love. Is the change insignificant?

With regard to property, too, ideas pregnant with possibilities have cropped up. The relation between debtor and creditor is a relation based on property and also on truth. When you borrow money from another, you take it as *his* money and when you *promise* to repay it, you give him your word of truth. If later, you decline to pay, you violate the principle of property and also the principle of truth. Yet, do we not see in recent tendencies exactly a thing like this? Nations repudiate debts. Individuals also combine and through modern democratic organization and legislatures, manage to go back upon their word. By a stroke of the legislative pen, property that belonged to A, is transferred to B. Specific instances cannot be cited for obvious reasons. They will drag us into current controversies. But recent legislation regarding land-tenure and agricultural indebtedness, which is so much advertised in newspapers, obviously militate against old moral concepts of property and truth. With the help of the legislature, a man is relieved of the duty

to keep his promise. A has not to pay to B what he once promised to pay. Plighted troth is thus blighted. It brings relief to the debtor but it also relieves him of a sense of obligation which the old moral code generated. Such laws may give economic relief to some classes or communities, but they also revolutionise our moral concepts. The future potentialities of such drastic change, no one has cared to foresee. Does right remain right for the same old reason, if the same thing is not right as before?

Shall we philosophers continue to spin out theories as to why a thing is right and never care to ascertain *what* is right? While mankind goes on discussing whether suffering a wrong is a greater virtue than inflicting one, shall we philosophers maintain a complacent calm in the belief that whatever may be a virtue, it is a virtue for the same reason? Should we not give a lead and determine the code of virtue for mankind? I am not talking of casuistry but am talking of a real problem—a vital and practical question of the day. The cobwebs of speculation will be useless if they fail altogether to give a lead to the enquiring soul in actual life.

They talk of progressive morality, but would not wait to determine the line of progress. Progress is not time-flow: the present is not necessarily more progressive than the past and future than the present. The pendulum may swing both backward and forward. Every change is not necessarily a change for the better.

Instead of waiting for changes to crystallise, the philosopher ought to be able to say what in any given situation is right. Kant's "good will" has often been criticised as devoid of content and an empty formalism. But does the moral philosopher offer anything better if he is not prepared to give a lead to mankind in its struggle to find out what is right in the concrete?

Civilisation today is at the crossways. Human society all over the world is passing through rapid and radical metamorphosis. Old ideas are yielding place to new. Old institutions are being thrown into the melting pot. Social and political structure is being dissolved in the hope of finding a better in lieu of it. At this juncture of man's history, should not the moral philosopher point his finger to the correct path to be followed!

There is another and more important direction in which the moral philosopher should cast his glance. We know well enough that virtue—or what the moral philosopher asks us to take as virtue—is not always rewarded. But unrequited virtue like unrequited love is a desperate thing. Moral philosophers of old

therefore fell back upon religion and invoked the belief in a future life and a God. Virtue will be rewarded and there is God to guarantee it, and if the reward does not come here and in this life, it will come hereafter. To put it like this would make morality hypothetical. It is just possible that a man may not *want* future reward, for him virtue will have little inducement. Virtue, therefore, was proclaimed to be its own reward. Unless we consent to be put off with rhetoric, we must admit that virtue is not a spring of action. The virtuous man—the just man—therefore, must have a price for being just.

As opposed to scientific world-view, the moralist thinks that the universe on the stage of which the moral actor moves, is not an ephemeral show and that morality is not an empty and meaningless endeavour. It has a reality and a permanence. It is not confined to the span of a single life—three score years and ten—but extends beyond the grave. The struggling soul is immortal and its endeavour to become better and better will be continued beyond this life; and the universe in which here and now as well as hereafter and in future, it will pursue its ideal, is itself subject to a moral government and was intended to foster morality.

All this is fine sentiment—may even be fine poetry. But each one of the propositions here adumbrated can be and has been challenged. Even if they were all true and demonstrable beyond doubt, can the lure of future glory be always and for all men be enough compensation for the shortcomings of the present? Does suffering humanity today submit to its lot in the hope that it will have a blessed future? Does poverty feel elevated at the prospect of seeing heaven? Does wealth feel cowed down with the fear of encountering difficulties in entering heaven?

That the hope of a better future is and has been to many of us a solace in our distress, is not denied. But it is after all a question of balancing our account. Present enjoyment and future deprivation against present privations and future joy. Unless the future is enormously better than the present, any practical-minded man will say "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Besides, why should the reward of virtue be deferred? Why may it not have the sweets of this life? Why must it go unrewarded here? Or, to put the same question in another way: why must present life and social organization be such that the virtuous man can have no scope in it?

In Plato's ideal state, the philosopher who is also the moral philosopher—for he has his

gaze fixed upon the eternal good—is to be the king. For the good of the state this must be so. Else a state would never attain the ideal condition. Of course, a state may damn itself and refuse to be an ideal one and continue to be ruled by unphilosophic rulers. If it ever chooses to become an ideal state, it must place itself under a philosopher's guidance.

But why should the philosopher be a philosopher at all? The usual answer is because philosophy and also virtue—is its own reward: because of the mental calm that philosophy ensures; and so on.

But as between these two, the moral philosopher has to face another question, *viz.*, how to place the virtuous men at the helm of affairs? How to secure that only good men get up to position of trust and responsibility in society? Surely this is a more vital question than merely defining the meaning of goodness.

In all civilized countries, recruitment to public services is regulated by certain principles. There are tests everywhere: though they are not the same. Yet after all they are always tests of intelligence and not of character. We have devised intelligence-tests, but have we any system of character-tests? In politics, the conflict between mere goodness and worldly greatness is rampant. A mere good man has little chance there.

In modern life, money yields tremendous advantages. And it is an uncanny truth that the God of money prefers soiled hands to hands unsoiled. Honesty is not always even the best policy. In trade and commerce and in the profession, a type of honesty undoubtedly prevails. To a large extent, that type of honesty is the best *policy*. But in the first place, it is only a *policy* and secondly, even this it always is not. In the third place, it is commercial or professional honesty—not honesty in itself—not general honesty.

In the struggle for existence, which undoubtedly there is, and which is daily being accentuated by the forces of civilization, the typically good man—the scrupulous, the honest and strictly virtuous man—the conscientious, considerate and selfless man—is always at a disadvantage. It is always well-nigh impossible to lead him to the top. It is difficult to bring success to him. In politics this is perilously true; and it is not untrue in other walks of life. Even in intellectual pursuits there are such things as plagiarism, which when it succeeds, means the triumph of dishonesty. The triumph of what is other than moral is not infrequent. And what is worse, life is so conditioned today, that pure and straightforward morality always

finds it difficult to maintain itself. Is it any consolation to the moral man to be told that there is a future for him?

Society puts a premium on intellectual superiority. A University graduate has certain advantages which a non-graduate does not enjoy. This is the reason why a man strains his every nerve to become a graduate. Do we detect a similar straining of nerves for the attainment of virtue? Does society provide sufficient incentive for such straining of nerves?

Money means manifest advantages in society. By hook or by crook, men are bent on acquiring money. Have we ever seen a similar general effort for the acquisition of virtue? Of course, virtue is not an external thing like money and cannot be possessed independently of our activities. But do men always place it above other considerations in their activities, say, the pursuit of wealth and power? Is virtuous activity the means by which things desired in life may be acquired? Are they not rather acquired by means other than virtuous? This is the crux of the question.

The moralists' dilemma, therefore, is either to have the machinery of society so adjusted that none but the virtuous can attain to position of trust and responsibility or to frankly declare that virtue is not virtue. It is an unholy thing to have one code of morality to be taught in schools and another code followed in life!

But can we really say that virtue is not virtue? Emphatically no. The alternative open to us, therefore, is to bend all our energies to the reconstruction of society. No one has ever said that the existing social machinery is anywhere perfect. Efforts, more or less systematic, have always been made for the betterment of social organization. But the mere philosopher has oftener than not been only an onlooker. The day has come when there should be a closer bond between Ethics and Social Philosophy and when the moral philosopher should actively lead in all efforts of social amelioration.

The talk of social reconstruction is in the air. We talk of the uplift of the masses. If we are honest, we certainly do not mean to use the muscle-power of the masses for giving effect to the brain-waves of the select few. If we are honest in this, we mean to place power in the hands of the many—or to borrow an expression from Plato without subscribing to Plato's feeling of contempt about it—to place power in the hands of the multitudes. The domination of the weak by the strong—the exploitation of the poor by the rich, must become, if our new scheme succeeds, a thing of the past.

But the moral philosopher must remind the

world which is now agog with enthusiasm about social reconstruction and economic planning, that the rich as such are not vicious and the poor as such are not virtuous: the few are not necessarily wicked and the many—simply because they are the majority—are not necessarily righteous. If we have had oppression of the poor and the many and the masses by the rich, the few and the classes, it is equally possible to have the reverse process, *viz.*, oppression of the few by the many. Surely one kind of oppression and exploitation replaced by another doth not make an ideal society. What is necessary is to do away with all oppression and exploitation, all abuse of power, and to establish the reign of justice—to establish the kingdom of heaven on earth, or to have, in Kant's language, the kingdom of ends realized.

This cannot be done if power simply changes hands. It can be done only if you can make virtue and righteousness triumph not in the class-room only—not in theory—but in every walk of life, in the professions, in public life, in politics and in the Government of the countries. Perhaps we are thinking of the old Platonic conception of the philosopher-king. But we do not emphasise the mere meditation on the idea of the good, but actual pursuit of it in life.

In physics they have denied absolute motion. In Ethics similarly it seems that we must deny absolute right and absolute wrong. The theory of relativity has pervaded every realm of our thought. And neither in religion nor ethics can we allow that the elders have thought out our thoughts and that our problems have been solved for us—that once for all the code of life has been determined for us; and all that we have to do is to live up to it and according to it. On the contrary, each age must have its own problem to face and must face them boldly and squarely. Each age and each of us must think its and his own thought. We must determine what is right for us in material, mental and spiritual life and live accordingly. A religion or a morality that considers itself as eternal and universal, is, *ipso facto*, dead and unworkable. And the task of the moral philosopher is not to recapitulate old, worn-out truths but to teach mankind what is just, proper and righteous to do in the prevailing condition of life.

Any social reconstruction in order to be stable must devise a machinery to select the good in preference to the wicked for positions of trust and responsibility. Can such a machinery be devised? Well, that is just the question that moralists in the class-room as well as in world-

politics, in the relations between individuals as well as in international affairs, have to tackle. It is often claimed that British public life is purer than that in many other countries. And this is said to be due to the enlightenment, the honesty and the sanity of British public opinion. That a healthy public opinion is a steadying force in public life is an apparent truth. And if society as a whole is to reap the fullest advantage of the moral code, it seems that the only immediate and practical means is to have a healthy and honest public opinion. Cannot philosophy create it?

Religion is having either no importance or an excessive importance in the societies of today. It should have its proper place. And morality as the code of life must not be merely a class-room affair. It must actually regulate life. How can it do this unless the good and the just have their rightful place in society? And this can hardly be effected by any cut and dry machinery that we can readily think of—any scheme or devise, except perhaps by the proper education of public opinion, and the fostering of a genuine belief in the truth of moral differences. The education of public opinion is the most important practical work that the moral philosopher can perform.

In Plato's simile "the present governors of mankind" may justly be compared to the mutinous sailors in a ship who have thrown away the true pilot as a good-for-nothing star-gazer and have taken the piloting of the ship in their own hands. And the philosopher is "like one who, in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along, retires under the shelter of a wall; and seeing the rest of mankind full of wickedness, he is content, if only he can live his own life and be pure from evil and unrighteousness, and depart in peace and goodwill, with bright hopes."

But it seems that this aloofness is no longer pardonable. "Far from the madding crowds' ignoble strife" there is an amiable peace and

tranquillity. Yet the state offers a fuller opportunity of self-realization which even a philosopher cannot ignore. "The ruler" to quote Plato again, "who is good for anything, ought not to beg his subjects to be ruled by him." Yet the state must be so shaped that it feels the need of the philosopher-king.

The affairs of the world are seldom guided according to the highest moral principles. Whether at Brussels or at Geneva, whether at Shanghai-Nanking or Addis Ababa, whether in the League of Nations or in the Provincial Councils, it is interests rather than principles of justice that determine peoples' conduct. It is the mailed fist rather than the olive branch that commands respect.

But the clouds that darken the horizon have one silver lining. In the welter of turmoil, dissension and distrust into which the world has been thrown today, in the midst of national, racial, religious and communal strife that disfigures human society today, a lofty moral philosophy has come into existence. In M. K. Gandhi, the saint of Sabarmati, we have the embodiment of a philosophy of non-violence which though too lofty for many of us to pursue, is yet the highest political philosophy that the world has yet known: and which, if ever translated into practice, will make easier the work of social and political reconstruction which changing times will always demand. The political and legislative endeavours of mankind towards nation-building and reform, will acquire a new and hitherto unexperienced illumination, once the nations of the world can be drilled into the acceptance of this creed of non-violence. Whether we think of nations or of individuals, the only cure for the ills which beset the world today is perhaps Kant's good-will coupled with Gandhi's principle of non-violence. Thus alone can the Kingdom of Heaven be realized on earth.



CONGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

By S. RAMASWAMI IYER, M.A.

SINCE the assumption of office by the Congress in some of the Provinces, the cry is frequently raised by its critics that democracy is in danger, that parliamentary institutions in the country are on the verge of collapse. In the course of this article, a brief attempt is made to examine the force of this criticism, under three headings: 1. What is democracy? 2. How far is it obtained in India? 3. How has Congress work affected Indian political conditions?

What is democracy? The question has been agitating political thinkers almost from the dawn of the political and social conditions the word endeavours to signify. As President Wilson says, it is impossible to define democracy. Lord Morley remarks that

"It is the name for a certain general condition of society; not only involving the political doctrine of popular sovereignty but representing a cognate group of corresponding tendencies over the whole field of moral, social and even spiritual life within the democratic community." "Simplification of life, the sovereignty of the people and the protection of a community by itself, the career open to the talents, equality and brotherhood; the substitution of industrialism for militarism; respect for labour; such are some of the attempts that have been made to seize in a phrase the animating spirit of the profound changes through which the civilized world has for a century and more been passing not only in the imposing institutions of the external world, but in the mind and heart of the individual man."

In more concise language, it can be said that absolute legal sovereignty of the nation and the exercise of that sovereign power by the majority of the people are the indispensable features of a democracy. The first is impossible without political freedom and in strict theory a country that does not possess this elementary mark of nationhood cannot be called a state at all.

The second, the exercise of sovereign power by the people usually takes two forms; one through their elected representatives and the other through the direct method of referendum and initiative as it is obtained in Switzerland and America. With the latter, the representative system is less popular; but the ultimate difference between the two modes of expressing the popular will is only apparent: what the referendum decides in one country the general election settles in the other. Either way, the will of the majority prevails and it is the inevitable best that has been invented by

political practice. As long as differences of opinion are bound to occur on all public issues and no question can be settled to the satisfaction of all, the greatest happiness of the greatest number has to be decided by the greatest number of votes.

Democracy has also come to mean some other things as the rule of law as distinct from the rule of executive regulations; the strict subordination of the executive to the legislature to which the former should always be responsible; the independence of the judiciary and what is supposed to possess a socialist sting in it, the minimum means of existence for all those who go to form the community. Laski would add that liberty should provide every man an atmosphere wherein he can be the best of himself.

How far political conditions in India answer these requisites? The answer is obvious and simple. Most of them are absent and as for those that seem to exist they are but shadows with no life within. Is India politically free? No. Is her foreign relations and internal administration completely under the control of Indians? Again a humiliating negative. Does rule of law prevail? Does she afford freedom of speech and of person to all her sons? The ordinances and imprisonments without trial stare us in the face. Do they get two full meals a day? The majority have to be content with one and some not even one. True, we have legislatures, cabinets, foreign agents and Indians in the summits of the League of Nations. But the grim facts of our constitutional history and political relationships refuse to be submerged under such vast pretences. A country governed under an Act passed by the British Parliament enjoys no more exalted constitutional status than a municipality governed under another act of the same parliament. Theoretically, the whole of India is a huge municipality of Great Britain. A British municipality can have an elected chairman of its own; in India he is appointed by the Imperial Government, and he is in theory responsible exclusively to those who have given him his position.

As regards her internal relations, there is the well-guarded autonomy of the provinces with not even the name in the centre. In the provinces, before the Congress took up office,

minorities were ruling against the express will of the electorate. Both the fundamentals of a democratic government were missing. And as this country can excel no other except in her dire poverty, we were also having the unedifying combination of political subordination with grave economic malaise.

What has the Congress done for or against Democracy in India? By accepting office the Congress established majority rule in the seven provinces where congressmen have formed cabinets. One essential is thus achieved. And the Congress rules in such a way that the attainment of the other is always kept in view and to which all other transient issues are strictly subordinated. Measures are also being designed to improve the condition of the poor and to lessen the glaring inequities of Indian social and economic life. These are the tangible achievements of Congress, in furtherance of true democratic ideals and practices.

The argument that the Congress is paying scant regard for parliamentary forms of government demands notice. This criticism is built on the grounds that the sovereignty of the legislatures is neutralised by the Congress executive committees, that the absence of an effective opposition takes away the wholesome restraint so much necessary to curb the autocratic impulses of a single party executive and that the Treasury benches are intolerant and dictatorial in their dealings with the opposition, minorities.

First of all, we will do well to be constantly reminded of the fact that the Congress has accepted office not in deference to any political precept or constitutional dogma but as an inevitable step in their own programme which is exclusively and primarily designed to achieve political independence. They don't find democratic institutions in the country just for the reason that there is no democracy. Whatever might be the potential destructivity of the Congress, they cannot destroy things that do not exist.

The Congress is not dealing with a settled order of things. The country is in a period of transition, a transition from unparliamentary to parliamentary government; the niceties of the latter will be of use only when the change is accomplished and they will only provide obstacles if they are attempted to be employed during the process. The present enthusiasm for parliamentary institutions resembles the fondness and silliness of an aged father who quarrels with his wife over the colour of the skirt with which they will clad their son, just unaware of the fact that the lady is only four

months in labour and the issue when born can be either a son or a daughter! Perhaps a doctor's assistance may become necessary and if the delivery is not easy, a surgical operation can alone save the mother; and who knows whether the child may survive it?

We are in grips with the problem of not how to run the state but how to create it. A parliament can run the machine but it cannot create it. It is like a motor car that will run splendidly over a smooth road; but the road should be there; and the car cannot be used in constructing it. India has decided that the road should be built. The country called for tenders and several came forward; the Congress tender was accepted and the construction has already set in and the people are satisfied that the Congress can do its work well. Those who want to run their automobiles before the road is finished are spoiling their machines and delaying completion of the road. The Congress has received the sanction of the people for their programme in unequivocal terms. The idea which the Congress stands for and the methods it employs to attain them are understood and approved by the masses. It is often said that a subject nation has no politics. It is an untruth. Only a subject nation striving to shake off its subjection has politics. The issues are simple and easily grasped. Not like the gold standard or the Bank of England rate which not even the greatest financiers of the world profess to understand thoroughly.

The shifting of popular attention and interest from the halo of wealth and officialdom to the interests and aspirations of the masses is another distinctive achievement of the Congress towards democracy. Till the emergence of the Congress as an active force in Indian life the masses were a neglected factor and the problems of the nation had a snobbish hue about them. It was entirely the result of Congress labour that the masses have been roused from their lethargy and self-consciousness instilled into them with marvellous results.

These are some of the more tangible consequences of Congress work. The intangible results will be the more abiding. A glance over the history of democracy will reveal that wherever it has been ushered into existence, the path has been uniformly stormy and destructive. The devout catholic, the ardent Puritan, the philosopher and the poet, have all championed the cause of freedom and has taken up cudgels on its behalf; but neither art nor religion have been able to eschew violence or avoid bloodshed in the process. Millenniums have passed ere the world became first aware of the birth of

democracy. But every rebirth is attended with a major surgical operation and the instruments employed for this are as crude and primitive, perhaps more destructive, in the present century as they were centuries before the Lord. It is the unique and momentous achievement of Indian nationalism to forge a new weapon at once humane and staggeringly powerful, non-violence. Gandhiji's discovery and initiation of this new principle, blending religion and politics in the most harmonious way and keeping constantly in sight the essential unity of life, in all its varied activities, marks a new era in the history of democracy and a revolution in the history of political thought and practice. Passive resistance and non-violence had already been promulgated as rules of public conduct, in different ages of human evolution. But during those times, they were no more than hazy dogmas often exciting the cynical indifference of the practical politician and fighter. It was left to Gandhiji to rescue the doctrine of non-violence from its status of a discarded truism and to make it a living creed, a gregarious habit and an effective instrument for political purposes. The cost of the transition which used to be appalling on almost all previous occasions is now absolutely wiped out; and when the cause of Indian nationalism triumphs through non-violence, democracy shall have gained the most enduring and the most wonderful asset it can ever have. Democracy will then be a real

mode of living instead of a tragic and efficient mode of dying and perpetual preparation for and against death. Bernard Shaw calls democracy "stupidity armed with a gun." "Voting only changes names; revolutions are worked by shooting." The Congress will disprove both. It is striving to show that revolution can be carried through without shooting and democracy need not sustain itself on its guns. In Gandhism in which all the virtues of the Congress political creed can easily be perceived, there is much more of real democracy, real education and real religion than the world cares to understand. It also lays the most solid foundation of democracy not only for India, but for the whole of the world. Democracy cannot exist without liberty and true liberty can only be founded on true religion. William Ebor writes in *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1937 :

"If men are to enjoy liberty without imperilling order they must find some centre other than self about which to integrate their lives; and it must be the same for all men; it needs little argument to show that this can be found only in God. Faith in God is an un-failing source of liberty. The man who claims freedom to obey God rather than man cannot proceed to use his freedom in disobedience to God. And God is the father of all men and His Will is the welfare of all His children. Apart from faith in God, freedom cannot survive. Apart from faith in God, it cannot deserve to survive; the causes of freedom and of faith are one."

The Congress ideology is not far removed from the one depicted in these words.

ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA, 1937

By K. S. VAKIL

It is, indeed, gratifying to report that the subject of Adult Education received more attention during the year than it ever did before, particularly in some of the provinces in which responsibility for Government passed into the hands of popular leaders who regard provision of elementary education for the entire mass of the population as their first duty.

Provincial Departments of Public Instruction which did little or nothing for the encouragement of Adult Education are now being goaded on to make a move in this field by the new popular Ministers of Education. For instance, one of the first acts of the new Bombay Ministry was, within barely a fort-

night of its accession to power, to include in its budget for the second half of the current year a provision of Rs. 10,000 specifically for Adult Education and, soon afterwards, to get it distributed to different divisions of the Bombay Presidency and put to use for the purpose for which it was made. The plan adopted for the purpose is to encourage voluntary associations of social workers in the different linguistic divisions to establish Adult Education Centres under the supervision of the Divisional Educational Inspectors and to give them grants-in-aid. Several Adult Education Centres have already been established in that Presidency accordingly, and it is hoped that the experiment will succeed:

and will lead to further progress of the movement. In the Central Provinces, too, appreciable progress has been made. 55 Adult schools have been established by local bodies during the year, 50 in rural areas and 5 in the Nagpur Municipality. The Government has undertaken the entire cost of maintenance of the schools in *rural* areas and one-half of it in *urban* or municipal areas, and has placed them under the supervision of its inspecting officers.

In Bengal, the Minister of Education has rendered available a sum of Rs. 1000 obtained from a private source for the formation of a Central Committee in Calcutta to guide and advise the working of Adult Education Centres recently established in rural areas by the Department of Public Instruction in co-operation with the Registration Department. A non-official Bengal Adult Education Association has also been recently formed in Calcutta.

Among the Indian States, Mysore has 78 schools for adults with 1858 pupils against 74 schools with 1699 pupils last year. They are conducted by Local Education Authorities under the general supervision of the State Education Department and are reported to be doing really good work. Travancore provided Rs. 21,300 in its budget for the introduction of a State library system and established libraries and reading rooms in 60 selected State primary schools (57 Malayalam and 3 Tamil), mostly situated in rural areas, where library facilities did not formerly exist. It allotted Rs. 100 for furniture for each library and supplied 200 books to each, and has appointed the Headmaster of the Primary School as Honorary Librarian and has been paying him Rs. 3 per month as honorarium.

Among the Municipalities, Calcutta conducts 5 night schools for carters and sweepers and aids privately managed night schools to the extent of Rs. 10,000 per annum; Patna aids free libraries to the extent of Rs. 2,420 per annum; Poona maintains 1 night school and aids two others; and Karachi has 28 night schools to which it gives grants amounting nearly to Rs. 3,000. Bombay shows the greatest progress. The Bombay City Literacy Association started under the lead of Mr. K. F. Nariman is now conducting 65 Adult classes (20 Marathi, 12 Gujarati, 18 Hindi and 15 Urdu) staffed with 90 teachers and attended by about 2,000 adults. They cost over Rs. 10,000 per annum. The Secretary reports that the classes have been working satisfactorily and have led to a demand for the opening of many more, which cannot be met for want of funds. Were more funds available, it would be possible to increase the

number of classes to 100 and their attendance to 3000 within a couple of months.

The work of the Universities in the field of Adult Education consists in the organization of Extension Lectures not only at the University Centres but also at other places within their territorial jurisdiction. The one outstanding defect of these lectures, however, appears to be that they are mostly on higher subjects of University study and research, of interest to University students rather than to the ordinary adult inhabitants of urban areas. Lectures on subjects, such as "Currency and World Chaos", "The Linlithgow Commission and After", "Cultural Synthesis of India", "Great Poetry", "Mysticism in Religion", "The Future of the Tamil Language", "Kalidasha Sandesha", "Karnatak Samskriti", "Contemporary Socialist Theories", "Race Origins and Differentiation", "The System of the Universe", "Lineage of Man", are far beyond the comprehension of most of the people for whose benefit they are intended.

The Y. M. C. A., The Bombay Presidency Adult Education Association, Bombay, the Adult Education Institute, Vile Parle (Bombay suburban area), the Adult Education League, Poona, the Raiyat Shikhan Mandal, Satara, and the Central Night Schools Association, Muzaffarpur (Bihar), are all pursuing their useful activities with the same zeal as before.

Poona has recently organized a Saksharta Prasarak Mandal (Association for Spread of Literacy) and has already commenced work. It has been proceeding on the plan evolved by Prof. S. R. Bhagwat, Chief Officer of the Poona Municipality, who is known for his keen interest in the subject, with the active co-operation of well-known local educationists. It achieved success in its work at the three places at which it started it and, encouraged by this success, extended its activities to six other places and brought nearly 300 adults within its sphere of influence at the beginning of this year. Since receipt of a grant of Rs. 4,450 from the present Bombay Education Ministry in October last, it has opened six more classes. To ensure success, the Association has arranged to train teachers on its own plan and has already produced six special reading books at a cost of over Rs. 3,500 for the adults receiving instruction in its classes. It has got films prepared to assist it in its work and has purchased a motor lorry to carry on propaganda on the subject from village to village.

An "Indian Adult Education Society" has also been started at Delhi with Prof. J. B. Raja and Mr. H. B. Richardson of St. Stephen's

College, Delhi, as President and Secretary respectively, under the inspiration of Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Williams of the National Adult School Union, England, who came out to this country last winter and toured round several educational centres such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Nagpur and Bombay. Its motto is "Lighted to Lighten". Its aims and objects are :

- (1) To remove illiteracy from India,
- (2) to enable the masses of the Indian people to become better citizens in every respect, and
- (3) to promote in all possible ways the personal development of the men and women of India so that they may attain the fullness of their bodily, mental, and spiritual stature and more especially those who had not the opportunities of education in their early life.

Its methods are :

- (1) To open and conduct classes for imparting instruction in the three R's to those who are illiterate;
- (2) to start and maintain more advanced classes of instruction to meet the need of those who are literate, but who have not had the opportunities for higher studies;
- (3) to discover and inaugurate suitable courses of vocational training of direct economic value to the poverty-stricken masses, and more especially for the unemployed, and as a subsidiary occupation for agriculturalists;
- (4) to devise and introduce general cultural courses on such themes as the National Heritage, Fine Arts, Health and Sanitation, Citizenship and Co-operation;
- (5) to supplement the regular courses enumerated above by stimulating periodical discussions, discourses, demonstrations, debates, dramas, concerts, competitions, *melas* or fairs, markets, tournaments, crafts, country dances, fancy shows and exhibitions of arts, cottage industry and agricultural products; and the maintenance of reading rooms, stationery and itinerant libraries, museums; and in other kindred ways calculated to promote the aims of the Society;
- (6) to provide for all who seek instruction in the Society's institutions sound moral and religious instruction in their respective faiths, to be imparted by the best qualified persons available for the purpose;
- (7) to organize adequately equipped gymnasiums, wrestling pits and playing fields for healthy physical exercise.

It has deputed Miss Cryan who is a professor in Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, to report the work of the Association to this meeting. I am glad to welcome this measure, on the part of the Association, to establish contact with the All India Federation and discuss the subject with it.

During the current year, some interest in the subject was aroused by Dr. Frank Lauback who introduced into the Philippines a new method of teaching reading to illiterate adults. He showed at several places which he visited during his tour round this country how his method could be applied to the education of Indian illiterates, and assisted in forming local committees for preparing reading books for adults. The Gujarat Committee has already prepared and published the first book and is now planning to revise it for the second edition.

It seems to me that time is now ripe for the consideration of the question of co-ordinating all these activities and bringing them within the purview and jurisdiction of one Central All-India organization. Their integration is necessary, if a united effort is to be made in the field of Adult Education.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to acknowledge with thanks the active interest that Mr. Earnest Champness of the National Adult School Union of England has taken in our proceedings. I am glad also to note that the World Association for Adult Education has continued to evince the same sympathetic interest in our work as it did before. It published a summary of our last year's proceedings in its Bulletin, Second Series, Number IX, and in its Occasional News Sheet No. 12 for March, 1937.*

* Report as Secretary to the Adult Education Section of the All India Education Conference, Calcutta, on December 28, 1937.



THE PROGRESS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN THE MYSORE STATE

By G. RUDRAPPA, M.A. (Oxon.), BAR-AT-LAW

THE problem of improving the moral, material and intellectual conditions of the agriculturists living in rural areas in India and the urgent need of action in the matter, have engaged the earnest attention of enlightened and patriotic citizens of India for over one quarter of a century. The appointment of the Royal Commission on agriculture and the report that has been published as a result of their labours served as an eye-opener to town and city dwellers earning their livelihood by trade and other occupations. The report is an impressive and monumental document and will serve as a valuable and authoritative reference book for a long time to come for all those who are really and sincerely interested in raising the average standard of life and culture of the citizens of this country. The conclusions of the Commission and their earnest and far-reaching recommendations do honour to the members of the Commission. This remarkable report gave further inspiration and strength to those who were thinking and working in the same field. Then came the Round Table Conferences with a view to giving India a democratic form of Government with federation to give unity to the country, and the need of educating the masses, so that they may know the great value of franchise and exercise it intelligently as responsible citizens of the country, was acutely felt by some awakened citizens of India.

And now that democracy has actually dawned upon India and bureaucracy is at an end and the State looks to the individual citizen for guidance in shaping the policy and destiny of this great country, the need of improving the standard of life and education of the average citizen has become all-important, and every popular government in India is earnestly trying to solve the rural problems to accelerate the progress of the country and create a favourable atmosphere and soil for the democratic plant or idea to take root and thrive and grow.

When politicians in British India are just beginning to do something in the matter, and particularly when it has become a fashion on the part of leading politicians in India to regard the native states as untouchables for associa-

tions for all-India purposes, it may not be inappropriate to say a word or two on the great progress that has been achieved by a constitutional monarch in his State with able and patriotic ministers at his service.

Perhaps it may not be unpleasant to remember that about two hundred years ago every bit of land in India was ruled by some Chief, Prince, Raja, Maharaja, Sultan, Nawab or Chakravarti or Emperor and they were constantly at war with one another. Some of these rulers were wise, good and God-fearing, and the Indian literature abounds in the inspiring accounts of such rulers. The folklore, legends and *puranas* are full of their accounts. The names of Dharmaraya, Shuka Muni, Lord Buddha, Harischandra, Nala, Chandragupta, Asoka and Akbar readily occur to my mind and most of them were not only kings but were also profound scholars and philosophers and saintly in their character, and their names are still remembered and honoured in this country, so much so, that India knew only one form of Government, and that was Monarchy, and the Indian still retains this traditional love and loyalty for his King, just as the English love their King in spite of a democratic form of Government. I also venture to say that some Indian States are very much ahead of British India in the progress they have made, and that is because the States have full sovereign powers and the interests of the ruler and the ruled are identical.

It is needless for me to mention that about three decades ago little interest was taken by a town or city dweller in the rustic or cultivator of land. It appeared quite natural that the cultivator of land was illiterate, ill-clad and ill-housed and lived in the midst of filth and insanitary conditions. The villages attracted the attention of the public and the governments only when rains failed and famines prevailed or floods occurred or epidemics broke out. And so in 1914, it occurred to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and his then prime-minister who was no other than Sir M. Visveswaraiah, that something should be seriously attempted to change this apathetic attitude on the part of Government officers and the public towards these un-

fortunate subjects of the State who form 90 per cent of the total population of the State, to improve the moral, material and intellectual conditions of the agriculturists, and the Village Improvement Scheme was introduced by an administrative order. A determined and dynamic campaign was launched to improve the sanitation, health and happiness of the rural population. Village improvement committees were formed throughout the State for each village or a combination of villages with the heads of the villages as chairmen, to attend to sanitation and other immediate wants and requirements of the village. The Government generously contributed one-half of the cost of works of public utility such as draw-wells for drinking purposes, village halls, chavadis, cattle-pounds and school-buildings, forming approach roads to villages, and erecting gate-pillars and sign-boards to indicate on the road-side the location of the villages. The villagers were also asked to devote one day in a week for communal labour, *viz.*, for removing prickly-pear, lantana and other rank vegetation and filling up insanitary pits with stagnant water, constructing drains and culverts and repairing school-buildings, temples and chavadis and planting avenue trees, etc.

Very satisfactory work was turned out by these village improvement committees. Thousands and thousands of draw-wells were sunk to provide pure, fresh and sweet water (God's or nature's wine), for drinking purposes and miles and miles of village roads were constructed by communal labour in addition to school-buildings, ornamental gate-pillars and name-boards, culverts and drains. The work of the village improvement committees under the supervision of the revenue officers continued to be satisfactory and H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and his prime-minister Sir Mirza Ismail thought that the time had arrived to give each village a statutory basis and a constitution and the village panchayats took the place of the village improvement committees under the Village Panchayat Act of 1926.

The Panchayat Act has conferred full local self-government on the villages. The members of the panchayats are elected once in three years and many of them have elected their own chairmen. They have power to levy taxes and spend the income for necessary social services *viz.*, sanitation, health and education and works of public utility. They have also power to levy optional taxes for increasing the amenities of life such as getting electric power for lighting the streets and also for industrial and agricultural purposes.

The village panchayats are holding meetings fairly regularly, framing their annual budgets and attending to the ordinary social services and collecting taxes also although their collecting work cannot be said to be satisfactory. Special officers are being appointed for collection work wherever it is not satisfactory and also subordinates of the engineering department for the execution of works of public utility to make use of the large balance at their disposal, including the annual government grants.

For the purpose of giving the public and the world at large an accurate impression of the work that these panchayats have done and are doing in this State so far, I cannot do better than quoting the concluding remarks of the Revenue Commissioner of Mysore who is the chief controlling authority in the matter in his annual report for 1935-36 :

"It is a little over nine years since the village panchayats scheme was brought into force. The number of village panchayats have steadily increased from 7,996 village panchayats on 1st July, 1927 to 11,255 village panchayats inclusive of hamlets at the end of 1935-36. The total income of these panchayats during this period was nearly Rs. 89,21,100 while the aggregate expenditure incurred by them was Rs. 67,31,500. It may be interesting to note that during this period nearly 4½ lakhs of rupees have been spent on conservancy and sanitation, Rs. 9,36,400 inclusive of government and other contributions on water supply and maintenance charges, and Rs. 29,21,500 on improvement works. Much remains to be done . . . etc."

It would therefore appear according to this authentic document, that there are 11,255 miniature parliaments working in rural areas with a democratic form of government. The report speaks of things only from 1927, and I want the public to take into consideration the work done and the amount spent for village improvement from 1914 to 1927, to form a correct idea of what the State has done so far. This account of the village improvement progress will not be complete if particular mention is not made of other important activities of the village panchayats.

The panchayats in addition to attending to social services are also in charge of all local village institutions. They are managing village forests and tanks and *musafir khanas*. They are also enjoying additional postal facilities by employing runners on a small pay, wherever a locked-bag system has been introduced. Most of the village panchayats have opened reading rooms and libraries and are also subscribing for newspapers and magazines, and libraries and reading rooms are increasing from year to year in the rural areas.

MEDICAL RELIEF

The village panchayats have also shown that they are not unmindful of affording medical relief. They are distributing quinine pills freely to the villagers wherever malaria prevails. A large number of village panchayats is contributing their quota towards the maintenance of Ayurvedic and Unani Vaidyashalas and District Board dispensaries. Some villages have also arranged for weekly visits of the local medical officers to their villages and what is more interesting and gratifying is that the village panchayats are evincing great interest in maternity and child welfare. Maternity wards and maternity homes have been opened in villages with the assistance of the District Boards and the Mysore branch of the Indian Red Cross Society. A large number of them have sprung up throughout the State. A few philanthropic gentlemen have also given handsome donations for the construction of maternity homes and dispensaries in different parts of the State. Milk centres have also been started in different places for the supply of pure milk to the children of the poor. 150 village panchayats held baby shows, and gave prizes to parents whose children were found to be healthy.

PLANNED VILLAGE EXTENSIONS

Attention is also being paid by the village panchayats to the laying out of village extensions on a definite sanitary plan, and tiled roofs are taking the place of thatched roofs. For some years past the electrification of villages has been going on, and a large number of villages are using electric power for lighting the streets and houses and also for industrial and agricultural purposes. It would also appear that many villages have taken kindly to the scout movement and that scouting has been introduced into 40 villages in the State. It may be a pleasant surprise to some that the village panchayats have been evincing a very great interest in the humanitarian activities of the Mysore Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society. They are contributing a substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 and odd to the local branch which has made it possible for the society to further extend its humanitarian activities.

I have so far endeavoured to give a general idea of the important activities of the village panchayats. It only remains for me to say a few words on what the State has done and is doing to reduce illiteracy among the agriculturists and improve their material and economic conditions.

THE SPREAD OF PRIMARY AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

The problem of educating the masses and giving them a political training has become more important than the problem of providing bread for eating, since the advent of the democratic era in India, by the inauguration of autonomous and self-governing States on a democratic basis in India. This State is fully alive to this great need of educating the masses and rapidly extending primary education in the State, so that literacy may spread among the agricultural classes. The number of primary schools is increasing from year to year. As most of the school board authorities have expressed their inability to rapidly increase these institutions for want of funds, the Government have been encouraging voluntary efforts in starting private schools by converting them into aided institutions by sanctioning special grants for this purpose. Owing to this additional help and encouragement, the number of primary schools for boys in the State has risen from 5,735 to 5,783 and the number of girl schools to 503 within a course of one year. In addition to this, attention is also being paid to start adult schools on a large scale. There are at present 74 adult schools under State control. Some private individuals have opened adult schools both for men and women. This is a very encouraging feature. Some hold night classes and others afternoon classes. There are also 497 indigenous village schools serving 15,243 pupils.

The Government are maintaining 18 practical instruction classes in agriculture and 4 practical instruction classes in sericulture. In addition to this there are 80 practical instruction classes attached to middle schools and high schools to give a vocational turn to the education of boys in these schools and it is reported that all these are doing very useful work.

IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

The traditional and conservative habits of the agriculturists and their fatalistic outlook and contentment with things as they are and happen, is being gradually changed by the efforts of the agricultural department for some years. The agriculturists are now realizing the advantages of using scientific agricultural implements and ploughs, better seeds and manures to increase the output of their agricultural produce and its quantity; the result is that many village panchayats are purchasing more improved implements for the use of the villagers

and are also maintaining agricultural depots in many rural areas, and what is more gratifying, they have also realized the need of improving their cattle which is one of the major factors of their agricultural wealth. They have come to realize that mother cow and father bull should be beautiful and majestic in look to get more milk, and strong working animals to draw their carts to the market with their produce, and plough their lands. They are therefore listening to scientific advice and are not objecting to inoculations when cattle diseases break out, to the castration of the inferior variety of bulls and are purchasing superior pedigree bulls on a large scale. Most of the village panchayats are purchasing such bulls for common use in the village at concessional rates. Can it be a matter of wonder, if with better implements, better seeds, and better cattle, the agricultural prosperity of the country should increase!

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS AND HOME INDUSTRIES

Again in order to provide the agriculturists with some subsidiary occupations when there is little to do on the land for many months, home industries are being introduced on a large scale. It is a well-known fact that the Government in Mysore has given the greatest encouragement to the honest work of spinning, weaving and khadi work. Khadi cloth is used by all Government servants to whom cloth is to be supplied annually by the Government. What this means to the poor, although it means no more than four annas a day, can be easily imagined.

Framed looms are also brought into use by demonstration work by the Department of Industries and Commerce. Soap-making for which Mysore is so famous is also taught to these villagers so that they may earn a few pies or annas more a day. Bee-hiving industry and poultry farming are also taught to the agriculturists by the agricultural department and many other useful arts and crafts to spend their leisure hour profitably.

These are some of the normal activities of the State in the welfare of the agricultural population. I may also say that the Government of Mysore are earnestly trying to tackle the problem of agricultural indebtedness by

means of debt conciliation boards on a voluntary basis with the help of co-operative societies and land mortgage banks, and the Government have also appointed marketing officers to help the agriculturists in selling their produce in the best markets without middlemen who consume nearly half the value of their produce.

Not contented with this and the progress made the Government have recently sanctioned the following schemes with a view to achieving greater immediate results :

(1) The authorities of the National Council of Y. M. C. A. are in charge of the rural reconstruction centre at Doddaballapur for which a recurring grant of Rs. 4,000 per annum has been sanctioned by Government for a period of 5 years in their order dated the 21st of September, 1934. It would appear that eight members of select panchayats in Doddaballapur taluk were given training at the centre during the official year 1935-36.

(2) The Government in their order dated the 9th May, 1936, have sanctioned a scheme of concentrated propaganda for rural welfare in 189 selected villages in the different districts of the State in order to give a further push or impetus to the work of rural reconstruction, and the half-yearly report of the work done under this scheme is very interesting and raises great hopes of rapid results.

(3) In pursuance of Government order dated the 1st of July, 1935, a rural health training centre was established at Closepet in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation to serve as a model unit of efficient rural health service and as a training centre for the personnel of the Health Department, and the Centre began work in 135 villages.

The Government also established a rural welfare centre at Closepet, on 10th July, 1937, to work side by side with health work. The work done by these special institutions is very interesting and worth reading.

It will thus be seen that the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore are paying very special attention to the work of rural reconstruction or regeneration of the people in accordance with progressive modern ideas.

If in a short newspaper article, I have been able to bring out the salient features of the immense work done since 1914, which seems to be of a pioneering nature from a comparative point of view, my labour of love will not be in vain, and by this work alone Mysore may perhaps vie with other modern progressive States apart from phenomenal developments in other directions which the politicians of British India have generously and unhesitatingly recognized and commended.



SOCIAL ILLITERACY

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Visva-bharati

As the title of this essay might lead to misunderstandings, we want, in a few preliminary remarks, to make the aim of our study clear. Commonly the word "illiteracy" is used in a somewhat narrow sense; in official statistics, reports and public speeches, it indicates the inability of a person over six years of age to read and to write. The social data provided by statistics and reports are altogether of a too general kind; the economic and cultural background are not sufficiently taken into consideration. Illiteracy being one social phenomenon amongst many others, it should be studied in connection with its original and natural surroundings, namely, the life of a social group. Illiteracy considered from a social viewpoint, becomes something quite different. It no longer indicates the inability of a person to read or to write, but it provides us with the necessary data as to the means of intellectual communication between the adult members of a society, primitive or civilized. It, furthermore, indicates the evolution of illiteracy from the pre-literate stage of a primitive tribe to the highly developed literate stage of an urban civilization. These two stages of illiteracy should be carefully distinguished: we may call the one, the illiteracy of the uneducated, which is to be found in all primitive and as yet undeveloped social groups, such as in India; and the other, the illiteracy of the educated, which nowadays is to be found in all "civilized" countries in the West as well as especially in America. Both are in the proper sense of the term social phenomena; in order to interpret them, one has to go back to the social, economic, and general cultural structure of the social group in question. This essay therefore, aims at an interpretation of the data provided by a study of illiteracy in the framework of a general sociological survey, and the question we want to solve here is, how those data can be used for further investigations.

We have found the clearest formula for the use of illiteracy statistics in a publication of the United States Bureau of Education, a formula that emphasizes all the social and cultural implications of the illiteracy problem; we quote it by way of introduction as it represents a viewpoint which we have taken up ourselves throughout our whole study:

"Illiteracy statistics form one of the several indices used in the science of demography to measure roughly the degree of a people's culture. They indicate to a considerable extent the effectiveness of its school system, the pride which the race in question takes in its language and literature, and its determination to open to all its citizenry the medium of written communication. They reflect the national attitude towards the education of women, indigenous peoples, and minority groups; the enforcement of compulsory educational laws; and the general progress of educational policies. They are of use to the administrator in formulating policies of government. They are in a definite sense an indication of country's financial and economic status. They are a valuable supplement to the more detailed and more frequently gathered statistics of education published annually or biennially by most countries." (James F. Abel and Norman J. Bond: *Illiteracy in the several countries of the world*. United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bull., 1929, No. 4.)

These remarks can, of course, be applied both to the illiteracy of the uneducated and the educated. The latter is a new form of illiteracy unknown to the pre-literate tribal stage of society; it is, in fact, to be found only in highly developed civilizations, and only after the war it has been recognized as a new form of social isolation in Western countries as well as in the United States. A child before reaching school-age can be called "illiterate" in the West as well as in India; after leaving school, children in India frequently fall back into their former primitive state of illiteracy, because the opportunity given to them to read and to write is very negligible indeed; from a sociological point of view that means that there is no actual need for inter-societal communication and that in a primitive stage of society people are very well contented with an oral transmission of news as well as of "literature". A child in one of the Western countries or in America has first of all to go through a most complicated and involved educational machine with its standardized curriculum, and after leaving school, although it usually does not forget how to read and write, it does not find any serious connection between the actual life of society and the subjects taught at school: its ability to read and to write is not used in inter-societal communication (except for writers, journalists, politicians, etc.), but, in the average case, for the acquisition of wealth; at the same time this ability makes the child or the

young adult undergo all sorts of influences emanating from all these social phenomena with which a normal adult in Western civilization comes in daily contact, such as all reading and writing matter, general cultural interests, social and religious activities, and the way of getting a living. A normal adult in that type of society will accept indiscriminately those influences from outside. He will no longer find any relation between them and his former school life, and this experience which every normal adult has to undergo nowadays will bring about a new kind of "illiteracy", one which is more complex than the mere inability to read and write, but which is altogether more dangerous; for, after opening the child's mind in an elaborate educational process, the social group is incapable of providing the right kind of intellectual material for the child's further development; and material of the wrong and indiscriminate kind inevitably leads to a "higher" form of illiteracy, which may be called the illiteracy of the educated. It is, as we have said before, a new form of passive isolation in a civilized and industrialized society. We shall presently give instances of this kind of intellectual isolation. It needs, however, hardly mentioning that there are no statistics available for this form of illiteracy; only sociological surveys on a much broader basis can help us; whenever they have been used here, they will be mentioned in the course of this essay.

It should be clear by now that the ultimate aim of this essay is to present the evolution from the illiteracy of the uneducated to the illiteracy of the educated as seen from the standpoint of a sociologist. As both are to be found side by side in the present state of civilization, and the East (with the exception of Japan) on the one hand, and America on the other, represent the two alternatives in a most illuminating manner, and as the two are separated by several centuries of "progress" in the West, this study is of actual as well as of historical interest. Statistics and meaningless numbers will be avoided as far as possible; no "scientific" investigation has been attempted here; from the few suggestions found in the following paragraphs, the reader will have to draw his own conclusions.

It has been said that illiteracy both "primitive" and "evolved" is a form of isolation. Our first aim therefore will be to consider the "primitive" isolation of an adult illiterate together with its social implications. Written symbols are unintelligible to him; therefore he must limit his social intercourse to his immediate social group and many stimuli will pass unnoticed. Contemporary civilization depends to a large extent on written symbols; therefore the

illiterate adult will be handicapped in his reactions to stimuli; and, furthermore, only a limited number of stimuli, namely, those independent of written symbols, will be conveyed to him. These few remarks indicate that primitive illiteracy, above all, belongs to those phenomena of human existence which by common consent are called "societal". In an American study on illiteracy we have found the relationship established between illiteracy as a societal phenomenon and other elements of social life such as race, nationality, school system, birth-rate, infant mortality, early age of marriage, size of family, mobility, suicide, and urbanization. (Sanford Winston: *Illiteracy in the United States*, Chapel Hill, 1930). Although these elements were quantitatively determined, we shall be contented here with the conclusions drawn from the very complex material. And if we keep in mind that all the conclusions are intimately connected with the sociological fact of individual isolation a great deal of what we shall have to say on the illiteracy of the educated will become clear.

In order to show the relationship between "primitive" illiteracy, economic status, and educational facilities, two examples will be given here both taken from Mr. Winston's book. One is at present of very great importance in most civilized countries, a problem with which all the various forms of government have to struggle, and which is, for obvious reasons, unknown in the "uncivilized" East: the steady fall of the birth-rate. Here Sanford Winston comes to the following illuminating conclusion:

"To sum up briefly, one may say, then, that not only were low birth-rates found to be related to higher economic status, and to a high percentage of urbanization, but also to low illiteracy rates. Moreover, since urbanization and economic status were thought to be factors that disturbed the truer relationship of birth-rate and illiteracy, these two affecting factors were mathematically controlled. When this was done, a significant relationship between illiteracy and birth-rate was still found to exist. It would appear then, that illiterate women tend to bear more children. To what degree this is due to lack of knowledge of birth-control in its various forms, to what degree it is due to lack of other sources of interest, is a separate study in itself. . . . If this relationship is true then, with the gradual decrease of illiteracy and conversely, with the gradual increase in the educational status of women, it would appear that we have here an important factor in explaining the decreasing birth-rate in the United States." (*op. cit.*, p. 92.)

This conclusion refers to a social phenomenon of a rather collective kind. For our own study it indicates that there is an increase in birth-rate to be found in a social group where the illiteracy of the uneducated prevails and that the reverse is true for a "civilized" country with preponderate illiteracy of the educated.

Another phenomenon which concerns the individual rather than a collective body is mentioned in Mr. Winston's book: the relationship of suicide-rates, economic status, educational facilities, and illiteracy; although this problem is still of minor importance even in the West, it draws, however, our attention to the fact that illiteracy as such, individual isolation, and lack of inter-societal communication, does not necessarily lead to mental deficiency. Indeed, we read there that

The illiterate as compared with persons of higher educational status, do not commit suicide to an important degree. When the regression equations are utilized, the suicide rate may be predicted as rising as educational status rises. To what degree this is due to the increased complexity of stimuli which confront the person of higher educational status is an important study in itself." (*op. cit.*, p. 131.)

These two instances may appear ambiguous. It seems, in fact, as though "primitive" illiteracy were a kind of *retour à la nature*, a simple and harmless form of ignorance, or a refined Rousseauism. That this is not the case, could be easily proved by the fact of economic exploitation of the illiterate by the educated. On the other hand, however, society itself, or at least a large number of its adult and educated members, considers illiteracy as something utterly despicable, a disease in the cultural life of a nation. How can these two points of view be reconciled? Why does society at present attack illiteracy, although it seems fairly clear that illiteracy as such and especially considered from a social viewpoint is quite harmless to society and even to a certain extent "profitable"? Is it pure humanitarianism and philanthropy? What social motives lie behind the word "progress" which wants to utilize literacy in the service of a social group? Why should the mind of the millions and millions of illiterates be opened to new stimuli, and if so, who will be responsible for those stimuli, who will set up standards for the right choice of stimuli?

The answer to this most important question is to be found in the history of literacy itself. The cultural stage of social groups in Europe, which by common consent is called "literate," has been reached there only in the course of the last hundred years or so. Literacy was considered throughout the European Antiquity, Middle Ages, and to a certain extent the modern times as well, a social "luxury," a privilege of the leisured class; all those who did not earn their living by manual work and who were by their social status, caste, or intelligence above the crowd were entitled to a free remuneration for their services rendered to the cultural life of a social group; to this minority belonged the

clergy, teachers, writers, philosophers. So, for instance, in the great cultural centres of antiquity, Athens and Alexandria, a high percentage of illiteracy prevailed, and in the rural areas the mechanism of oral transmission was still in force. The cultural characteristics of the pre-literate tribal stage are to be found all over Europe right through the Middle Ages. The apparent efforts of Charlemagne in 789 to extend literacy to the masses only signify unsuccessful attempts to exterminate illiteracy among the clergy. A strong movement against illiteracy is to be found in 19th century Europe, especially in all those countries with a powerful and enlightened monarch. In this particular instance, abstract or philosophical interpretations are very misleading: this movement was not due to some kind of progressive "enlightenment" or to humanitarian ideas, but it was an integral part of the larger technique of nationalist revival. In the case of the Hapsburg, the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser, in Turkey and in Japan, this nationalist revival is more than obvious: the citizens became the willing tool of some ruling caste and on the other hand the range of mob behaviour was greatly widened by universal literacy. Japan's attempt to exterminate illiteracy in her own motherland is most illuminating in connection with her nationalist revival in the last 50 years. The very low illiteracy rate in Japan (0.88 per cent) does not indicate anything so far as Japan's general cultural level is concerned; for, the census figures for Japanese living abroad are much higher indeed, those in Canada are 20.4 per cent illiterate, those in U. S. A. 11 per cent. (For more details see James F. Abel and Norman J. Bond: *op. cit.*). Even if we neglect the relationship of nationalist revival and illiteracy, another more important factor must be taken into consideration. The notable extension of literacy in the last two centuries, especially amongst the middle classes, was due no doubt to the industrial and capitalist revolution, the development of foreign trade, and the awareness that good and continual information gives a good and continual economic reward. Literacy thus became a means for the acquisition of wealth. As for the "reading habit" among the middle classes in the late 18th and early 19th century, the popularity of Goethe in Germany, Byron in England, and Chateaubriand in France, it seems to be from this point of view at least altogether a negligible factor. The extensive sales of new literature at that period (especially between 1800 and 1830) do not necessarily indicate a higher level of culture; they rather represent new and more powerful

methods of "cultural" advertisements through the economic and social position of the printing press in modern society. It is at that time that literature and science began to be popularized to a great extent; whether this popularization of literacy was something good or whether it was harmful to the social group at large, we shall have to consider later on in connection with the "illiteracy of the educated". Enlightened monarchies and the desire for economic power of the individual were the two forces that literally "pushed" the masses towards literacy. A third factor should be mentioned. Governments in the early part of the last century were troubled by mob turbulence, strikes and terrorism; from 1816 onwards select committees of the House of Commons revealed a "shocking degree" of illiteracy among the lower classes in England; they were, in fact, forced to promote education so as to teach the working class "to govern and repress their passions". And it is perhaps interesting to know something more about the teachers engaged in teaching the working classes how to read and write, and who opened their minds to new and powerful stimuli; so we read in a pamphlet published in 1856 :

"In my John's (Russel) speech on this part of the question, there is a very startling statement made on the authority of Sir John Pakington—that 700 teachers did not sign their own names, but merely affixed their marks—thereby intimating their inability to write their names." (The education of the Masses, Can it be accomplished? A question addressed to the Lords and Commons of the British Parliament, London, 1856, pseud.)

All the three factors which insist on the importance of literacy, either as means for nationalist propaganda, or as a means for acquisition of wealth, or lastly as a means for the suppression of mob turbulence, do not consider literacy as an aim in itself. Only in the last 50 years we find this tendency represented in humanitarian or philanthropic movements of a more or less international kind. The key-word for all these movements is "Mass education on a democratic basis"; and here we are back to our first problem : what is the real reason of the educated members of a social group to open the minds of the illiterate to new and powerful social stimuli? The three factors which have been at work until now do not give a satisfactory answer. The humanitarian and the philanthropist, however, are quite different in their mental outlook. Here universal literacy becomes an aim in itself, and, according to them, it should be attained for unselfish and purely "ideal" reasons. It seems hardly necessary to go on quoting some of those vague and ambiguous statements which we read daily in

Indian newspapers. In the Proceedings of the first biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations held at Edinburgh in 1925 (*World Education*, edited by G. C. Pringle, vol. II, p. 639) the following disconcerting remark is to be found :

"I have been told that educating illiterates is just like letting them into an unlocked garden, but I said, to me it was more like opening prison doors and letting them out of the dungeon."

This attitude towards literacy did not undergo many changes during the last decade; illiteracy is still commonly considered to be "ignorance" and literacy "knowledge" and light and what not :

". . . the transition from illiteracy to literacy in the case of any person is not so much a transition from one level of ignorance to another, as it is a transition from one world to an altogether different world, from a world of superstition and acquiescence to a world of light and independent judgment . . ." (In a recent number of *Tribeni*, quoted in : A Scheme of Adult Literacy for Allahabad Municipality, by Babu Sangam Lala Agarwalla 1937.)

Frequently also the lack of ideals among the illiterates is emphasized. Illiterates are all those

"who have not the ideals that open the way into this education which is the interpretation of Life, the interpretation of life in terms of nature, the truth of man as a social individual, and the interpretation of Life in terms of Beauty." (*World Education*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 661).

And when the same speaker is asked whether precisely the illiterates in Germany or France plunged almost the whole of Europe and 50 per cent of America into the War, she finds a most illuminating answer, an answer, in fact, which strongly supports our own argument :

"They were spiritual illiterates, because they did not know their fellows." (p. 664.)

It is indeed a pity that this statement passed more or less unnoticed. For its deeper implications are that education as it exists at present is far from being "an interpretation of life in terms of truth, nature, and beauty," and that the transition from illiteracy to literacy is in reality "a transition from one level of ignorance to another," or in our own terminology it is a transition from the illiteracy of the uneducated to the illiteracy of the educated.

It is a common and regrettable mistake among modern and "progressive" educationalists to neglect the economic background of education; many of them do not as yet realize that there is an intimate relationship between the desire to provide education for all and the economic abilities of the social group. This economic ability stands frequently in an over-

whelming contrast to the purely "ideal" desire for education. Thus, even Governments of democratic countries are not in the least ashamed to draw the attention of its adult and educated members to this fact. The United States Bureau of Education in a publication entitled *The Deepening Crisis in Education*, gives us the following interesting educational data for the year 1933 :

100,000 more children are this year denied all educational opportunities because of closing schools, (especially in the rural areas), school terms will put at least a million other children on learning rations close to the level of mental starvation; one of every two cities has been compelled to drop some important school (especially all the classes on art, physical exercise, civics, hygiene, etc.); one of every three teachers must work this year for less than the "blanked code" minimum for unskilled labour; 200,000 certificated teachers are unemployed; 259 school districts in 29 states have been compelled to default on bonds. (Leaflet, No. 44, 1933).

We think that these disconcerting remarks are sufficient proof for the link which apparently exists between the economic ability of a social group and the education provided for its members; but there is even a deeper link between the two, one which again strengthens our argument: economists at present realize that mass-education automatically raises the economic abilities of a country; and in the same year 1933 a high American official pronounced the following statement, which, after all, no longer surprises us :

"I wonder if it isn't a fair statement that while we have indulged ourselves liberally in education, we have not done this so much for the sake of education itself or to add to the culture and graciousness of life, but because of the general belief that by educating ourselves and our children we have been making it possible to win in the race for acquisition of wealth." (Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, addressing the National Education Association at Chicago, July 6, 33; cf. *New York Times*, July 7, 1933.)

The above Leaflet and this address form a perfect vicious circle, out of which there seems to be no hopeful escape possible. As mere literacy does no longer satisfy the adult member of a social group, as on the other hand, whenever there is an economic crisis, the educational services are curtailed in the poorer states rather than in the richer ones, and as, lastly, education for the rich as well as for the poor becomes simply a means for the acquisition of wealth or for an assured social position, one has a quite natural right to ask where all this education and literacy ultimately leads to, and whether there is a genuine and sincere response to be found among the "masses", especially among the middle classes of a civilized country, such as America. A sociological survey of very great importance and interest has helped us here to

collect the necessary material. (Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd : *Middletown, A Study in American Culture*, 1929). We have found in this survey a satisfactory answer to our two questions. Of what kind is the response of the masses to literacy provided by mechanized and standardized mass-education :

"Parents insist upon more and more education as part of their children's birth-right; editors and lecturers point to education as a solution for every kind of social ill . . . Literacy, yes, they want their children to be able to 'read the newspapers, write a letter, and perform the ordinary operations of arithmetic,' but, beyond that, many of them are little interested in what the schools teach." (p. 218.)

And in the same chapter of the book we find the answer to our first question, where does the over-emphasis on education and literacy lead to?

"The city boasts of the fact that only 2.5% of its population ten years of age or older cannot read and write, and meanwhile the massed weight of advertising and professional publicity are creating . . . new forms of social illiteracy, and the invention of the motion picture is introducing the city's population, young and old, week after week, into types of vivid experience, which they come to take for granted as parts of their lives, yet have no training to handle . . ." (p. 222.)

By "social illiteracy" is obviously meant the new illiteracy of the educated. The stimuli to which an adult member of the social group has to respond, are in no connection whatsoever to the stimuli of his actual or former school life. The educational process the aim of which it was to make the transition from the primitive illiteracy of a new-born child to the literacy of an adult as easy and smooth as possible has evidently failed to fulfill its purpose. Instead of using the abstract knowledge of languages (see the preponderance of Latin in American schools), of civics, of philosophy, of science, the adult's mind, after leaving school, is in his "business" hours solely occupied with the means of acquiring wealth, and in his leisure hours either with reading newspapers (written symbols that convey to him news from his own social group as well as from other social entities—"nearly two-third of the morning paper bought by the great bulk of Middletown families is composed of advertisings") or with listening in to the wireless (a mechanized and centralized transmission of news and of cultural goods to the members of the social group) or with going to cinema (a combination of oral and ocular transmission of experiences mostly unknown to the average adult of the average community, a heightening of the artificially imaginary life divorced from the actual experience of the group itself). The reading of a newspaper, the listening in to the wireless, the visit to a picture-

house, are purely individual actions; at the time when those actions are actually performed the individual is completely isolated from his social group; although the same news and experiences are conveyed to all the members of the same community, there is no societal intercourse between the members of that group; it is an interesting fact to know that no other profession is more neglected in the common social life of Middletown's adult citizens than that of the teacher; both educationalists and teachers are "in terms of the concerns and activities that pre-occupy the keenest of the city's leaders" (p. 209) non-entities. If there is any "social" activity at all in this highly-civilized group, it takes place in the interest or the name of some political, masonic, or religious association; it serves on the one hand the monetary or "social" ambitions of the individual member of the society, or on the other hand it helps to pass one's time in an agreeable and quite pleasant manner. But the individual isolation of the adult member of the group persists all through his business and leisure hours. One may say, in fact, without much exaggeration that the individual isolation today is of a much more dangerous kind than in the pre-literate tribal stage of civilization; today the individual characteristics of oral transmission of news and cultural goods are no longer to be found either in the newspaper, or in the wireless programme, or in the cinema; the mechanization and standardization of societal intercourse robs the individual of his genuine capacity to mix freely and "innocently" with other members of the social group. His capacity to read and to write rather prevents him from doing so: it only provides him with a powerful weapon against all those members of society who are weaker and therefore unable to resist his attacks. The commonplace that "knowledge is power" cherished by all those who fight against primitive illiteracy becomes utterly absurd and essentially destructive in modern civilized society. For, if "power" means "wealth"—and that is the case in all "advanced" societies—then this commonplace should be abolished altogether. It leads, as we have tried to prove, to a new form of individual isolation harmful to

men, to an illiteracy of the educated, the dullness and intellectual misery of which seems sometimes to be much more appalling than the dullness and intellectual misery of an uneducated illiterate. And does "knowledge" in more advanced societies really mean power? Are not those social groups, that deliberately went back to the pre-literate tribal stage of society, proud of their ignorance? Do they not cultivate primitive illiteracy as a means to attack and to fight against the nearest social community by means of new scientific discoveries? "Knowledge" in such countries is only for the very few; the great bulk of the people for whom compulsory education and "mass education on a democratic basis" was introduced, should be kept in ignorance. And the paradox becomes true, namely, that "ignorance is power", the ignorance of the educated in particular, or in our terminology, the illiteracy of the educated. Clear formulas for the relationship of ignorance and power are to be found in the writings of the greatest statesmen of today as well as in newspapers:

"It is not necessary to fill the students' brain with ancient and modern learning. Learning can only be a special Swedish drill necessary for the training of the brain, and the quicker it is forgotten in its useless and superficial details the more useful it will be." (Mussolini, in a Speech in vol. V, of his *Scritti e Discorsi*.)

In the East we find the same thought expressed in a cruder and more sincere way:

"We must rid the schools of the spirit of free inquiry; . . . our schools are educating a rising generation which in the next war will form part of the army and must be closely connected with it." (In *Nikkhou*, a Japanese newspaper.)

The next generation all over the world is cheerfully marching towards ignorance. The "prison doors" of illiteracy have been opened; now the "blessings" of literacy descend upon the masses. The individual in his new social isolation encounters and has to deal with yet unknown powerful stimuli. Literacy is a burden upon him. No genuine response to social stimuli can be expected from him. He becomes suspicious, sceptical, and intellectually impotent. In his behaviour he is proud, pretentious, and self-satisfied. In his mentality he is advanced, civilized, and essentially progressive.



WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By PROF. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, Ph.D.

Visva-bharati, Santiniketan

III

THE right of women to the free choice of an occupation if it stretches to the extent of excluding motherhood (from their choice) presents features which are quite unique and as such cannot be treated by the leaders of a state (whether men or women) on the same footing as the right of the free choice of occupation of males for the simple reason that here a certain contingency may arise (e.g., if all the women or a substantial majority of them or all the educated women in a society refuse to take up the responsibilities of motherhood preferring professional careers) when the State may in the interests of its very existence have to interfere with the freedom of choice of occupation of women. I have only mentioned the refusal of responsibilities of motherhood (by women) as the only contingency in which the State may have to interfere with and modify this right of women and have intentionally excluded their choice of refusing wifehood from such a contingency because I think we ought not to yoke unwilling women to matrimony if they consider the status of a wife as derogatory and (as I hope to show in a separate paper "The future of the institution of marriage") we can do so without incurring any loss to our racial future.

Untrammelled by the responsibilities of office or state-duties I would personally (on grounds of perfect political justice) like to go to the length of even granting women the right to evade motherhood if they find solace and realize the utility of womanly existence in scientific and professional careers, because I would consider the imposition of motherhood on a woman unwilling to shoulder its burdens with eagerness and love as wasting a precious favour by thrusting it upon one unworthy of being enthroned on the sanctuary of motherhood. Not till she feels the utter futility of her existence without motherhood has a woman earned the title to motherhood and when she feels that certainly then she will not accuse men of thrusting this evil upon her. On the contrary she will be thankful to man for enabling her to realize her highest spiritual self through motherhood. Such mothers alone are assets of a race. Unwilling mothers are national liabilities. They will not

build up sweet homes; they would create obnoxious bedlams.

It will be evident from the issues raised and points discussed in the foregoing pages that there exist an inequality of ability and dissimilarity of taste (between the two sexes) brought about principally by their dissimilar sex-function placing the female sex in a permanently disadvantageous position so far as reputation-earning and career-building (through the exertion of the body and mind) are concerned. These dissimilarities of sex-functions (which puts an unequal burden on the female sex) are however not of man's making and if anybody has any grievance, complaint must be lodged not against man but against the Maker, for he is not responsible for it. On the contrary, amidst all his follies, blunders, excitements, irritations, and failings man has tried to the best of his abilities to make up for the comparatively more favourable position in which Nature happens to put him by allotting him lighter obligations in the process of the propagation of the race, by willingly taking up on his shoulders harder and more difficult jobs.

These dissimilarities have given rise to different standards of morality, education, conduct and behaviour for the two different sexes in society. To a certain extent these differences are inevitable and even where it may be found that a different standard is unnecessary it is not always men who have been responsible for perpetuating the differences. History will show that more often than not it is women who are persistent in demanding a different standard of conduct and behaviour for males and females—sometimes even from childhood. Which mother will not take care to see that a just adolescent daughter (who does not yet know the facts about the sex-life and is yet old enough to be curious about it) does not mix freely with her equally youthful boy-companions—as freely as she allows a son of that age to move about because

"the boy cannot be so abused that the consequence is life-long shame and impairment of career and destiny."¹

(1) Sumner and Keller : *Science of Society*, p. 117.

And even if in future it be possible for a really enlightened state to remove the obloquy on illegitimacy and unmarried motherhood with which these are at present stigmatised by society no government however enlightened can repair the loss that she suffers in health and attractiveness by having had to go through the ordeals of a forced motherhood at a tender age. This, we will say, is not fair, but it is neither fair that women alone should suffer the pangs of childbirth.²

For this injustice and unfairness the Maker alone is responsible and I see no possibility of removing this injustice unless He finds it convenient to repeal the first section and clause of His First Act of Creation. Speaking scientifically in other words

"the only way to make the sexes equal would be to get back along the course of evolution and interfere at the point where bi-sexuality first appeared."³

Unable or unwilling to accept these unalterable facts the leaders of women's emancipation in our country (and in other countries as well) found it convenient to hurl the whole blame on the shoulder of man by concocting, what I like to call the "myth of systematic male tyranny,"⁴ which under the spell of a false sense of courtesy or chivalry has come so dangerously near getting established as a fact by receiving indirect encouragement instead of refutation from men that when very recently women demanded seats in the Executive (Working) Committee of the Indian National Congress even the most outspoken and courageous of Congress Presidents appeared apologetic and was unable to tell them plainly (a quality with which his male friends are but too familiar) that they cannot hope to secure any seat in the Congress Cabinet unless they produce women of the cabinet calibre.

They have bullied us to such an extent to the belief that we have habitually ill-treated them that even our best journals (edited by men) try to make amends for our supposed omissions and commissions in the past by taking recourse to such acts of subtle flattery to

the fair sex as publishing the career (with a photo) of Miss So-and-so who has perhaps distinguished herself by doing no other uncommon feat than securing the B. A. degree or obtaining the title of a "nightingale" from a music club, though it is common knowledge that the (wicked?) male father of the said Miss So-and-so had left no stone unturned to provide her with all her requirements including perhaps half-a-dozen private tutors including those for *tabla* and piano.

Far be it from me to suggest that women's merit and distinguished achievements should not receive public recognition or that heroines should not be honoured. But it is up to us to make it clear to women that a heroine is one who courageously fights life's battles against heavy odds and not one who wins a Bachelorship of Arts or a nightingalehood of Bengal under such favourable conditions. Instead of that we add to their false vanity by lionising them as intellectual "Stars". It spoils an already spoilt band. It adds a fillip to bourgeois ostentation and vainglory.

I want to make it perfectly clear at this point that I should not be mistaken for a reactionary or anti-emancipationist. The very knowledge of the fact of the inequalities of the sexes, of the disadvantageous position to which women have been put by Nature makes it incumbent upon me to become a *thorough and uncompromising champion for the removal of women's disabilities (such as are removable by the efforts of man)*, and my views on that point have been very plainly stated elsewhere.⁵ *Our success or failure in that direction will determine the quality of our civilization.*

But a movement and specially a social movement to be successful must bear the stamp of honesty, sincerity, fixity of purpose and above all its leaders must be in touch with the realities of life. When in the face of the patent fact that the movement of women's emancipation owes its origin to the inspiration and initiative of men and that in almost every family a father or a brother is fighting for the greater liberty of action and freedom of a young daughter or sister in choosing her station in life as a mother or a grand-mother, women forge the myth of male tyranny, I am constrained to say they are lacking in honesty. When they pass resolutions in a Women's Conference (as they did recently in the Panjab) demanding that men should leave the management of society and the administration

(2) Sumner and Keller. *Ibid*, p. 117.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 116.

(4) It is most refreshing to note that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (the ablest and perhaps the only woman public servant who has won a place among the leaders on her own personal merits) has never given any encouragement to the spread of this myth and has always exercised her vast influence in curbing the propensity of her less experienced sisters of degrading any Women's Conference of which the guidance was left in her hands to an exhibition of hysterical vilifications of the sturdier sex which appreciates and admires her unerring instinct for justice and feminine chivalry with gratitude.

(5) Mukerji: "Some aspects of female education in India," contributed in *The U. P. Education*, May, 1936 (15-23), pp. 18 and 21.

of the country to their hands and sit at home caring for the children they betray a colossal lack of sincerity of purpose and instead of advancing their cause make themselves the laughing-stock of the whole world. When responsible women leaders publicly complain that instead of treating woman as the companion of man's leisure she is made to play in her family the role of a 'glorified cook and head servant' I am obliged to think that they are not in touch with the realities of life and this last mentioned drawback on their part is also dangerous because suffering under them women are led more easily to put all the blame for their disadvantageous position in society on the shoulders of man and lends support however innocently to the myth of male tyranny. Let me illustrate.

The best proof of lack of the sense of the realities of life is evinced by the feminist leader when she starts with the general proposition that women irrespective of the economic position of the families to which they may belong can form (for the purposes of their social and educational uplift) into a homogeneous social class and that every class of women are suffering under the same disadvantages. This is a fiction. The fact is that the wealthier the stratum occupied by a woman in society the greater the number of roles she wants to play and greater the disappointment she feels in the event of failure to play the maximum number of advantageous roles. In an admirable article⁶ Mr. Clifford Kirkpatrick has divided a married woman's roles in the family under three heads: The first is the *Wife-and-Mother role* (the traditional role of the married woman) which was the only imaginable role for a woman in primitive times and which is still the only role which can be filled up by the overwhelming majority of women (belonging to the economically lowest and the lower middle classes) whose whole energy and time is taken up in procuring the bare necessities of life. With the growth of wealth and intellectual awakening woman's mind begins to be conscious of two other roles, the *Companion and Partner roles* which are leisured-class phenomena. In the words of Mr. Kirkpatrick the Companion role among other things consists in "sharing pleasures with the husband," "receiving a more romantic emotional response," "being the object of admiration," "preservation of beauty," etc. It will be readily seen that not to allow a leisured-

class woman to fill the role of a companion is certainly depriving her of many precious pleasures and to force her to do the works of a household drudge will be surely putting her under great inconveniences but it will have to be equally acceded that that very role (of a Companion to the husband, so desirable for aristocratic woman) may prove totally undesirable and even vexatious for a woman of a poorer class whose whole time has got to be spent in filling the Wife-and-Mother role. Neither is there any inequity from the inter-sexual standpoint (though there may be good deal of it from the inter-class standpoint), because if the wife in a poor home is only a dignified cook and head servant the husband to be sure is nothing better than an *undignified* porter, office clerk or a foreman. There are very few pleasures in their lives which are capable of being enjoyed in common companionship between the husband and wife excepting the board and bed of which, I have reasons to believe, they do take the fullest advantage. What this class of women (and they comprise the vast majority) are suffering from is not male-tyranny but they (together with their male relations) are suffering from the tyranny of poverty and ignorance and to this great relief may be given by richer class women leaders if instead of trying in vain to prove the guilt of man for all the woes of poorer class women they sincerely try for the economic uplift and education of their unfortunate sisters (not forgetting the sad plight of their equally unfortunate husbands).

Much as I appreciate the willingness (rather eagerness) of leisured-class women to play their roles as companions and partners of their husbands I should like to remind them of their *limitations*.

Firstly, even leisured-class women (not to talk of their sisters of the poorer class) cannot absolutely dispense with the duties and obligations of the Wife-and-Mother role so long as the institutions of marriage and family exist in society.

Secondly, the evolution of the ideas of woman's emancipation in her playing the roles of a companion and partner (of man) in society are dependent upon the extent to which it has realized in its corporate life the humanizing principles of civilization mainly through the effort and consent of man. Two misconceptions therefore have to be readily rejected: (i) that every society is fit enough for the same extent of women's freedom irrespective of its progress in the fields of education, administration of justice, etc., and (ii) that man is the enemy

(6) Clifford Kirkpatrick: "The measurement of ethical inconsistency in marriage." Contributed in *The International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1936, pp. 444-460.

from whose unwilling hands freedom and just treatment have to be wrung out by the organized forces of women. On the contrary man's civilizing efforts have been the greatest factor in paving the way for a movement of women's freedom.

"The extermination of wild life, the harnessing of the forces of nature to the service of humanity, the inauguration of the rule of law, the improvement of the technique of the administration of justice—these are the century-long positive achievements of men on which alone can be laid the foundation of a movement for women's emancipation."

Thirdly, the exercise of the rights and the performance of the obligations pertaining to the Companion role must of necessity be confined, in the main, to the few leisured-class women who and whose husbands and male relations alone have the requisite wealth and leisure to be able to enjoy the pleasures of such a role. The proper functioning of such a role must of necessity entail, at least to some extent, the negligence of the obligations of the Wife-and-Mother role and as such circumstances may arise in which the sacrifice of the latter role for the former by a woman of poor class family may result in positive discomfort (instead of increase of comfort) both for the woman and her husband (and other relations in the family). No husband of a poor class family will feel happy if instead of finding his meal and bed and clothes well prepared finds on his return home after the day's toil that in imitation of her millionaire sister his dear wife has spent the whole day over a painting of Venus and Cupid and in maintaining her best appearance with the hope of *evoking a romantic emotional response* in the over-worked husband. Neither will a wife of a poor family appreciate the blessings of this Companion role if she is required to *preserve her beauty* by taking recourse to costly artificial means ("under the penalty of marital insecurity") when she finds herself so engaged with her household duties (absence of servants presumed) that she gets hardly any time for rest or recreation. The absence of such "privileges(?)" are a blessing rather than a cause of grievance for a poor woman. That we hear about these "grievances" is due to the fact that the richer class women who come forward to voice the grievances of their race are hopelessly ignorant of the realities of life which, living in the sheltered atmosphere of male generosity, they have never learnt to face

bravely. They come from that vain and irresponsible class among which, to be adorned in gorgeous georgiette and silk brocades bedecked and jewelled with all modern luxuries, each one of them—from the vanity bag to the motor car—bought with the hard-earned money of a *man* (not a very conclusive proof of male tyranny) and address a lady's meeting preferably on the perennially interesting theme of male treachery and wickedness, is considered an *achievement* and the dainty act of cutting a silken ribbon with a pair of golden scissors to declare a new road open is considered as an act of great *public service*. No wonder they mislead their less fortunate sisters.

I have discussed these points here at some length because I wanted to point out that the feminist movement has proceeded into wrong channels under a wrong leadership. I am sure a rightly directed movement can succeed in removing all the disabilities, social and legal, under which women suffer. But removal of disabilities is not attaining equality. It may mean legal equality but not a position of equal importance and respect in the social order. Because real equality of status, reverence, and respect can be won only through the performance of equally important (not necessarily identical) functions and services for the advancement of the common good, through the records of achievements for the benefit of the human race. Without trying to justify any restriction that has been put to debar women from as much freedom as is enjoyed by man in any field, we maintain that that equality of status in society through the performance of equally important social functions can never be attained by women if after getting their rights of free choice of occupation they take into their heads to misuse this right by wasting their energies in competing with men in the physical and intellectual fields in which their achievements can in no way be compared with those of men.

If therefore women do not in addition find out and concentrate in some fields of action where they can claim greater natural facilities of success (in adding to the social good) my fear is that they will not only fail to achieve that equality (of status and importance in society) for which they clamour but they will merely succeed in reducing themselves into man's female valets, stenographers and ornamental private secretaries.

What that field of superior facility of registering greater achievements is, is best for women to discover. I have, however, reasons to think that the same allotment of unequal generative functions who encumbered woman with such

(7) Krishna P. Mukerji: "Some aspects of female education in India." *The U. P. Education*, May, 1936, p. 19.

extraordinary responsibilities in the process of the propagation of the race, has perhaps endowed her with a mind which does not (in a normal state) look upon child-bearing and its concomitant disabilities as a periodical obnoxious disease. I have heard a very enlightened and educated friend⁸ (who is the proud mother of three sons) say in all earnestness that she would willingly undergo the pangs of child-birth thrice more (specially to get a daughter which she lacked in her home) and that dancing and the company of fine young men are all right till 25 but after that the craving for babies is a "great hunger." I do not pretend to have understood in its real depths the sentiment expressed in the above statement (perhaps no man can understand them) and I would not go

(8) She is a widow of independent means and not dependent on any male financially.

through the botheration even once for all the treasures of the world. But the picture of that big German woman pressing her breasts with her own hands and expressing her craving for motherhood as a great hunger (pronounced in the emphatic German way—'hoonger') made an abiding impression on my mind and pointed the way in which women may really find that equality and importance in society the absence of which they resent. To me it seems therefore that that way is the way of *enlightened and willing motherhood and love* with a double emphasis on the words *enlightened* and *willing* (including within its meaning the right of a woman to refuse to submit to wifehood and determine the number of children she will like to bear).

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HOW EGYPT GOT RID OF CHOLERA

By DR. DHIRENDRA NATH BANERJEE, M.B. (Cal.), M.D. (Berlin)

INTRODUCTION

CHOLERA in Egypt is a long story. Although cholera is now a disease of the past in Egypt still her name will always be associated with cholera on account of the epoch-making researches of Robert Koch in 1883 which resulted in the discovery of the specific agent of cholera—the cholera vibrio—and that took place in Egypt. The advantages of this fundamental work of Koch which lead to rapid diagnosis of the disease by reliable bacteriological methods have been utilised to their fullest extent by Egypt in such thoroughness that she has been able to rid herself from invasion of cholera within such a short period of only 20 years.

I was amazed to find, from the reports as appearing in the publications of the League of Nations, that there had been no case of cholera in Egypt since 1902 although she is in close proximity to the countries very often frequented by cholera in epidemic form, and she herself was found to have been heavily infected before that date. In order to study how she had been able to achieve this end I had the pleasure to write to the Ministry of Health, Egypt, requesting to give me opportunities to know the details of the methods adopted by the Department of Public

Health to control the disease, during my proposed visit to Egypt. I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Ahmed Helmy Bey, the Under-Secretary of States who received me very cordially and as he himself was formerly in charge of the Quarantine Board, I had the greatest privilege to know the details firsthand from him direct and also from his other officials who very kindly demonstrated to me the actual working in the Public Health Laboratories. My best thanks are to them also. The Official Reports on the works of the Department of Public Health and also the book *Instructions on Procedure in Outbreaks of Cholera* published by the Ministry of the Interior, Egypt, which have been very kindly presented to me by the Minister in charge of the Public Health Department had been of great help for this study. These publications form the basis of the present article.

HISTORY OF CHOLERA IN EGYPT DURING THE LAST 100 YEARS

During the last 100 years there had been nine epidemics recorded in Egypt. They took place during the years 1831, 1834, 1848, 1850, 1855, 1865, 1883, 1895 and 1902. The last one

occurred in 1902 and no case has been reported during the last 35 years. Thus it is found that the fruitful researches of Robert Koch have been so advantageously applied that within the brief space of 20 years Egypt has been able to deal with the epidemics and is also successful in safeguarding the country against cholera infection.

This history may be conveniently divided into three periods. First period—1831-1883; second period 1883-1902 and the third period from 1902 to date.

First period (1831-1883).—During this period very severe epidemics occurred in Egypt but as is common with other countries very little detail and no reliable figures are available concerning these epidemics. In 1831 Egypt was heavily affected as the disease spread in pandemic form extending over the whole of Asia, Europe and Africa. As is the misfortune for India this pandemic is ascribed to have spread westward from Bengal, the Ganges delta being regarded to be the true home of cholera.

Second period (1883-1902).—This period of 20 years marked the most eventful period in the history of cholera in Egypt, nay of the whole world. The year 1883 saw the fifth pandemic of cholera which extended its ravages into many parts of the world. During this pandemic Robert Koch was deputed from Germany to study on cholera. The mystery regarding the cause of this fell disease was revealed by Koch when he for the first time discovered the comma-shaped organism occurring in the contents and in the wall of the small intestine of cholera patients. After some months of fruitful work he came to a definite conclusion that this germ is the cause of cholera and afterwards had to come to Calcutta to convince the workers here. Later epidemics confirmed Koch's statements and now it is a settled truth. The epidemics which took place in the years 1895 and 1902 recorded the number of deaths amounting to 16,251 and 34,595 respectively which give the appalling death-rate of 88.0 per cent and 85 per cent respectively. In addition to the appalling death-rate, the two epidemics furnish us also the data which are worthy of note from epidemiological point of view.

In 1895 the disease was discovered in September and spread to the villages on the right bank of the Nile. During October and November the epidemic was fairly brisk, the number of cases recorded being 950. In December it declined and by the end of the year had practically died out in these localities. Alexandria, however, became infected late in

December. Throughout the first four months of 1896 the only cases recorded were dropping cases in Alexandria, but during May the disease suddenly flared up in Alexandria and spread rapidly all over the country, both Lower and Upper Egypt, reaching its maximum in July. By the end of September it had practically disappeared. The number of cases recorded from April to October, 1896 was 19,370 and the number of deaths during the same period was 16,251. The number of infected towns and villages was about 726.

In 1902 the disease was introduced at the end of May by returning pilgrims. By the end of July it had spread to Cairo, and in the middle of August it had burst forth throughout the country. It reached its maximum by the middle of September and by the end of October it had practically disappeared. The total number of cases recorded was 40,613 with 34,595 deaths with a gross death-rate of 85.0 per cent. The number of infected towns and villages was 2,026. There is reason to believe that the actual number of cases is much more than the figures recorded above.

From the above findings it is evident that—

1. The point of maximum intensity has always been in the summer or early autumn—between the months of May and October.

2. The disease is not endemic in the country and an epidemic is invariably the result of importation of the disease from without.

3. Once the disease has been introduced, if the factors for its development, especially the season of the year, are not favourable, it shows itself in the form of dropping cases until such time as favourable factors occur, when it bursts swiftly into a devastating and a widespread epidemic.

Third period (1902-1937).—This period signifies the triumph of the Public Health Organization in preventing and safeguarding the country from invasion from outside. I only mention here the steps taken by the authorities in 1927 during an outbreak of cholera in Iraq as that will show sufficiently the move of work and efficiency of the Organization.

The Official Records state that on July 23, 1927 a notification was received from the Quarantine Board, regarding the occurrence of five cases of cholera at Basra during the week ending July 23, 1927.

OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA IN IRAQ

The official information received by the department showed that cholera first appeared in Abadan, a port in Persia which is situated

near Basra; from there the disease was conveyed to Basra; thence it spread to Iraq. Owing to the measures taken, the disease did not appear in Baghdad until October 9, 1927, when only 7 cases and 5 deaths occurred. The disease disappeared on December 23, 1927.

ROUTES FROM IRAQ TO EGYPT

There are four routes leading from Iraq to Egypt.—(1) By motor car and railway to Beyrout and thence by sea to Egypt. (2) By motor car and railway through Damascus and Palestine to Egypt *via* Quantara. (3) By aeroplane. (4) By the Red Sea to Suez and other Egyptian Ports. The Department in conjunction with the Quarantine Board, applied strict measures recorded below, to passengers arriving by the above routes in order to prevent importation of cholera in Egypt.

PASSENGERS ARRIVING BY MOTOR CAR *via* BEYROUT OR QUANTARA

The medical officers of the Ports and Quantara examined the passports of passengers arriving from infected districts and any passenger who had not passed five days from date of his departure from Iraq, was detained to complete the five days; specimens were taken for examination and the passenger was not released until his stools were free from cholera vibrios. Passengers unable to prove the date of their departure from those districts, were detained and the same precautions taken. With regard to the arrival of passengers who had passed more than five days, their luggage was disinfected and those travelling first and second class were allowed to enter Egypt if they were found to be in good health. Third class passengers who could not give satisfactory and well-known addresses, were detained and specimens were taken for examination. In every case, foodstuffs and drinks found in the luggage of passengers were destroyed.

Instructions were also issued to Medical Officers to be on the alert and to observe strictly passengers arriving from those districts daily for a period of five days from the date of their arrival; those found to be suspicious cases were isolated and specimens taken for examination; such information was reported to the Department by wire.

An arrangement was made between the Department and the General Headquarters of the British Army by which British Troops and their families arriving at Port Said, Alexandria, Suez and Quantara from infected localities, should be detained in the Army hospitals for a

period of five days, or until it had been proved that they were not cholera carriers. The native attendants accompanying them should be handed over to the Public Health representatives; the Department and the Medical officer concerned were to be notified of suspected or positive cases occurring among the British troops and their families arriving in Egypt from infected localities.

PASSENGERS ARRIVING BY AIR

The Department agreed with the International Quarantine Board that all passengers and crews of the Imperial Airways line who arrive before the lapse of five days from the date of their departure from the infected localities should be isolated in the aerodrome and their stools examined bacteriologically. Parcels registered or otherwise, arriving in Egypt by aeroplane must be examined for foodstuffs and drinks and the necessary measures taken according to their condition and nature. With regard to parcels in transit for other countries these were not to be opened but the countries of destination were to be informed that these parcels had not been examined.

BRITISH AIR FORCE

The British Air Force was asked to stop, if possible, flying between Iraq and Egypt during the presence of the epidemic and at the same time to isolate all arrivals of the Air Force in a special camp at Heliopolis. This was carried out and a camp was erected for the purpose near Heliopolis aerodrome.

PASSENGERS ARRIVING BY THE RED SEA

With regard to passengers arriving by the Red Sea, the Quarantine Board took stringent measures and the necessary instructions were given by the Board to its medical officers in this respect. In addition to the above, an agreement was made with the Director of Public Security, Ministry of the Interior, to the effect that he will notify by wire the Department and the Quarantine Board of names of all passengers coming to Egypt either from Persia or Mesopotamia.

AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE HEALTH SERVICES OF IRAQ, SYRIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT

In order to ensure the protection of the country against infection, the Department deemed it necessary to keep in touch with the Health Services of Iraq, Syria and Palestine; the last two countries are situated between Iraq and Egypt. This was arranged and these

services undertook to notify this Department through the Quarantine Board, of passengers passing through the above-mentioned countries on their way to Egypt and of the measures taken against them. These services also agreed to take the same sanitary precautions as are carried out in Egypt. The Health Service at Baghdad kept the Department informed by wire of the progress of the disease and supplied all information deemed necessary. All routes from Iraq to Syria with the exception of one, were closed in order that passengers might be under the strictest control.

For the purpose of rendering co-operation between these countries and Egypt as complete as possible, the Quarantine Board invited delegates from Palestine and Syria to come to Cairo to meet the delegates of the Quarantine Board and discuss all measures regarding the protection of Egypt and their own countries and the measures which should be taken in case of the appearance of the disease in one of these two countries.

CREATION OF THE CHOLERA COMMITTEE

A special committee was formed of the concerned officials of the Department to note the progress and spread of the disease at Iraq, to enforce the necessary measures and to supervise the conditions.

CONDITIONS OF IMPORTATION OF FOODSTUFFS AND DRINKS

The Department agreed with the Quarantine Board that the following measures are to be carried out by the Department of Public Health.

FOODSTUFFS

All dry foodstuffs are to be admitted into the country. The action to be taken with regard to fresh foodstuffs depends on their nature and method of packing. They must be clean and they must not be contaminated. Dates are to be admitted if they are firmly packed and the Department has the right to prevent the sale of dirty or moist dates or those which are found to be in a suspicious condition.

DRINKS

All non-alcoholic drinks must be examined and they may be refused or admitted at discretion. The admission of alcoholic drinks depends on the quantity of alcohol they contain. Dates, foodstuffs and drinks in transit are to be examined by the officials of the Quarantine

Board and the Department of Public Health; they must not be despatched to the receiving countries except after ascertaining that those foodstuffs are free from any infection.

EXPERIMENTS MADE ON DATES

Owing to a diversion of opinion regarding the period of viability of cholera vibrio in dates, the Department deemed it necessary to make experiments in this respect; the Inspector General of Health, Baghdad, was asked through the Quarantine Board, to send by sea a quantity of dates infected with cholera dijecta for the purpose of carrying out necessary investigations.

A sample of these dates was examined in the Quarantine Laboratory at Suez; another sample was examined in the Departments' Laboratories at Cairo. The result showed that no cholera vibrio survived in these dates. As the infection of dates had been made with peptone water cultures of the vibrio at Baghdad and not with the stools of a patient, that is to say, the normal method of infection, the Inspector General of Health Services, Baghdad, was asked to send another sample contaminated with the faeces of an undoubted case of cholera. He sent the required specimen and the result was also found to be negative. The Department agreed that the consignments of dates and 'Agwa' imported from Iraq should not be released before the lapse of 21 days from date of despatch.

THE TERMINATION OF QUARANTINE MEASURES

As no new cholera case occurred at Iraq after 23rd December, 1927, the Quarantine Board decided to stop the isolation of passengers leaving Iraq after January 7, 1928, and instead to place them under medical observation.

PASSENGER CONTROL

During the year 56,034 passengers arrived at Egyptian ports from cholera infected districts; of these 55,945 were observed and 89 could not be traced, i.e., the percentage of those found was 99.84 per cent. 23,829 passengers arrived at the country *via* Quantara, of whom 23,697 were observed, i.e., a percentage of 99.44 per cent.

PILGRIMS

During the period from April 11 to June 1927, 15,071 Egyptian pilgrims and 2,262 foreign pilgrims departed from Egypt to the Hedjaz. In addition to these 6,064 pilgrims in transit passed through the canal to Hedjaz during this period.

VACCINATION OF PILGRIMS

Instructions were issued to vaccinate every pilgrim twice against cholera. An entry to this effect is to be made in the pilgrim registers and in the passport of the pilgrim concerned.

MEASURES TAKEN DURING THE RETURN OF PILGRIMS

The Egyptian State Railways was requested to allot a platform in Cairo Station for the arrival of pilgrim trains. The Railways issued instructions to its staff concerned to the effect that they should inform Medical Officers of any pilgrim who breaks the journey at any station other than that to which he has booked his ticket in order to be observed at the localities in which he has detrained. The Ministry of Finance approved the granting of a reward of L. E. 5 (about Rs. 66) to every person intercepting any pilgrim returning to Egypt through an unknown route.

I have gone purposely into the details regarding the actual procedure taken in 1927 to protect the country from cholera which was raging in Iraq, only because the Egyptian Government is always on the alert regarding the standing menace which invariably reaches Egypt through importation by pilgrims and passengers, of which the importation by pilgrims returning from the Hedjaz represent the most constant danger and have been found to be responsible for the last four epidemics in Egypt, *i.e.*, those of the years 1865, 1883, 1895 and 1902. Then comes the importation by passengers from the near East. The long sea voyage between Egypt and the countries of the Far East minimises the ordinary danger to Egypt from these sources.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The details of the passenger control system both as regards pilgrims and ordinary passengers are very thorough and exhaustive. The main object of this system is to discover the first case of cholera as this discovery is of utmost importance in regard to the means of prevention of its epidemic spread.

It has been observed that the actual method of conveyance of cholera takes place in the persons of passengers arriving in the country and only very rarely by the importation of infected materials such as water. The only known standing danger from the importation of infected material exists in the pilgrim's custom of bringing back water from the "Femzem" well of Mecca. Arrangements exist for the

sterilization of all flasks containing this water by the Quarantine authorities.

The Quarantine measures are also adopted in cases presenting even slight diarrhoea. A bacteriological examination of the specimen is invariably done as these cases are regarded to be easily undetected and may be responsible for the importation of the disease. It is for this reason the medical officers are so trained that they are thoroughly familiar with the procedure to be adopted in discovering any suspected case of cholera among all classes of persons, or an unexplained death among persons still under or just emerged from the passenger control.

The passenger control system is becoming more and more extensive as the means of communications are being improved, the latest being the motor car and the aeroplane. Formerly, the means of communication existing between Egypt on the one hand and Iraq and Persia on the other, consisted of sea and land routes only, the journey by the former taking 20 days and by the latter not less than 2 months. Now, by means of motor car one arrives in not more than 3 days and by aeroplane only a few hours. This has greatly increased the danger of importation of cholera in Egypt. It has become thus, essentially necessary for the Egyptian Government to arrange for uniform measures with the Iraq Government. Further, all passengers from Iraq must pass through Syria and Palestine in order to reach Egypt. So similar arrangements have also been agreed to with the Sanitary authorities of these countries. These arrangements are mainly those whereby the neighbouring governments inform the Egyptian Government by cable of all new cases and the localities in which they occur. Further, they require all persons leaving for Egypt to be vaccinated against cholera and they are not to take their departure unless five days have elapsed since their vaccination. The department is also informed by wire of the names of all passengers coming from Iraq and Persia, immediately on their departure from those countries. As regards foodstuffs and drinks brought with passengers arriving by aeroplanes or motor cars, it was stipulated that these should be destroyed. Postal parcels for Egypt arriving in aeroplanes were opened in the presence of a delegate from the Department of Public Health for the purpose of ascertaining that they did not contain foodstuffs. If any parcels arrived in Egypt in transit consigned to persons abroad, the Department wired to the Postal Administration of the country concerned intimating that the parcel was received from Iraq, a country infected with cholera.

It is satisfactory to note that the above measures were entirely successful in their object and fulfilled the purpose for which they were laid down. They successfully protected the country against infection with cholera.

Apart from the source of danger through passengers and the articles carried by them, another article, the dates of various kinds, rather the most important article of food imported by Egypt from Iraq has also attracted the serious attention of the Department. The Department has laid down the necessary conditions which ensure that consignments of dates should not be rebased before the lapse of 21 days from the date of their departure from Iraq, provided that the dates are properly packed.

HOW A SUSPECTED CASE IS DETECTED

The procedure adopted by the authorities is also thorough and is as follows :

1. Take a specimen of the faeces and send it for examination to the Public Health Laboratories.

2. Isolate the patient. First cases or suspected cases may be isolated in the infectious sections of Government Hospitals, but if more cases occur other arrangements must be made. Disinfect the house and the contacts' clothing.

3. In all cases in which a specimen is taken for cholera examination the contacts should be put under daily medical observation where there is a definite evidence of a suspicious nature, all persons living in the house and immediate contacts must be at once isolated. Record the number and character of motions of each contact daily.

4. The Medical Officer will go into the history of the case and take any necessary action in view of the facts elucidated. If it is found that the case was sick in or acquired its infection in some other part in Egypt, write

details for action to the Public Health authority in such place. If acquired in the place of residence, find out from whom or from what source. Inquire for suspicious cases or recent deaths among the family, contacts and neighbours.

5. If the original case turns out to be positive, the following action will be taken :

(a) All the immediate and remote contacts, if any, who had previously been under observation outside will be isolated.

(b) All the contacts, immediate and remote, will be given a saline purge and a specimen will be sent to the laboratories for examination.

(c) If any death occurs in the village and the dead person is not medically examined before death, a specimen will be taken for examination, unless the cause of death is obviously not suspicious of cholera.

The question as to when the patient may be discharged from the hospital is very important in first or early cases in a previously non-infected locality so long as it is still hoped to prevent the disease spreading. The rule to be followed under these circumstances is that a negative bacteriological result should have been returned for three successive specimens taken after purging at intervals of a week.

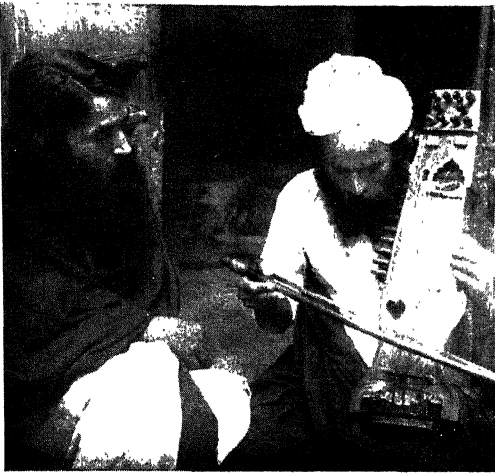
The standing menace to the country is met by the above-mentioned methods to deal with a suspected case. It has been found that the danger becomes more acute from time to time. Under these circumstances, when the country is acutely threatened but not actually infected, precautions in addition to those already described are taken which puts everybody concerned on the alert.

The details regarding the anti-cholera measures adopted in Egypt when the country is declared infected form the subject of another report submitted by me to the *Calcutta Medical Journal* for publication.



SONGS FROM MY VILLAGE

[See page 308]



Devendra Satyarthi listens to the song of Sundar,
With his eyes lowered over the strings of his Sarangi
Sundar, the wandering minstrel, sings romantic songs



The outing of a flock

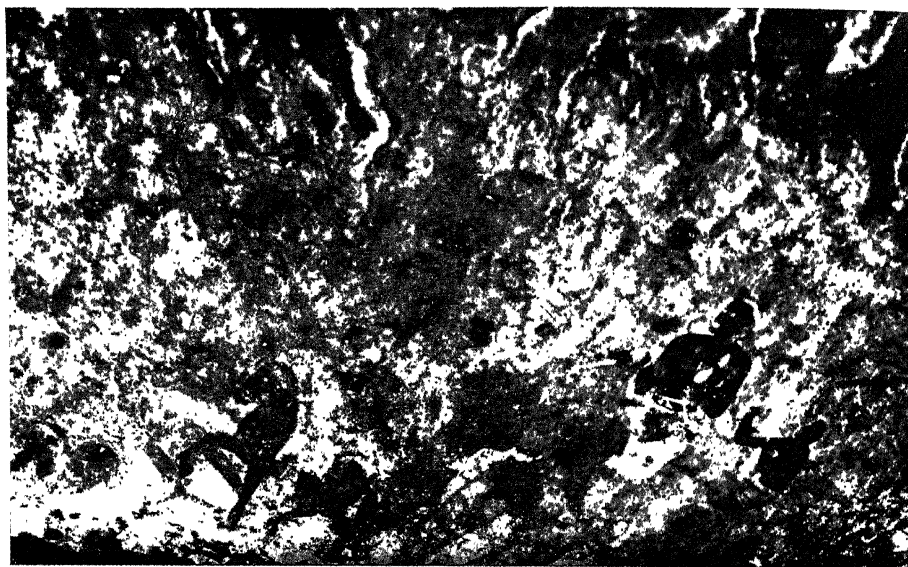
[Photographs by Mr. Z. D. Barni, Lahore]



A Trinjan

The village women assemble here to spin together. They may come out in a body to
hear the songs of the wandering minstrel

EXPLORATION OF DENGAPOSHI IN KEONJHAR STATE



Fresco representing war expedition



Details of Fresco representing war expedition

EXPLORATION OF DENGAPOSHI IN KEONJHAR STATE

BY PANDIT BINAYAK MISRA,

Lecturer, Calcutta University

AND

MR. KRUSHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

CREDIT must go to the enlightened Chhotarai Saheb of Keonjhar for making discovery of important relics of a flourishing civilization that prevailed in a hill recess which is now covered by forest and contains a thin population of primitive Gonds and Savaras. It is due to his enthusiasm that Dr. Tamonash Chandra Das Gupta, M.A. Ph.D., was able to notice in brief these relics in a Bengali magazine in 1933. We are also much indebted to him as well as to

Keonjhar experienced difficulty in approaching the Ruler of Mayurbhanj for the settlement of disputes that took place among themselves. Thereupon they stole a younger son of the ruler and installed him as their own Ruler in



Rock-inscription

the Ruling Chief, his elder brother, for the facilities afforded for our visit to the place.

According to the tradition the Ruling Family of Keonjhar has emanated from the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj. It is related that in ancient times the *Bhuyan* population of



Mukha linga

Keonjhar. Thus the separation of Keonjhar from Mayurbhanj took place.

The headquarters of Keonjhar is about 72 miles north-west of Jajpur Road Station on B. N. R. and 26 miles south-east of Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja territory. A good metalled road leads and a motor bus plies daily along it from Jajpur Road to the headquarters. From Dhenkikot, a road side village about 54 miles from Jajpur Road, leads a footway of about 4 miles in length to Dengaposhi

the place of antiquities. A fair weather road of the same length recently constructed by the State joins Dengaposhi with Katrabadha another road-side village about 58 miles from Jajpur Road. Dengaposhi lies to the south-west of Dhenkikota and south-east of Katrabadha.

Dengaposhi is a small village situated on the north bank of a hill-stream called Sita. On

is probably due to the fact that Dengaposhi grew up later as compared to Sitabhanji.

To the east of and at a distance of about quarter mile from Dengaposhi is situated a small hill called *Valmiki-ashram* (the abode of the sage Valmiki). This hill occupies about quarter mile in length from east to west along the north bank of the Sita. The distance between the hill and the stream ranges from 200 to 400 yards. On the eastern slope of the hill there is a spacious natural cave. Again at the eastern foot of the hill are found six unhewn small rocks containing inscriptions. Each inscription consists of one line. The letters are deep cut and each measures about 2"×2". The rocks are in their natural positions on the earth and occupy an area of about 30 sq. yards. By the side of them there lie two brick mounds. The bricks are immensely scattered along the southern foot of the hill and each measures about 10"×8"×2".

As there is no rest house at Dengaposhi we had to pay a flying visit. So the time at our disposal being short we could not attempt to decipher all the inscriptions. We made an attempt to decipher only one inscription.

This inscription reads :

प्रहस्र द्वि मरुत

(Maruta, the disciple of Purudha)

The reading of this inscription suggests to us that all other inscriptions record, like the Barhut and Sanchi inscriptions, the names of some ascetics along with those of their preceptors. The cave on the hill was probably set apart for the practice of Yoga mode of meditation.

At the southern foot of the hill is found an image of a Mukha-linga. Four human faces represented on a phallic emblem are distinct. On the western end of the southern foot of the hill there stands a gigantic wall-like



Ravana-chhaya

the south bank of the same stream there is another small village called Sitabhanji. These two villages are one mile apart from each other. Though Dengaposhi has a separate entity its identity is merged in that of Sitabhanji. This

rock facing south and having on its top a projecting boulder. This rock is called *Ravana-chhaya* (the shadow of the demon king Ravana) by the local people. It is so called probably on account of its enormous dimension. On the ceiling of the projection are found the precious fresco and writing in brown colour.

The ceiling is at a height of about 18 feet from the ground and measures about 25"×10". The fresco represents in profile a row of three men on foot, one on horse-back and two on an elephant, all in a marching posture. They cover about half the area of the entire plane of the ceiling. Except the horse and men on the elephant other figures are comparatively indistinct. The fading seems mainly due to the earthen nests built on the pictures by the hornets.

One line of writing commencing from below the hind legs of the horse is discernible. There are faint appearances of other letters to suggest that damage has been wrought on the precious record. We, therefore, draw the pointed attention of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India to give proper advice to the State as to the preservation of this unique treasure of Indian Art from further decay and ruin.

The fresco represents a war expedition. The man sitting on the fore part of the elephant's back wears a white half pant, a loose brown coat, a white textile girdle over the coat and a decorated cap on the head. He is tall of stature and holds a dagger in his right hand. His eyes are as large as those of the Ajanta frescoes. He is probably a king.

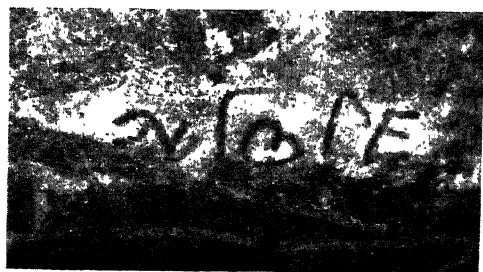
The man sitting behind the king wears a coat and holds a staff probably flying the flag. His lower garment is indistinct and the head is bare. He is short of stature. His forehead is low and the nose at its root is depressed to some extent.

At the head of the horse the surface is monochromatic. The crest is therefore shown there by thickening the colour. On the whole, the pictures are life-like and exhibit the excellent artistic skill.

As we are not equal to the task of comparing these pictures with those of Ajanta caves, we leave it to the connoisseur of art. But they are so accomplished in execution and so vivacious in form that we esteem them too highly as Art and say that they are dumb witnesses to the past glorious culture of Orissa. They indisputably establish the fact that in ancient times the hilly tracts of Orissa were as civilized as any other region in India.

It is difficult to read with precision the 1st

letter of the writing. It looks like N having an additional stroke parallel to the lower part of the right limb. The second letter is distinctly र. The third letter can be read as ग. Then follows the word राज्ञ which is succeeded by the name श्री दिश भञ्ज. Here दिश may also be read as दिशर. Because the वा mark touches unlike that of रा (second and fourth letter) the base of letter and looks like र. It is important to note that the भ form found in this record is earlier than that



1st part of writing

occurring in the Patiakela grant of the 6th century A.D. (E. I. Vol. IX. Pp. 283. ff. 1. 1). The forms of ग, ज, श and र of the Kushan period are also worth noticing in the present record. We can therefore assign the fresco to the 4th century A.D. on the palaeographic ground. This conclusion receives confirmation from a hoard of Kushan coins discovered at Dengaposhi by the coolies engaged in the earth work of the road. These coins contain no legend like the other Kushan coins discovered in Orissa. Each coin contains on the obverse a standing human figure and on the reverse the representation of a man on elephant.

It is now evident that the record bespeaks the past achievements of the Bhanja dynasty. Not only the Bhanja family of Keonjhar but also all the Bhanja families of Orissa must feel proud of this unique monument of their past culture and glory.

It is interesting to note that द्विज the Prakrit form of Sanskrit द्विष्य is found in the rock inscription while in the writing below the paintings the Sanskrit sound of श्री is not Prakritised as सिरि. The former record belongs to a religious community who adopted the dialect spoken by the common people and the latter one to the ruling family. The ancient Sanskrit dramas represent the common people

as speaking the Prakrit dialect and the members of the ruling families as using the Sanskrit language. That these dramas represent the true character of ancient Indians in the matter of their spoken dialects now gains support from the epigraphic records at Dengaposhi.

A ruler named Digbhanj is mentioned in the copper-plate records discovered in Mayurbhanj. This Digbhanj cannot be supposed to have flourished in a date earlier than the 9th century A.D. Evidently he is not identical with Dishabhanja mentioned below the paintings



2nd part of writing

who cannot be supposed to have flourished in a date later than the 4th century A.D. With the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine whether this Dishabhanja flourished before or after the separation of the Keonjhar line from the Mayurbhanj family. According to the traditional history of Baud, a scion of the Keonjhar Bhanja line came to Baud and founded another Bhanja line. That the foundation of the Baud Bhanja line antedates the 9th century A.D., can be gathered from the copper-plate records discovered in the Baud State. Again the traditional history of Keonjhar relates that two brothers—Adibhanj and Jyotibhanj—hailed from Rajputana and founded two principalities; Adibhanj, the elder brother, at Adipur on the north bank and Jyotibhanj, the younger one, at Jyotipur on the south bank of the Vaitarani. The Keonjhar Bhanj line is said to have descended from Jyotibhanj. All these traditions point to the fact that the separation of Keonjhar line from the Mayurbhanj line took place a short time after the foundation of the Bhanj family in Orissa. But they reveal no definite date.

To the west of Dengaposhi there stands another hill which contains a large natural cave. The local people call it Sita's *antudi-shal* (lying in room). In this cave are found three phallic emblems along with two peculiar bronze figures. One of the phallic emblems is worshipped by

the local people as Sita wife of Rama and the others as her sons—Kusha and Lava. At the foot of this hill lies a beautiful figure of an elephant carved out of stone.

There can be no doubt that in ancient times Dengaposhi was a centre of Saivism and contained a flourishing town to which the coins and the bricks found there bear testimony. It is probable therefore that the historical data would turn up, if the brick-mounds are exploited, which may help us in filling up the gap in the history of Orissa extending from the extinction of Kharavela's dynasty in the 1st century A.D., to the foundation of the Bhauma dynasty in the 6th century A.D. Not only Dengaposhi but also Sialimal at Anandpur in the Keonjhar State is an important archaeological site where are found some excellent Buddhist and Hindu sculptures dating back to the 8th century A.D. The excavation seems, if carried on here, to be profitable to a large extent. Again another place known as Patna about 16 miles north of Dengaposhi contains remote antiquities. Here another hoard of copper coins has been discovered, each containing on both sides *Svastik* symbol. These coins are smaller and thinner than Kushan coins and probably the earliest of all the ancient coins hitherto discovered in Orissa.

We may be forgiven for adding here a note on the Palace Library at Keonjhar, which has no bearing on the main topics of our report. This Library possesses some valuable palm-leaf manuscripts. One of them contains some Sanskrit *Slokas* regarding the dates of erections of the famous temples of Orissa. The dates concerning the Puri and Konarak temples are in this manuscript the same as known from other sources. But the *Sloka* in the manuscript, recording the date of Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar is slightly different from that heard by late Mr. M. Ganguly and other antiquarians from the temple priests. We quote below the *Sloka* from the manuscript.

गजाद्याष्टमिते जाते शकाब्दे कृत्तिवाससः ।

प्रासादं कृतवान् धीमान् जलाटेन्दुश्च केशरी ॥

(In the Saka year 888 the temple of Krittivasa was built by Lalatendukesari).

According to the *Sloka* heard from the temple priests the Saka year is 188 which is not worthy of credence from the architectural standpoint. Now the Saka year 888 (A.D. 966) does not militate against that standpoint and as such we can accept it as credible. Lalatendukesari seems to be identical with Uddyotakesari.

Because the cave in the Khandagiri hill, which contains an inscription of Uddyotakesari, is known as Lalatendukesari cave.

In conclusion we offer our thanks to Pandit Banamber Acharya, Sahityacharya, who

is enthusiastically endeavouring to edit the rare manuscripts under the patronage of the Ruling Chief and encouragement of the Chhotarai Saheb for bringing to our notice the *Sloka* quoted above.

PISTANY—THE BENEFICENT ISLAND

By E. SCHENKL

FROM the Tatra mountains in Czechoslovakia springs the river Waag. An island is situated in the river—Pistany, the famous bath-place and health-resort of Czechoslovakia. This country is specially rich in health-resorts and Karlsbad, Franzensbad and Marienbad are today known throughout the world. Also Pistany has to be named among them and may be, it holds the first place. It is a unique place among health-resorts. From a depth of about 5000

centuries and has already in ancient times been used as a health-resort. Already in 1551 A.C., Georg Wernherus has written a book on Pistany—*Hypomnematum de Admirandis*



The "Crutch-breaker", the symbol of Pistany

feet rise hot mud and thermal springs which come to the surface on the island and also in the river. The mud and water have a comparatively high temperature and have to be cooled artificially so that they might be cool enough for being used. The place is known for



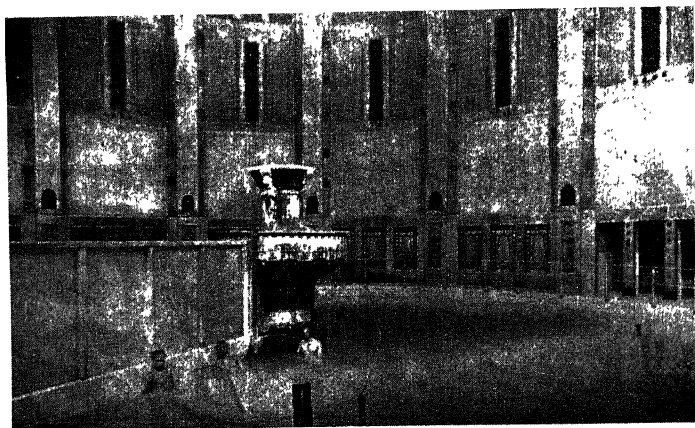
Mud-application

Hungariae aquis in which he praises the healing power of the hot springs and its wonderful origin.

At that time people used to come there and pay the settlers and peasants a few coins who would then dig a hole for them in the ground on the embankment of the river. This hole got filled in no time with mud and hot water and people used to sit there for several hours daily and benefit by the healing factors of the mud. Modern times have not changed the custom much, only in so far, that modern technique has equipped these bathing-holes with luxury and new inventions to make it as comfortable as possible for patients. Above the hot springs and mud-craters a fashionable Hotel has been built so that patients living there can directly descend inside the building and take the baths.

There are different kinds of treatment suitable for all sorts of ailments. Specially noteworthy is the big mud basin. Its floor consists of very smooth sand through which continuously fresh mud and thermal water can rise and fill the basin. Up to the calf or knee the patients stand in mud and above is the warm thermal water reaching the breast. The water is radioactive and the mud contains sulphur.

Besides the big basin which allows the patients to move about freely during the time of the bath, there are cabins for those who cannot move alone and have to be helped by



The mud-basin of "Irma-Bath" which is fed directly by the mud and thermal-spring

nurses. Each of these cabins contains a basin for mud and one for thermal water besides a douche for thermal water. A bed is also there for those patients who get partial applications of mud. In many cases it is necessary that the patient is covered with mud and then wrapped up in blankets and has to remain lying on the bed for several minutes.

There are various ailments which are treated and also healed in Pistany. Specially gout and rheumatism. But also gall-bladder trouble, kidney trouble, bladder trouble, inflammations of the joints, women's diseases and skin diseases are healed. According to the illness concerned, the patient will either get partial mud applications, or mud bath or simply thermal baths. A number of experienced doctors are prescribing treatment of all sorts.

But it is not always absolutely necessary to come to Pistany to get the treatment. Naturally a cure on the spot is much better and has probably a better effect, because all sorts of factors act there together, climate, quietness and

water and mud. But today all the big clinics and hospitals on the Continent have taken to 'Pistany cures' and achieved very good results. The mud is dried and either compressed or filled in linen bags. The compressed mud is dissolved in hot water and then applied to the body or the place affected by the pain. The linen bags are boiled in hot water to heat the mud and then the particular place is covered with it. This might be shoulder, arm, leg, thigh, hip, back joint etc. Pistany has its bureaus today nearly all over the world. Agents are selling the mud compresses so that people can have the treatment even in their homes in case they cannot afford to come to Pistany.

For Indian readers it will be very interesting to learn that the late Dr. Ansari has discovered Pistany for his countrymen. One day he passed it just by chance and stayed there for two days as guest of the Director. He was shown round the place and institutions and was greatly admiring everything. When he was brought to the river and held his finger into the icy-cold mountain water and found that below the surface the water was rather hot in several places, he was very astonished and

took great interest to get acquainted with all details. The next summer he sent several Indian patients who were greatly benefited by the treatment of Pistany. The management of the place have therefore decided to celebrate a memorial in honour of the famous Indian physician—Dr. Ansari—this summer. They want to invite an Indian doctor who will be their guest and get also free treatment so that he might experience the benefiting effect of Pistany on his own body.

Pistany is now one of the most fashionable bath-places of Europe. Big hotels have been built, private houses accept guests and there have been made all the necessary arrangements and provisions so that the guests may feel well and comfortable. There is occasion for riding and playing tennis and all sorts of out-door games. A big swimming pool, fed by thermal water is provided for those who can move about freely without being bound to the invalid chair. During the season competitions and festivals are arranged. One finds all shades of complexions there and hears all languages.

The surroundings are also lovely and there can be made wonderful excursions by car or on foot to visit old castles which crown the surrounding hills. It is also easy to reach Pistany today. From all the European capitals there are very comfortable and good train connections available. From the frontiers of Czechoslovakia to Pistany wonderful auto-roads have been built so that one might easily come there with his private car. And if desired one

may also come by aeroplane for Pistany has an aerodrome which is only a few minutes from the centre of the town.

Pistany is about 500 feet above the sea-level. The climate is sunny, dry and warm and therefore specially suited for those who are suffering from rheumatism. For all these reasons it is worthwhile to visit Pistany—the beneficent island and get relief there from all sorts of ailments.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

Mrs. Clarence Gasque, the International Director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, sailed for India *via* Colombo, with a party of seven people of different nationalities, by S. S. *Orontes*. One of the main objects of their visit is to discuss with the leaders of different religions a plan for holding a World Parliament of Faiths in India in 1940, following the International Congress of Faiths to be held in the summer and autumn in 1939, in New York at the time of the great World's Fair, and in San Francisco during the Golden Gate Exhibition.

Mrs. Gasque comes from a wealthy American family and has her residence in London and also a home in Paris. She divides her time between the United States and Europe, working for the World Fellowship of Faiths and other organizations promoting peace and brotherhood.

"Peace and Progress through World Fellowship", the proceedings of the International Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faiths, recently held in London and Paris under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, is just published. It contains inspiring addresses from sixty leaders of many creeds and countries, with many illustrations, songs and readings.

Mr. Laurence Housman, the distinguished English dramatist, is the present Chairman of the British National Council; Hon. Herbert Hoover is the President and Bishop Francis J. McConnell, the Chairman of the American National Council. Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta

and Mr. Charles Frederick Weller are the General Secretaries of the World Fellowship of



Mrs. Clarence Gasque

Faiths, with headquarters at Savoy Hotel, London, and Hotel New Yorker, New York.

SONGS FROM MY VILLAGE

BY PROF. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

ONE day when I was returning to Nai Abadi near Khalsa College, Amritsar, I heard a *tanga*-driver singing a Mahia song: "*Sione da kill mahia; Lokan dian ron akhian, sada rondaee dil mahia.*" The words came straight to my heart, "Lo! here is a nail of gold, my love; the people's eyes weep, but mine is the heart that weeps, my love."

"It is a Pothohari song," remarked my friend Prof. Mohan Singh, "travelling from

appearance but then it is often nail-like, for it pricks the heart."

I knew Prof. Mohan Singh to be a representative writer of modern Punjabi poetry, but now I realized that he loved folk-songs more than his own poems.

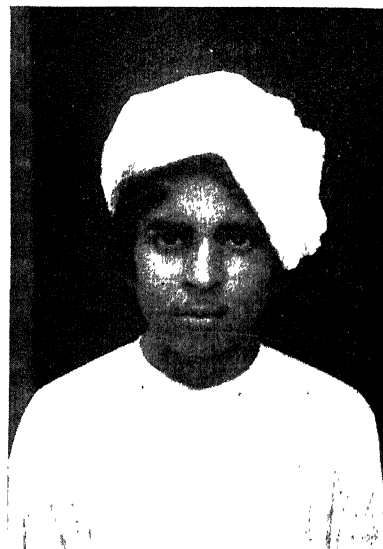
Mahia is an abridged form of *Mahinwal* (literally, one who tends buffaloes). In *Hir Ranjha*, the romantic ballad of the Punjab, we find *Ranjha* engaged as a *mahinwal* in his beloved *Hir's* house. But as *Ranjha* was more of a lover than a servant, the word



A simple village-girl

How sublime she looks when she sings: "Come, my love, and enjoy the refreshing breeze of home. Now bid adieu to remote China, my love." And she sings of *Hir* and *Sohini*.

Pothdar, Rawalpindi side, it has reached Majha, the Central Punjab." This was, of course, an indication of the popularity of the Pothohari Mahia songs so dear to my friend. "This is the type of songs that appeals to me most when some simple boy or girl sings in my father-in-law's village," he commented. "And you see, in the present song how suggestive are the words of the first line: 'Lo, here is a nail of gold.' The nail of gold here is, perhaps, the symbol of love. Love is so golden in



The village swain

He may turn out to be another *Ranjha* or *Mahinwal* one day. He sings of the romantic tales of *Hir Ranjha* and *Sohini Mahinwal*.

Mahinwal lost its original meaning and turned into a synonym of lover. Most of the Mahia songs are love-songs; they are composed extempore. Like the fresh flowers of spring they blossom to wither away after a period. But they are never really lost. There is a sweet music about the Pothohari dialect, and *Mahia* forms a valuable chapter of Punjabi folk-literature. There are other forms of songs in Pothohari but Mahia songs are the most popular. The words are simple, but some of

them are lengthened and accentuated in the tune.

Prof. Mohan Singh teaches Persian at the Khalsa College, Amritsar. But he always dreams of the beautiful Pothohar country-side with its songs full of romance. A single line of such a song fills him with inspiration and he seeks to express it in his modern poems. Within his world of ideas and dreams enter the words of the Mahia singer: "*Do tappe gawendian; Tappe shappe Kujjh ni chana, Dil de sar Kadhenian.*" 'I am singing a few couplets. Don't take them as mere songs, my moon-like man, they are just the flames of love coming out of my heart.' And these words reveal to him the deep, silent heart of a country-woman. He sang to me another of his favourite Mahia songs: "*Sadke te rudh battia; Jhine yari nahion laee, Ohne dunian ton ki khattia?*" The words got alive with meaning—'Roll along the road, O stone. One who has no sweetheart, what has he gained in this world?' "Just see," he remarked, "The village poet even invites the stone to share the romance in life. A country *tanga*-driver, who sang this song to me, explained that the stone rolling rhythmically

heart and offer cordial welcome to them. I believe, poetry to be great must be impregnated with the life of the people to whom I belong."

"Let us hope, Mohan Singh, that you will become another Robert Burns one day in the sphere of modern Punjabi poetry," I said. And the whole room was full of merry laughter.

The language of the songs from my village represents the Malwai dialect of the Punjabi



A member of the old generation

The wheel of change is there. His grandson may perhaps put on a new dress. But there must be an anti-illitracy campaign.

on should love the road, for life without love is meaningless. Again and again the words of those songs knock at my heart whenever I sit to compose a new poem in Punjabi. I open my



A village mystic

He has the power to give a sublime interpretation of some of the so-called vulgar folk-songs

language. Sometimes the Malwai pronunciation of certain words is quite strange to the people of Majha (Central Punjab) and Pothohar. The dialect of the Central Punjab happens to be the nearest approach to literary Punjabi. But then in the language of poetry a touch of Pothohari dialect is always welcome. And Prof. Mohan Singh being himself from Pothohar most successfully makes his poems alive with the colour and movement of Pothohari dialect.

I had decided to pick up necessary knowledge of the Central Punjabi dialect at Amritsar. Also I began adding to my stock a

number of Pothohari songs collected from Prof. Mohan Singh.

"It is true, Mohan Singh, that Pothohari dialect and songs are sweet," I one day ventured to say, "but do you think that a rough dialect like the Malwai can contribute nothing to Punjabi literature?" And he replied: "No



A village headman

His is more or less an autocratic outlook. And you'll not find him joining in the songs of the people. However, he figures as a character in some of the contemporary folk-songs.

dialect should be treated as Harijan in the sphere of literature. I use the word Harijan with care for I know that to remove any sort of untouchability we require a change in our mentality rather than a new name for the untouchable. And I am not unaware of the genuine character of your native dialect, the

Malwai, for I actually lived at Ludhiana in my younger days with my father who was there on his medical service."

I was glad to hear that and I sang to my friend:

*Na paeen rabba
Na paeen rabba
Mainu jatt di joon
Na paeen rabba.*

"Make me not a peasant, O God,
Make me not a peasant,
In any future birth of mine, O God,
Make me not a peasant."

It was a different kind of song and new to my friend inasmuch as it expressed the present-day pathos of the peasant's life. He asked me to sing a few more of these. And I sang:

—'So poor look my crops (just glance);
O how can I jump in the Giddha dance?'
—'They have confiscated my plough and yoke!
And the corn I kept for seed I sold to
feed my family.

I have failed to pay the revenue-tax!
Where is the profit of a peasant's labour?"

Here I quoted the translation of a song from Muttra countryside:

The Ratua insect has eaten up all my
wheat crop!
My gram crop is spoiled by the Sundi.
Even the field of Arhar is attacked by
the insects!

So tragic on all sides, my fate has turned!
All naked my children are going about.
But you care not for me, O money-lender,
You can see your own side alone.
O sue me in the court of justice if you can,
Don't turn up to my door so often like
a horse.

At my friend's request I sang a Punjabi song of this kind:

*Banian ne att chukk li
Sare jatt karzaee keete.*

—'Extremely involved we are in the hands
of the money-lenders,
All peasantry (suffers) under their debt.'

Then I sang to my friend another interesting song of contemporary life in my native countryside to the rhythm of Giddha, the popular folk-dance:

—'Lo! Here arrives the railway train on
the station,

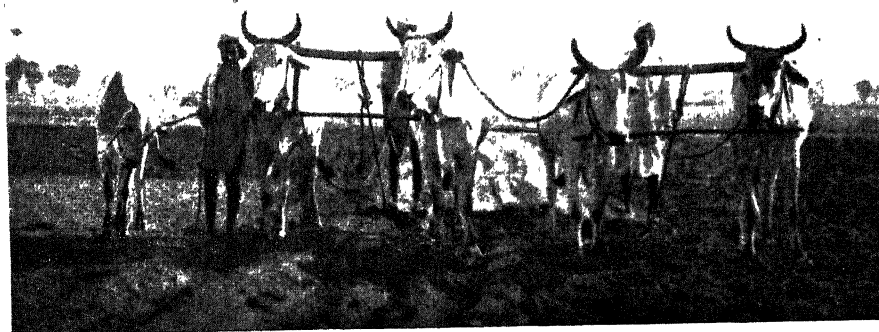
And the engine whistles;
Here comes Shamo near the gate
She is the Havildar's wife.

The train has already started
And Shamo is left all helpless,
Shedding tears on the platform stands
Shamo, the royal houri.'

"Why the villager sings this song of Shamo's sorrow to the joyful rhythm of his Giddha?" My friend enquired. "It is not very difficult to answer," I said. "The reason is clear. Her husband, the havildar, has become, more or less, a symbol of tyranny and oppression to the villager, who makes rather a sarcastic remark calling her 'a royal houri'. The singer of this song is seen here exactly in the mood of a school boy who enjoys the plight of an unpopular schoolmaster getting into trouble."

"Through the impact of the outside world, when the villager is going to be transformed beyond recognition," remarked my friend, "We

beautiful. Certainly, he is beautiful. And he sings beautiful songs. He often sings ballads—songs of romance, chivalry and fraternal love. You can still see Hir, the beloved of Ranjha, going to the forest where her sweetheart tends the buffaloes. And more than of Hir he sings of Sohini, the beloved of Mahinwal, whom you still see crossing the river Chenab. When the unbaked pitcher of Sohini which supports him on the water gives way, she is drowned. Sundar, the singer of Sohini's romance actually sheds tears as he sings. But there is one consolation to him. He says that Sohini is immortal and that still on the waves of the Chenab her soul swims in search of Mahinwal who lives on the further bank. And when he sings of the sister who awaits the arrival of her brother at her father-in-law's place, his song touches the heart of the womenfolk more



Sons of the soil

The peasants will soon be re-born it seems. Some of the contemporary songs show that they are going to understand many things better than before.

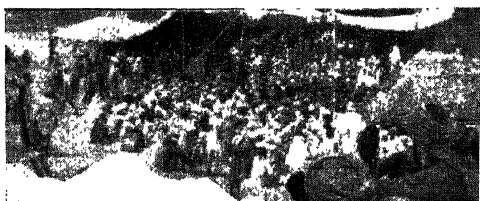
should really hurry up to save his songs of joy and sorrow before they are lost for ever. For I know that these songs reveal to us much more than the official records and historical documents do of the real life of the people. And folk-songs, I believe, can create for us an atmosphere congenial to the growth of progressive poetry."

Here is the description I gave to my friend Mohan Singh of a wandering minstrel.

With his eyes bowed down over the strings of his *Sarangi* the minstrel goes about from village to village. Often he comes to my village. And I have known him for the last seven years. For the entertainment he offers at every door he receives a formal reward in the shape of corn. Someone offers him even a small coin. Whatever he is given he receives with joy. I do not know his original name. My friends often call him Sundar. I like this name. Sundar, the

quickly. At once they come out of the Trinjans, the assemblages where they spin together with a spirit of competition, as the notes of his *sarangi* reach their ears. Every countrywoman takes it to be the expression of her own heart for it reminds her of her own brother who must come to her one day to take her to her parental house. To show a contrast Sundar sings the song of a cruel sister as well. "After all this is a strange world," he remarks introducing the cruel sister's song, "and every sister cannot be equally good. Nor perhaps is every brother equally good and kind towards his sister. However, the present song of the cruel sister should warn the daughters of this village against such cruelty." Then he sings laying stress on certain words and phrases. The story runs thus.—A woman had only one son and one daughter. The girl was given in marriage and the boy went away to some far-off land in quest

of wealth. Years passed by before he earned money to his heart's content. Then he started for home. On his way home he broke his journey for a day at his sister's father-in-law's place. Apparently she gave a good welcome to her brother who met her after many years. But



A folk gathering

she was a selfish woman. At night she went to her husband and suggested that if he murdered her brother it would be very good for his whole wealth would come to them as their share. But the husband refused and said, "Well if I kill

"Yes, mother, brother was here last night. He left for the native village very early this morning. He should have met you on the way. God knows what has happened to him," she remarked. As the mother shed bitter tears the Gahira in front of the house cracked and fell down. The dead body of her son, cut to pieces in cold blood, was thus revealed to her. She cursed her daughter for such an act of cruelty. So far the song runs all tragic but then in the end we find the brother's body being brought out of the cowdung cakes by the villagers. Every part of the body is put in its proper place. The whole village joins the old mother in her prayer to the Almighty Father to restore life in the dead body. Thus the song ends with a miraculous touch of folk-genius. And we actually see the brother standing up before our eyes.

But I prefer Sundar's shorter songs to his longer ballads. He once sang to me a couplet with a peculiar touch of the love of the Punjab countryside: "Come, my love, and enjoy the



Nature at home

Such beautiful scenes in the countryside fascinated the author in his younger days

him who'll be my brother-in-law?" Then she went to her son and suggested the murder of her brother. He was a good boy. He refused, saying, "Mother, I won't do so for thereby I'll lose my only maternal uncle." Then she incited her *Dewar*, husband's younger brother, to murder her brother in cold blood. The brother's murder took place at dead of night and the dead body, cut into pieces, was hid within a Gahira, a heap of cakes made of cowdung or buffalodung for fuel. Now the soul of the murdered brother appeared in a dream before the old mother and she hurried up to her daughter's place. The daughter told her a false story.

refreshing breeze of home. Now bid adieu to remote China, my love." And in another song I found him addressing the railway train:

"Run hurriedly, O railway train,
For I yearn to enjoy the refreshing air
of my village."

This was, perhaps, first sung extempore by some villager who happened to live in Calcutta, Bombay or Lahore as a labourer and then leaving the place for his native village he thus sang of his yearning. Sundar, perhaps, gets into the mood of the original singer when he sings it again and again thrilled with joy. And

I find him on the poet Walt Whitman's ground :
 "My tongue, every atom of my blood, formed
 from this soil; born here of parents here, from
 parents the same and their parents the same."

Sundar aims not too high and falls not too low. He is a villager, first, last and always. I love his turban over his broad forehead. And as he touches the strings of his *Sarangi* his song vibrates with life. And he possesses a peculiar receptivity. Sing him a new song today; tomorrow he will reproduce it before you. He may sometimes visit the neighbouring small towns, but he says that he feels more at home in the countryside. He loves the men who live by the sweat of their brow, and he sings to them songs nurtured in traditions of long standing. Somehow he imports to his listeners his own receptivity and with Sundar by your side you respond more to the joys and sorrows of the people.

Mohan Singh, perhaps, would like to meet Sundar one day, and one day I must take him to my village.

Seeing my flowing hair and beard some of the people in my village take me for a mystic, but soon they are disillusioned when I ask them to sing romantic songs.

The wheel of change is there. The peasant will soon be reborn it seems. Like the peasants all the world over, he must put on his new garment even in my village. Some of the contemporary folk-songs show that he understands many things better than before. But who will lead the anti-illiteracy campaign? However, the old proverb, *Jatt machla khuda nu lai gai chor*—'outwardly the peasant looks a simpleton, but actually he understands you; what is it to him even if God is stolen away'—is going to have a new meaning when he will be blessed with primary education.

But will this wheel of change transform one day even the songs of the peasant? Certainly many of the old songs will have to give way to those which will be born tomorrow. That is why I am so particular about recording as many songs as possible from my village.

TO RABINDRANATH

On reading "Prantika"

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

O Bird of Fire, enskied above,
 Whose voice is a dream, a song :
 Pilgrim of loveliness and love,
 A guest of the starry throng :

You warble of our ancient quest
 Of bloom and bell and musk,
 In the dark of sleep you cannot nest
 Your flame-wings burn the dusk.



A fair : Tarak Basu



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

WORLD PRODUCTION AND PRICES 1936-37 :

League of Nations, Geneva. 1937. Il. A. 14. India : League of Nations Indian Bureau. "Zainab Manzil," Churchgate Reclamation, Bombay. The Book Company, Ltd. 4-4A, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 5., Sh. 1.25.

This annual volume, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, is an authoritative review of the situation as regards world production of both primary and industrial products, as well as of price movements of such products, both wholesale and retail. A section of the volume is devoted to world trade and shipping, which deals with quantum changes in national trade and the situation in the freight market. An important feature of the volume is the attention given to stocks of primary commodities. A comprehensive index of such stocks has been prepared for the volume as a necessary link between the revised world index of primary production and the new world index of industrial activity which were published in the last edition of the volume.

A summary of world indices of production and stocks as well as the quantum of international trade shows that:

World productive activity continued its upswing during 1936. Total *primary* production reached and passed the level of 1929, the previous peak. Stocks of raw materials and foodstuffs continued to decline; the *industrial* production of the world exceeded considerably the peak level of 1929. The rise in commodity prices continued at an accelerated pace. But the production of primary commodities per head of world population was lower in 1936 than in 1929. Industrial production in the world excluding U. S. S. R. was below the 1929 level. The quantum of world trade in 1936, although it increased again, only reached the level it had attained ten years earlier. World *agricultural* production, which had remained remarkably stable at about the level reached in 1928, increased slightly in 1936. Consumption continued to rise, and farm income increased in most countries. The isolation of the national markets, however, was not relaxed. World production of foodstuffs (excluding China) more than made good in 1936 the temporary decline which occurred in the preceding year. The improvement was mainly due to animal foodstuffs. World production of raw materials of agricultural origin experienced a sharp increase in 1936. World production of non-agricultural raw materials continued in 1936 the vigorous upswing which started in the middle of 1932, and reached a point 5 per cent. above the 1929 level.

Total production of raw materials, including those of agricultural origin, was about 5-6% above the 1929

average in 1936. The growth of raw material output, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the increasing requirements of the industry which drew upon stocks.

World industrial production 1936 averaged some 10% higher than in 1929; in the world excluding the U. S. S. R., it fell short of the 1929 level by 4-5%, but was larger than in 1928. Industrial production in Europe, apart from the U. S. S. R., was just about the same as in 1929; but in North America, it was still some 10% smaller. The rate of growth during 1936 was exceptionally rapid. By the end of that year, the average for 1929 was exceeded by over 20% in the world as a whole, and by over 5% in the world, apart from the U. S. S. R.

The quantum of international trade in foodstuffs in 1936 was about 15% below that of 1929. The quantum of trade in raw materials is estimated to have been only 4-5% below the 1929 level, while the trade in manufactured goods was about 25% below.

The revival of international trade in 1936 was very marked during the second half of the year and continued during the first half of 1937. Whereas the tonnage of laid-up ships reached in 1932 20%, from the middle of 1936 there was a shortage of tonnage and a brisk increase in freight rates which continued unchecked during the first half of 1937.

In most countries, the general level of wholesale prices rose appreciably during 1936. There was a marked advance in the prices of many important staple commodities in the world market, especially in the second half of the year; the rise continued in the first quarter of 1937, but was followed by a fairly general set-back in the second quarter. Wholesale prices rose, in general, more than retail prices during 1936. Prices of raw materials rose more than those of manufactured products. The disparities which had developed in the price structure during the depression period were thus further rectified; the price-relationships existing before the depression were in many cases re-established by the beginning of 1937, and a general improvement was observable in the terms of trade of agricultural countries.

S.

ELYSIAN FIELDS: *By Salvador de Madariaga. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. P. 110. Price 3s. 6d.*

Sr. Madariaga has rightly earned for himself the title of citizen of the world. There is a vein of quixotism in his brilliant writings. His idealism will be sneered at by some matter of fact realistic people of today, just as his forerunner, Don Quixote, was laughed at by some, while others, like his Sancho, fail completely to understand him. He spoke as it were a different language. No wonder then that the Sanchos of his day and the Sanchos of all time, the men who claim to face the

realities of life, men, who like Garvin in *The Observer* preach in season and out of season the gospel of realism. will deride and sneer.

Elysian Fields is a brilliant dialogue, a fitting instrument used by Madariaga with the perfection of an artist, to convey abstract and ideal teaching of great value. The dialogue is well sustained, the characters are made to reason out and to think according to the convictions they are known to have upheld in their life time. Napoleon is the uncompromising defender of militarist Imperialism: Voltaire is the sceptic and derider of religion: Washington as the builder of the United States is surprised that his country should decry a Union of all the States of the world: Karl Marx is the apostle of class-war and finally Goethe, the philosopher, discourses admirably on the organic unity of all mankind. The dialogue moves rapidly and is strewn with witticisms and penetrating remarks, keeping in tension the mind of the reader. The modernity and up-to-dateness of the discourse is cleverly maintained by the introduction of a film star and a witty criticism of the radio and television. Goethe concludes by emphasising the influence of radio in maintaining the organic unity of mankind, "the marvellous medium which puts all men into touch with all men instantaneously." The three main currents of political thought and opinion, Hitlerism, Communism and Fascism are thus reviewed and criticised.

The dialogue will give to the reader not only a delightful hour of amusement but will challenge his political and social convictions forcing him to think them out with greater logical accuracy.

P. G. BRIDGE

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM IN INDIA: By Clifford Manhardt. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pp. 128. Price 5sh.

In appraising this little book on a great subject one should bear in mind what the author attempts and the limitations under which he works. The author is an young American, who has been in Bombay for ten years before he makes "an attempt to analyse *some* (italics ours) of the causes of Hindu-Muslim tension in India." The problem is a vast one, extremely complicated, and becoming more complicated day by day in the political sphere owing to the shrewd policy of the British statecraft in creating an imperium in imperio by pandering to the Muslim claim of 'political importance' as past rulers of India, oblivious of the basic fact that ninety per cent of them are descendants of converts, who lost the political independence as well as their religion, and due to the whining attitude of the Indian National Congress in trying to placate them by 'giving a blank cheque' by way of political privileges so that they may join the Congress in its fight against the British Government. It also differs from province to province.

The problem has been approached from three different angles of vision: socio-religious, economic, and political. The discussion by the author is general, good so far as it goes, but often sketchy and one is tempted to add, superficial, more descriptive than analytical. For example, the author has failed to discuss the mentality which prompted Sir Abdur Rahim to say that he feels more at home amongst the Turkomans and the Afghans than amongst his next-door Hindu neighbours, and his significant silence when his car was riddled with bullets by the Frontier tribesmen; the mentality which prompted the late Maulana Muhammad Ali to write to the British Premier that "the Mussalman ruled over India from the beginning of the eighth century to about the middle of the nineteenth in one way or another, which no other community can claim in the same manner. The Sikh

rule for a generation in the solitary province of the Punjab, the result of an accident" and yet the same mentality does not go, dares not go against the Britishers to the same extent the 'slave' Hindus go. The author does not discuss the question why the Indian Muslims were loyal, ultra-loyal during the World War, despite the fact that the Sultan-Caliph issued a formal summons to a Holy War, and even fought against him in the Holy Land of Mesopotamia and Kerbala; and why they started the Khilafat agitation supported by Gandhiji at the close of the War? The author unfortunately leaves upon the reader an impression of over-cautiousness and timidity, perhaps well-meant, but a study like this—however brief it may be, cannot be helpful unless it faces the several issues squarely and expresses definite opinions, even running the risk of appearing to be dogmatic. For an opinion from a foreign student, situated like the author, is expected to be thought-provoking and leading to self-analysis, even when it is ultimately found to be wrong.

In his constructive statement the author lays great stress on the need and value of "Intelligent Goodwill" as providing the best solution. The author condemns the narrow communalist; and says:—"Though the communal solution to the political problem now holds the field, the national solution must be held up as the future goal." In his penultimate concluding paragraph he says:—"The outstanding need in India is for political parties which will appeal for the support of the people upon the basis of merit, instead of upon the basis of religious prejudices. Parliaments of Religion have their place, but legislatures should be political bodies. The Catholics in the United States and Great Britain have strong religious sentiments, but when it comes to political affairs they think in terms of politics. As long as politics are on a communal basis there is very little hope for alternate Governments which come into being or fall upon national issues. Under the present arrangement the Muslims are practically doomed to remain a political minority and to accept such favours as they can secure. The Party System is working at the present time in the Presidency of Madras, where the Justice Party and the Congress are already strengthening their political fences in anticipation of the new Constitution (the book was published in 1936). And in Madras communal trouble is much less prevalent than in other sections of India. An extension of the Madras System would go far towards clearing the atmosphere in other parts of India."

The Chapter "Communalism Run Wild" should have been treated as an appendix; in its present place it disturbs the unity of the essay.

J. M. DATTA

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF MSS. IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, Vol. II. Part II. Section I. Nos. 1-538, pp. xx+1168. (Stationery Office. London, 1937).

The India Office, London, possesses a vast collection of MSS. in European languages (mostly English with a few in French and still fewer in Dutch), which are of the utmost value for Asiatic (especially Indian) history. These are being constantly added to by purchase and gift. Very scholarly and elaborate catalogues of these are being published. Volume I in two parts deals with the Mackenzie Collection (Madras and Mysore), and Vol. II in three parts describes all the other sections. The first Part of Vol. II (Home Miscellaneous, Orme Collection by S. C. Hill) is a work of outstanding importance, and the present reviewer remembers with gratitude how it has helped him in his historical inquiries. The second Part of this Vol. II is now before us. It was prepared by

the late Mr. Kaye and well maintains the high standard of Hill's work, while going into far greater detail than Hill and therefore proving even more helpful to distant investigators. The elaborateness of the editor's work can be judged from the fact that two Mutiny MSS.—Ed. A. Reade's letters (Agra) and the Memoranda of the Chief of the Staff (Mansfield), 1857-1859—are calendared letter by letter in 18 and 25 pages respectively.

As an indication of the importance of this collection we may mention that it embraces the MSS. of Fowke (W. Hastings), Sir Philip Francis, Buchanan-Hamilton, C. Forbes, Abbe Dubois, Sir Stamford Raffles (Java), Rich, Moorcroft, Sykes (Burma) and Brian Hodgson (Nepal), besides others. There are also MS. translations of several Persian histories by well-known Orientalists in the E. I. Co.'s service. Of special interest to Bengal is the original draft of the Rev. James Long's *List of Books Printed in Bengal* (p. 1123), and to Maharashtra the original of what Forrest has printed, namely, the English translation of the Raigarh life of Shivaji (90 Kalam) made by R. Drummond from a copy lent by Lt. Frissell (p. 756); and also the account of the painter Wales's illness and death (p. 575). The following corrections have been suggested by a friend: P. 15, in the footnote read *donquery*—d' Ouquery, i.e., of Ikeri in Western Mysore. P. 1099, for *Kunuk?* read *Kuruk*, i.e., Kharg Singh. P. 480, the survey work of Reynolds is described by Malet in Poona Residency, Vol. II, ed. by G. S. Sardesai.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL: By Mukul Gupta, M.A., *Personal Assistant to the Director of Industries, Bengal.* Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal. Pp. 62. Price annas six only.

It is an interesting publication giving as it does, a clear and precise idea about the origin and development of cotton mill industry in Bengal supported by up-to-date statistics as far as it has been possible for the writer to collect. Cotton mills have immense possibilities in Bengal and it is time that attention of the people who possess the enterprise and necessary resources should be drawn in this direction. A perusal of the monograph drives home the unhappy fact that in spite of obvious advantages Bengal is dependent on foreign and outside sources of supply for her 'cloth' requirements to an unreasonable extent. It may be pleaded that it may not be advisable to endeavour to be independent of extraneous sources of supply irrespective of considerations of comparative advantage. But Bengal stands today in such a position that it will be long before her cotton mill industry is so developed as to outrage this economic principle. Even then, there is no reason why should we not make every effort to take our legitimate share in one of our most important industries.

Those who are interested in the cotton mill industry will find this monograph useful. The merit of the publication lies in the fact that the writer has made a subjective study of an industry exclusively from Bengal's point of view and there is need for such studies indeed.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHART: By Swami Yogananda. Published by Yogada Sat-Sang, Ranchi. Price annas six only.

This chart has been framed with a view to enabling teachers and guardians to have a comprehensive knowledge of the mental traits of their pupils and wards.

VEDANTA IN DAILY LIFE: By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati; Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh (Himalayas). Price Rs. 5 only.

This book, as its name suggests, is not intended to be a systematic exposition of the philosophy of the Vedanta; relevant topics of the monistic Vedanta have been discussed in it, not however from the standpoint of the scholar, but from that of the Sadhaka; and it is also for his benefit that two minor works of Acharya Sankara have been incorporated in the book. The practical hints on Sadhana, are well-worth trying.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

HISTORY OF HOOGHLY COLLEGE: By K. Zachariah. Government of Bengal Publication. Price -/11/- as. only.

The social and cultural history of Bengal as well as the history of education in this province in the last two centuries are yet to be written. When they are written it will be found how the history of education can explain to a great extent the social and cultural trends in Bengal in the last two hundred years. Materials for such history remain scattered in the archives of the Government departments, in contemporary literature and elsewhere. Principal Zachariah has done a great service to students of education and also of social and cultural history by publishing this very valuable and remarkably well-written history of Hooghly College on the occasion of its centenary celebrations. While dealing with the actual history of the College, he has presented us with a panorama of the life of generations of students in Bengal from the early thirties of the last century to our own times, a panorama which will be of great interest to all students of the cultural history of Bengal. Students of education too will find here much that is interesting and illuminating. The printing as well as the get-up of the book is good; but unfortunately there have crept in a large number of printing mistakes, for instance in the date of the foundation of the Calcutta School Book Society, which I hope will be corrected in a subsequent edition.

MIRABAI: By Nalinimohan Sanyal. Published by Ramnarain Lal, Allahabad. Pp. 44. Price six annas.

It is a pamphlet on Mirabai the famous poetess saint of mediæval India and her songs. The writer has taken pains to collect the various accounts current about the life and story of Mirabai. He has also discussed the relative historicity of these and has given what he considers to be "a true account of her life in the light of modern research with a discourse on her bhajans." He has rightly rejected the current accounts which connect Mira with Maharana Kumbha of Mewar. It has now been conclusively proved that Mira could not have been married to Kumbha. But while removing certain erroneous popular misconceptions about Mirabai the author has tried to justify one gross misconception without sufficient proof. Relying on a poem by Tulsidās he has tried to show how Mirabai corresponded with Tulsidās and how he was influenced by him; to make Tulsidās contemporary of Mira, he has gone so far as to push back the commonly accepted birth date of Tulsidās! And all this for a poem which might have been addressed by Tulsidās to anyone! On similar reasons Rabindranath might also be suggested to have been a contemporary of Mira for he has numerous poems which a facile imagination may attribute to have been addressed to Mirabai. Every anecdote is not history.

I am not also sure if the writer has done justice to Mira when he says that Mira made a "boastful display of her rebellious temper and disregard for public opinion

in many of her poems" (pp. 19ff). I am afraid Mr. Sanyal has absolutely failed to catch the spirit of these poems. These are humble statements of a woman who was anything but boastful about her religious and spiritual experiences.

In spite of these shortcomings this pamphlet has value inasmuch as it contains a much-needed collection of materials out of which a more accurate life history of Mirabai can be constructed.

THE NEW MENACE TO HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN BENGAL: By Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri. Published by Messrs. Chuckervery Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 127. Price not mentioned.

Of late the system of education in Bengal, specially that of secondary education has come for a good deal of criticism by the Government of the province. It is as if the Government has suddenly woke up and found that the system of secondary education which it had been fostering with tender care for the last one hundred years and for the development and the present state of which it is not a little responsible is rotten beyond words and it needs must be changed and reshaped without any delay. One would think that the Government is showing almost indecent haste in trying to effect these changes. Perhaps behind this haste there is the idea that the present condition of secondary education is responsible for the major evils infecting our body politic and that a reform of secondary education will cure among others the evil of unemployment. Education is no doubt a potent factor in shaping the national life; but one is yet to see an example of education remedying the evil of unemployment which is essentially due to economic and political factors.

The problem of secondary education in Bengal is vast as well as complex. There can be no hasty reform of this problem. There is no short cut to the solution. What we need today is a well-planned and comprehensive and coordinated policy of secondary education, a policy which will be evolved by the joint efforts of the Government and the people of the province.

Mr. Chaudhuri has boldly laid bare the chief defects of the secondary schools and he has spared none. He has shown how lack of funds, absence of a continuity of policy in the administration of secondary schools, excess of Government control, foreign medium of instruction, failure of the present system to enrich the character and spiritual life of the pupils and others have been responsible for the futility of the system in achieving what should properly have been its objectives. But the remedy lies not in curing the defects and not in stifling the patient, for that Mr. Chaudhuri suspects to be the real objective of the Government behind the measures advocated by them.

One may not agree with Mr. Chaudhuri in everything he says; one must listen to what he says in this well-documented and thought provoking study of the problems of secondary education in Bengal. I commend it to all who desire a happy solution to these problems.

It is a pity that the book could not be reviewed when it first came in my hand. But the proposed Secondary Education Bill has once more brought the problems in the public limelight and it is opportune to place the book once more before the public.

A. N. BASU

YOU: By G. S. Arundale. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 334.

This is a fairly comprehensive exposition, of the Theosophical point of view regarding the individual's birth in this world, his life and the various relations in which

he has to live his life. The birth of an individual in a particular family, in a particular nation, and in particular circumstance is explained according to theosophical principles. The proper relation to be maintained between the human, sub-human and super-human kingdoms is also discussed. The problem of war and peace and the prevention of war also receives attention. At the end of the book, we have a summary of the chief tenets of Theosophy according to the author of the book. According to Theosophy, there is life everywhere and life is one; life is a movement and there is an hierarchy of life.

Some of the theories are quite interesting. Thus we are told (p. 45) that one's "father in this life has probably been a relative many times before, and certainly a comparatively close friend." The same applies to one's mother. "Relatives in this life have, during the long past, filled every possible kind of relationship."

As to our relations with the sub-human kingdom, we are reminded that "the life we now cherish in ourselves has had to pass through both vegetable and animal kingdoms" (p. 96). Therefore we should not kill animals except in self-defence (p. 94), nor pluck flowers and plants "to provide satisfaction for our decorative and so-called artistic instincts" (p. 96). Besides sub-human beings, there are super-human personages who "form a Company, a Brotherhood, organized to direct and guide the world's evolution" (p. 104).

Whether one accepts all the conclusions of the author, or not, the book provides interesting reading and fully deserves study.

ICH DIEN: Published by Kevalram Dayaram, Karachi.

It is a pamphlet in which an account is given of the various organizations through which Theosophy seeks to benefit humanity. Persons interested in the movement will find much useful information in it.

ANNIE BESANT AND THE CHANGING WORLD: By Bhagavan Das, D. Litt. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This booklet contains an account of the life and character of Annie Besant from the pen of one who knew her intimately. It is well worth a perusal.

IT HAPPENED IN INDIA: By Fred Barrie. Published by Messrs. Waterloo Publications, Ltd., P. O. Box 306, Mount Road, Madras. Pp. 198.

The book consists of fifteen chapters containing fifteen short stories. The stories deal with Indian life or that aspect of Indian life in which Englishmen also sometimes enter and life of English India or what is less euphemistically called Anglo-India. The scenes and events are depicted with insight and with a touch of sympathy and good humour, which make the stories delightful reading. It is a fine little book which will allay the anguish of many a tired and work-worn soul.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE HIMALAYAS—IN AND ACROSS: By Nityanarayan Banerjee. The New Book Stall, 9, Ramamah Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 135 and 38 illustrations.

The author presents us with an account of his pilgrimage to Manasarovar, Badrinath and other places in the Himalayas. His account lacks colour and movement; but this has been chiefly due to his unhappy choice of a foreign tongue as the medium of expression.

The book is disfigured by a profusion of printing mistakes.

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH : *Fourth Annual Report. Kingsway, Delhi.*

This report of about a hundred pages contains a detailed account of the Social, Educational and Economic activities of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It contains much useful information about the present state of untouchability in India and of the organisations working for its removal.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PATHS TO DISCOVERY : *By C. T. Philip, M.A. with a Foreward by Sir C. V. Raman, Kt. Published by Malayala Manorama, Kottayam (Travancore). Pp. XI+210. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under review is a narration of scientific discoveries and inventions, written in a novel and charming manner. The public is often ignorant of the particular circumstance which led to a discovery, or of the toils and ordeals that the discoverers have to face before success is achieved. These have been vividly described in simple and lucid style. We are thankful to the author for the book, a perusal of which should arouse an interest in the young generation for scientific studies and research.

SOUREN DEY

SANSKRIT

VARADAMBIKAPARINAYACAMPU : *Edited with an Introduction by Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.). With a commentary in Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya Giridhara Sharma Chaturveda and Haridatta Sharma. Matilal Banarasi Dass, Publishers and Booksellers. Said Miha Bazar, Lahore.*

There is reference to a good many women poets and scholars in Sanskrit literature. But very few works by them are known to have survived and fewer still have been published. Congratulations are therefore due to Prof. Lakshman Sarup for the discovery and critical edition of this historical romance composed by Tirumalamba, a queen of King Acyutaraya of Vijayanagara, hero of the work. It was subjected to a critical study for number of years since its discovery in Tanjore by the learned editor in 1924. A number of papers were contributed by Prof. Sarup drawing attention of the world of scholars to the varied importance of the work and a tentative edition was published in 1932 in the Oriental College Magazine of Lahore. A Hindi translation was issued, at the instance of the Professor, by Pandits Giridhara Sharma and Purushottama Sharma. An English translation is also stated to have been prepared by one of his pupils. But a handy and scholarly edition of the work was a desideratum which has happily been removed by the present publication. The introduction, of which a Sanskrit version is also appended, gives a detailed account of the poet and her work, the poetical excellence of which is fully described. It is unfortunate, however, that no description has been given of the manuscript of the work though it is the only manuscript so far known. The brief Sanskrit commentary will be found useful in following the text, which not unlikely the texts of other works of the type, is occasionally difficult. The concluding verse of this commentary gives Hari as the name of its author though it is stated in the title page to have been composed jointly by Pandits Giridhara Sharma and Hari Datta Sharma.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT-HINDI

BHARATA-PARIJATAM : *Author and Publisher Swami Bhagavadacharya. Laheripura, Baroda. Pp. 38+532. Price Rs. 3/8/-*

This imposing and rather surprising work is an epic in twenty-six cantos which gives, in good Sanskrit verse with Hindi translation, a fairly accurate account of Mahatma Gandhi's life and work right up to the assumption of ministerial offices in the provinces. Here and there the author interposes long descriptions in true Sanskrit tradition, perhaps only to meet the requirements of the *mahakavya*. The book is a monument to the dexterity and virtuosity of the author and is likely to interest those for whom these qualities are the essence of literary composition. Others too may delve in it as a literary curio.

S. H. V.

BENGALI

CHAYANIKA : OR SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE. *Demy 8vo., pp. xvi+488+viii. Price : paper cover, Rs. 2-12; cloth, Rs. 3-8 and Rs. 4.*

This book of selections has been printed twelve times up-to-date. It was first printed twenty-eight years ago. Some time before its publication, all readers of Tagore's Bengali poems were asked publicly to submit a list of what each reader regarded as the best poems of the author. Many readers sent such lists. The most popular poems were then selected according to these lists. This is the origin of this book of selections. In subsequent editions and reprints, fresh lists were not called for. But additions have been made repeatedly.

When the poet made his own selection, and the poems chosen by him were published in the form of a volume named *Sanchayita*, which has been noticed in a previous number of this Review, he wished that *Chayanika* should no longer be reprinted. But the latter has been so popular that the publication department of Visvabharati has gone on reprinting it.

In its present issue, the volume contains poems published so long as fifty-four years ago, as well as poems published so recently as the year 1938.

I have no doubt this enlarged reprint of the Selections will be welcomed by all lovers of Rabindranath's poems.

BANGLAY BHRAMAN : OR TRAVELS IN BENGAL.

This is a Guide Book published by the Eastern Bengal Railway. The size of the page is about that of *The Modern Review*. It contains 164 pages and is profusely illustrated. The get-up is excellent. The price is only eight annas. It contains descriptions of the history, arts and crafts and cultural achievements of the principal places of which accounts are given in it.

Though it is called "Travels in Bengal," it omits accounts of the Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions, which are not served by the Eastern Bengal Railway. But as it includes many places in the province of Assam, many of which are in *geographical and linguistic* Bengal, I think the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities should include in the next edition the Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions and districts like Manbhum in the province of Bihar which are really parts of *linguistic and geographical* Bengal; and this they can easily do by arrangement with the East Indian Railway and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

D.

HINDI

SAMKSHIPTA JAINA ITIHASA. VOL. III. PT. I: By Kamta Prasad Jain. Published by Mulchand Kisanadas Kapadia, Proprietor, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Kapadia Bhaban, Surat.

This Hindi work on the history of the Jains, of which four parts—each complete in itself—have been published since 1926, is a storehouse of Jain mythology and folklore, chiefly on the basis of which, supplemented by epigraphic records and other sources of information, a vivid account has been given in these pages of various saints and kings who helped in different ways in the propagation of Jainism. The part under review deals with Jainism in South India and describes the association of some of these great men with this side of the country. It is divided into two parts—Mythological period and Historical Period, the latter running up to the 5th century A.D., the subsequent period being put off for the next part. Copious references have been given to original sources so that readers may be able to verify the statements of the author and gather additional information where necessary. The present part maintains the reputation of the author whose contributions on the history of Jainism are varied and important. We hope the learned author will deal with the literature, philosophy and rituals of the Jains in some of the subsequent parts of the series. The publisher owes it to himself to improve the printing and get-up of this useful series of publication.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

VIJAYANAGARA SMARAKA GRANTHA: Edited by D. P. Karmarkar and R. V. Oturkar. Published by the Bharatiya-Itihasa-Samsodhaka-Mandala, Poona. Pp. 402. Price Four Rupees.

This book, the forty-fifth in the Indian Historical Research series published by the Bharatiya-Itihasa-Samsodhaka-Mandala of Poona, is the Marathi Edition of the memorial volume issued on the occasion of the 6th centenary of Vijayanagar celebrated in December 1936.

The volume comprising papers contributed by the leading historicals and scholars of western and Southern India, provides a detailed picture of the Vijayanagar Empire. The cultural and literary achievements are treated as exhaustively as the political and economic conditions, and a short history of the empire adds to the usefulness of the book. There are a number of illustrations, a map, chronology, and several appendices.

V.

TELUGU

ROOM TO LET (Six Short Stories): By P. Bala Krishna Sastry. Yuva Karyalaya Series No. 3. Pp. 101. Price As. 4. Can be had of Yuva Karyalaya, Pathapet, Tenali.

Mr. Sastry reserves a decent future for himself among the Telugu story-writers, with his keen insight into the student world. He is commendable at certain places with his subtle humour.

KANTAM KAIFIAAT (Ten Short Stories): By Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao. Yuva Karyalaya Series No. 4. Pp. 107. Price As. 4. Can be had of Yuva Karyalaya, Pathapet, Tenali.

Mr. Munimanikyam's facile pen presents Kantam, the heroine of these stories, in better situation than he placed her in these series previously.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

GUJARATI

GUJARATI SAHIYA, ITS MANAN AND VIVECHAN: By Ramchandra Damodar Shukla, M.A., LL.B. Dohad. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press. Ahmedabad. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2 (1936).

The title of this collection of articles published in different publications between 1924 and 1936 fully justifies itself, as the contents disclose both cogitation (*Manan*) and criticism (*Vivechan*) of the present Gujarati Literature. The strong point of the writer is distinctly an intense and deep study of the literature, made from several viewpoints, and as such commendable. The views however formed in 1924 or 1926 should not be regarded as unchangeable but open to revision. For instance, *Milestones* and *Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature* were never meant to be works of criticism; they were to show to non-Gujarati knowing readers certain outstanding features of old and new Gujarati literature and therefore called "Milestones." They were written at the desire of an Englishman who wanted to know what sort of literature Gujarati had got. Those humble efforts were not meant to be pretentious works of criticism. All the fourteen articles furnish a very intelligent guide to the works of those authors who are discussed there.

SARTHA GUJARATI JODANI KOSHA edited by Maganbhai P. Desai and others of the Gujarat Vidyapitha. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board, Pp. 616. Price Rs. 4-0-0 (1937). Third Edition: Revised and Enlarged.

One of the abiding salutary results of the working of the Gujarat Vidyapitha founded by Mahatma Gandhi, would be this dictionary in Gujarati, composed in the most approved standards of spelling in the language. For short and long vowels each one spelt as he liked. In fact chaos prevailed and no one was concerned to remove it. Several attempts have been made to standardise spelling but they failed for lack of authority to enforce the standard. Gandhiji felt it to be a stigma on the language and set about to remove it with the help of some scholars of his Vidyapitha, and the result is this very valuable volume. The spelling of each word is based on the greatest common factor obtaining in the different views till now prevailing and is based on reason or rational lines. The attempt has been well received, and the University of Bombay has adopted the system. It would work down at least to the Secondary or High schools from there and thus ultimately reach primary institutions. After Narmadashankar's monumental Kosha published in A.D. 1873, nothing equally valuable and authoritative has come out till now, and the very fact that a third Edition has been called for during a course of eight years testifies to its great utility. We congratulate the authors heartily.

PRACHIN BHARATVARSHA: Part III by Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah. Published by Shashikant & Co., Baroda. Cloth Bound. Pp. 405+45. Price As. 8 (1937).

This excellent history of ancient India deals in this part, with the decline and fall of the Maurya dynasty, the rule of the Shungas and the invasions of India by foreigners, such as Yons, Scythians, Parthians, &c. Incidentally the author traces the origin of Porwal (d)s, Oswals, and Shirmalis, import out sections of the Hindu inhabitants of Gujarat and theorises also in the origin of the word Gujarat (Gujaratra) itself. It continues its admirable feature of basing every statement

on some authority or other and the index at the end serves a very useful purpose.

K. M. J.

HIRAK BADODRA : By *Chimanlal Maganlal Doctor, M.A., LL.B., Editor, "Nava Gujrat," Baroda 1936. Re. 1-12.*

His Highness Maharaja Sri Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III ascended the throne in 1875, and the event was commemorated in 1935 on the happy occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. The book under notice, beginning with a brief sketch of the life of His Highness, goes on to show to what good use the Gaekwad has put the fruitful years of his life—religious and social reforms, educational measures (including physical exercises for boys and girls; Oriental Institute, and the Central Library), village uplift, district assemblies, municipal and road improvements, taluka administration, state produce, trade and commerce, sanitation and hospital arrangements, police and army organization, etc. Next follows an account of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, etc. The two appendices, giving a chronological list of events during the reign and the geneological chart of His

Highness' dependants, will be useful for reference. The reader will find in this a convenient account of the progress of Baroda, one of the most progressive states of Modern India.

P. R. SEN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

DRINK IN INDIA, SOME FACTS AND FIGURES : By *The Rev. Herberst Anderson (Late of Calcutta) Indian Conciliation Group. New series No. 1. Obtainable from the Friends Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1. Pp. 8. Price One Penny, 1937.*

UNEMPLOYMENT : By *J. C. Kumarappa. The India Today series. Published by The Hindustan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry, S. India. Pocket-book size. Pp. 27. Price As. 2. 1938.*

POTTERY FOR HEALTH AND POTTERY AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY : By *R. V. Lakshmi Ratan (Senior). With an introduction by Dr. V. Subrahmanian. To be had of the Author, 316, Thambu Chetty Street, Madras, Pp. X+26.*

THE SPEAKER AND HIS PARTY

By **PROF. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.**

MR. Purushottamdas Tandon, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces, has created a hornet's nest around his ears by making some outspoken statements about his connection with the Congress organisation in his province. Mr. Tandon has always been noted as a vigorous and self-sacrificing nationalist. His contribution to the Congress movement in the U. P. and for the matter of that in the whole country is enormous. Some years back when in consequence of the unfortunate death of Lala Lajpat Rai, he was chosen to be the President of the Servant of the People Society, Lahore, the Society was congratulated from far and near on this election.

It was but a foregone conclusion that a man of his traditions and disposition would never entertain the idea of effacing himself completely within the Speaker's chair. When he agreed to be set up as a candidate for the Speakership it was taken for granted by those who happened to know him, either directly or indirectly, that his acceptance of the position would not result in his banishment from the political arena. The expectations have now come true. Mr. Tandon has given it out as his deliberate opinion that to preside over the

sittings of the Legislative Assembly is not inconsistent with his old position as a political gladiator. He tells us definitely that it is not difficult at all for a strong, just and honest man to hold the scales even between different groups in the Assembly Chamber and simultaneously to participate directly in the national movement outside.

Those who usually swear by British practice and tradition, have been shocked by this unorthodox attitude of the Speaker of the United Provinces. For about a century a tradition has crystallised in Great Britain to the effect that a member of the House of Commons once elected to the Speaker's chair, sheds his party colours and gets rid of his party ties. He no longer receives the party whip and never attends a party meeting. Henceforward he becomes the chief officer of the House and nothing more. As a servant of the House he serves this chamber and acknowledges no other allegiance. The Speaker is expected to regard his duties as judicial in character and consequently he must be above politics. As concomitants of this tradition of divorcing the Speaker from his party, two other practices have also grown in Great Britain. The first is that when the Parliament is dissolved and a general election is held

the Speaker's seat is not contested.¹ He is returned unopposed to the House. Secondly, on his return to the chamber he is re-elected automatically as the Speaker in the new House. This process continues so long as he wishes to remain in his position. When, however, because of old age, he decides to retire, he is given the handsome annual pension of £4,000 and a peerage, if he is not opposed to it on principle.

While this is the British practice and while this practice has been very closely followed in the British Dominions as well, France and the United States have developed traditions in this respect, entirely opposite in character. In France the President of both the Chamber and the Senate is elected on party basis and never ceases to be a party man. His seat never goes uncontested and at the time of the general election he woos the voters of his constituency as a party man and on his return to the House his re-election to the presidentship is neither automatic nor certain. He may be re-elected but not necessarily. Secondly, it is to be noted that as President he is not expected to discharge functions of his Office with judicial impartiality. He is rather expected to issue his rulings in favour of his group and to show preference to speakers of the same party allegiance as his own. Thirdly, it should be remembered that the President as President is a great political figure. He is called upon at times by the President of the Republic to inform him as to the numerical strength of different groups in the Chamber and as to the possibilities of coalition between several of them. He is also called upon to offer him advice as to the person who should be invited to form the Ministry either after a general election or at the moment of a Cabinet crisis. Further, it is important to remember that the President of the Chamber may himself be called upon to form the Government and may actually undertake the task. In fact there have been many occasions when he left the President's chair to become the head of the Cabinet. In England also it is true that such a translation from the Speaker's chair to the office of the Prime Minister was at one time not unknown. In 1801 Addington, who had been the Speaker of the House of Commons for some years, "was transferred straight from the Chair of the House to the office of Prime Minister." In the previous centuries the practice was more startling still. A person would preside over the deliberations of the House of Commons and at the same

time occupy the office of a Minister of the Crown. Sir Edward Coke combined the office of the Speaker with that of the Solicitor-General. Sir Edward Seymour similarly combined the offices of the Speaker and the Treasurer of the Navy. Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, was, while occupying the Chair of the Speaker, appointed Secretary of State. He combined for some time the two incongruous offices and at the same time led the Tory Party.² Of course in Great Britain such a practice has now become obsolete. Not only the combination of the office of the Speaker with that of a Minister of the Crown is unthinkable today but even the translation from the Speaker's chair to a Cabinet Office will now meet with no toleration at the hands of the public. But in France the latter practice is not only tolerated but often encouraged by public opinion.

In the U. S. A. the Speaker of the House of Representatives was originally expected to be the prototype of the Speaker of the House of Commons. But the traditions of the two offices were developed subsequently on different and even opposite lines. While the Speaker of the British House of Commons became gradually a semi-judicial functionary and became on that account increasingly divorced from party affiliations, the Speaker of the House of Representatives was required more and more to be an avowed party man and become steadfast in his party loyalty. After every general election in the U. S. A., the two parties concentrate today all their energy and all their forces on securing the election of their own nominee as Speaker. For long the Speaker, apart from his normal duties of presiding over the deliberations of the House, had some other privileges and powers which made his position an all important one. This would explain why election to his office became emphatically a party issue.

In Great Britain the business of the legislature is largely dominated by the Cabinet. But in the U. S. A. the Cabinet is neither responsible to the Legislature, nor has it any place in either of its chambers. Legislative business is therefore very largely regulated and determined by the Committees. For long it was a part of the prerogative of the Speaker to constitute these Committees. His position therefore was crucial and pivotal in the legislative organisation of the federation. It is intelligible on this score why the two parties fought so doggedly for the prize. For over two decades of course

1. The practice is not so very uniform as it is often represented to be. Exceptions are cited in a later stage of the article.

2. These facts have been taken from Redlich's *The Procedure of the House of Commons*, II.

the privilege of forming the Committees has been withdrawn from the Speaker and vested in the House itself. But although the Speaker has been deprived of this power, he is still today elected on party lines and is expected, while in office, to grind the party axe. He is not expected to be impartial in his treatment of the two wings of the House. He is, on the contrary, expected to pass over the claims of those members who belong to the opposite party and show preference to those aspirants who belong to his own group.

Mr. Tandon has in his statement pointed out that, although his attitude is not supported by British convention, it is on all fours with the French and American practice. This statement is not exactly correct. He has done himself an injustice by such a comparison. From the contents of the previous paragraphs it will be patent to all that Mr. Tandon is departing no doubt to some extent from English traditions but he is not thereby wholeheartedly accommodating himself to the French and American custom. As we have seen, in both these two countries the Speaker is not only an active participant in politics but he does not exercise impartiality even within the House. On the contrary, he is expected by his party colleagues to show preference to them during the debates in the Chamber. Mr. Tandon, however is definitely of opinion that inside the Assembly he must hold the scales even between one group and another and show partiality to none. It is only outside the House that he will break away from British tradition and take part in political affairs. The position of Mr. Tandon is, therefore, midway between the position of the British Speaker on the one side and that of the President of the French Chamber and the Speaker of the American House of Representatives on the other.

We should now see whether the position taken up by Mr. Tandon is correct or not and whether it can be justified by the circumstances of the country. Those who are putting Mr. Tandon on the pillory for his divergence from British practice ought to bear in mind the fact that this practice in England is only little more than fifty years old. As late as 1870 we find the Speaker of the House of Commons frankly giving expression to his views on political questions which were before the House. In the committees which were not presided over by the Speaker, he used until then to express his opinions very freely on all topics which came up for discussion. In the first quarter of the 19th century Catholic emancipation was a live question in Great Britain. To express an opinion on this subject was tantamount to

active participation in controversial politics. But in 1813 we find Speaker Abbott expressing himself very strongly against a Bill introduced by Grattan for the relief of Catholics. In 1821 and 1825 his successor Mr. Manners Sutton similarly spoke against the repeal of Catholic disabilities. In 1856 the Speaker, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, spoke in a Committee of the House of Commons on the management of the British Museum and 14 years later Speaker Denison similarly expressed himself definitely in a committee meeting against an unjust item of proposed taxation. These facts would show clearly as to how short is the present practice of divorcing the Speaker from all connection with politics.

The Speaker again may be asked to cut away from all his party ties only if he can be absolutely made sure of re-election both to the House and to its chair. None, however, will possibly be able to guarantee in India such double re-election time after time. In Great Britain itself the tradition in one respect has not been uniform and unvarying. In theory it is expected that the Speaker's constituency should not be contested and that he should be returned unopposed to the House. Actually however during the last 50 years twice his election to the House was contested. In 1895 the Speaker Mr. Gully, was opposed, though unsuccessfully, by a candidate put up by the Tory Party in his constituency of Carlisle. Similarly in 1935 the Labour Party set up a candidate to oppose the election of the Speaker by his constituency to the House of Commons. On this occasion also the contest was unsuccessful and the Speaker had an easy walk-over to the Parliament. But still the fact stands that in course of half a century the convention was twice broken. We need not pause to discuss the reasons. It is the fact of the opposition which is really relevant.

In England there is a tradition of one man remaining in one office for long. There are many persons in the House of Commons who have enjoyed several terms of membership at a stretch. There are even more than half a dozen who could claim membership of the House for well-nigh half a century. If in a country with such traditions the Speaker's re-election cannot be made absolutely sure, it can be imagined what hope there is in this respect in India where such a tradition is unlikely to strike root. Here the people may not exactly welcome the principle of rotation in office which finds favour in the United States. But all the same it may be assumed that very long membership of a legislative chamber will always be

a rare exception in India. At present in the Legislative Assembly at the Centre there is only one gentleman who has been a member of that House continuously since 1921 and it should be noted that he is a nominated member. In the provincial legislatures also continuous membership is rather rare. In the city council of Calcutta long membership has been actually discouraged by the Leader of the Congress Party. Mr. S. C. Bose gave it out as his opinion on the eve of the last general Corporation election that those who had already served in the Council for 9 years should not seek re-election. In other words, it may be said that there is a definite opinion in the country to the effect that a person should not be returned term after term to the legislature or for the matter of that to any other public assembly. That being the case it is unlikely that an exception will be made in favour of one member of the House, the member who will be occupying the chair of the Speaker. He also after one or two terms of Speakership may be discouraged from seeking re-election to the house. In that case he will be without any occupation.

Secondly, it should also be borne in mind that the office of the Speaker is both a responsible and a lucrative one. It is unlikely that such an office will be allowed in the present situation of the country to be permanently occupied by a person belonging to one particular community. Already the principle of rotation has been accepted in some provinces in respect of the office of the City Mayor. Such a convention may be accepted before long in regard to the election of the Speaker as well. In case such a convention is actually acted up to, what will be the position of the Speaker who has cut off his connection with the party and has not been re-elected to this office?

In India the assemblies are constituted on the principle of the representation of communities and interests. A particular member represents not a territorial constituency consisting of all its inhabitants and certainly he does not represent the whole province. He represents only a particular community belonging to a particular part of the province or he represents a particular economic or cultural interest. Now in case a member of the house representing one community or one interest is elected to the Speakership, to all intents and purposes he is lost to the interest or to the community which he happens to represent. For one term his constituency may forgive him this neglect on his part of its interests in the Legislature. But it cannot be expected that term after term he would be elected by a particular constituency

although he would render to it no service as a representative. In Bengal, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury was returned by the landholders constituency of the Dacca Division to the Legislative Council. But when he was elected the President of the House, he could no longer act as the mouthpiece of the landholding class of that division. When, therefore, the general election was held in 1937, his seat was successfully contested by another landholder and he was thrown out from his seat in the legislature and consequently from the Speaker's chair as well. What happened in the case of the Maharaja of Santosh may happen in most other cases as well. The principle of allowing the Speaker an uncontested return to the house may be difficult to respect in this country.

Nor should a principle of conduct on the part of an Indian Speaker be regarded as undesirable only because it does not exactly conform to the House of Commons practice. A parliamentary practice in fact cannot be transplanted from one country to another irrespective of the circumstances of the two countries. Political conditions in India may be too different and may be too uncongenial for a British tradition to thrive in Indian provinces. We must also see to it whether the duties which the Speaker has to perform cannot be impartially discharged by him although he may participate in political work outside the Assembly. It may be conceded at once that the Speaker who takes active part in the affairs of his own party outside the chamber may develop some prejudice against people who belong to rival groups and factions. But even if a Speaker may be prejudiced to some extent against those members of the house, who do not belong to his own side, it is not likely that he will not give them full opportunity in the house. In the first place no Speaker will think it worthwhile to incur an unnecessary unpopularity by refusing proper opportunity to the members of the opposition. Secondly, the work in the Assemblies is done according to a procedure which leaves to the Speaker very little scope for showing undue partiality to his own side. Usually it is glibly assumed that when a subject is to be discussed, the Speaker may accommodate a member of his own party in preference to a member of the opposition. In this way the voice of other groups may be stifled and that of his own group may be topmost in the chamber. In the British House of Commons, however, it is a practice to give opportunity alternately to the members of the two sides of the House to speak on certain subjects. Similarly in our Assemblies also it

is a practice of the Speakers to give opportunity to all the groups in the house to have their say on a subject which may claim the attention of the Assembly for the time being. This practice is too deep-rooted to be overthrown by any Speaker, however partially disposed he may be.

It is true that individual members may often suffer because of their not catching the eyes of the Speaker. He, however, sees to it all the same that according to its numerical strength every group gets an opportunity of speaking out its mind on any topic which is on the anvil of the house. In Bengal, so far as the present writer is aware, every group was given an opportunity of speaking on the Tenancy Bill which was passed by the Assembly in the last Autumn Session. Similarly in the matter of the Budget which is now before the Assembly, the Speaker has divided the subjects among different groups and every group will be required to concentrate on some particular subjects. Not that the members of the coalition group would not be entitled to speak during the Budget debates on a subject which has been assigned to the Congress Group or *vice versa*, but for the sake of convenience it has been arranged in consultation with the leaders of different parties that some subjects would be mainly taken up by one group and some sub-

jects by another. It is likely that the procedure followed in the Bengal Assembly is in all essentials and principles followed elsewhere as well. In this arrangement it is impossible for the Speaker to show preference to one group and do injustice to another. Then in case of Rulings which are not covered by definite standing orders, the Speaker has some scope no doubt of promoting the interests of the Government that be or of the opposition in the legislature for the time being. But it should be known that the Speaker first of all is to maintain his own reputation and popularity with all groups in the house and consequently he is unlikely to give any ruling in a manner which may be unacceptable to the general opinion of the house and which is inconsistent with justice and fairplay.

In view of what has been put in the previous paragraphs, those who are now decrying the attitude of Mr. Tandon may reconsider their own standpoint. They need not think that, simply because he has decided to maintain his party connections outside the house, his impartiality within the chamber will become out of the question. He may act justly and impartially as the presiding officer of the chamber without foregoing his party affiliations. There is in fact no practical inconsistency between the two.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE AS A JURIST

By MATILAL DAS

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE is revered as a great seer, admired as a prophet of Indian nationalism, loved as the creator of the Bengali novel and adored as the greatest exponent of the renaissance in Bengal.

British rule gave to Bengal the light of modern life and with British goods came also British thoughts. The East and the West met—as they had met in ages before and out of the conflict came the new awakening.

Rammohun Roy was the first to feel the force of the impact and, as a pioneer, had to make his way in the midst of uncongenial surroundings.

Rammohun Roy, the great fighter, had to take to literature for propaganda—for giving out his message and gospel of life. He had no time for artistic and aesthetic excellences.

After him came Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. His services were great, but he, too, was no original creator.

Bankim Chandra won his laurels on the path made by the Raja and Vidyasagar and a host of other literary men.

But we forget that literature was a second mistress to Bankim, though he gave his heart's love to this queen, as is done by the proverbial King in all the folk-tales of Bengal. It is inspiring to note that many of the greatest figures of the Bengali renaissance, were public servants and even in the midst of arduous and exacting official duties, they could make time, at the sacrifice of their health, to serve the cause of their mother tongue.

To name a few, Bhudeb Mukherji was a School Inspector, Dinabandhu Mitra was a

Postal Superintendent, Romesh Dutt was a Magistrate, Nabin Chandra Sen was a Deputy Magistrate, and so also was D. L. Roy. Times are changed. Bengal's educated middle class counts legions of intellectuals in its fold; but alas, the zeal and the love of the pioneers are no more !

There is a decadence in Bengal's outlook and achievement. Let us fondly believe that it is a temporary lull, forecasting the birth of a greater and nobler future. This year is the centenary of Bankim Chandra and I believe the message of service and work preached by Bankim would inspire the soul of Bengal with a new heroism to go forward in life's path and to achieve greater things in days to come.

Bankim Chandra was in the executive service from 1858 to 1891, the best period of his life, but there has been no attempt as yet to know him as an official and to judge him in his official capacity.

It would be wrong to think, as many fondly believe, that he could not apply his mind fully to his official duties. It is farthest from the truth. He was renowned for his meritorious services and his name topped the list of the uncovenanted officers of his grade whose services were recorded for commendation in the administration report. He was made a Rai Bahadur and a C.I.E. for his distinguished official career. He was given the highest honour of his day. He was made an Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

So to know and understand Bankim we must know him as an official and we must gather materials, as far as are still available, to write a full and detailed life of Bankim, which is yet to be written.

The Members of P.E.N. took up the idea of celebrating the Bankim centenary and Dr. Kalidas Nag inspired me to do a little research for Bankim. I took up the idea as one of the fondest admirers of Bankim.

I am glad that I have been able to find in the Record-room of the Hooghly Collectorate 4 foolscap pages written by Bankim on the 20th September, 1880. These are notes on *Phanridari* lands and I believe that this would be interesting even to the layman. I am thankful to Major C. H. Nicholas, Collector of Hooghly, who himself has the greatest love for historical researches, for the great favour of permitting me to have a copy of this writing. He has agreed to hand it over in the original to any registered society and I am sure that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad would perform its centenary celebration by opening a museum for Bankim, and if the Parishad would apply

Mr. Nicholas would be glad to forward the application for favourable orders by the Government.

To understand his note, one ought to know a little of the history of service-tenures called *Chakran* lands. Under the old system of the village community public officers and servants of the village were paid by grants in land instead of payment in cash. This practice still lingers in distant and remote villages in the shape of payment in kind, where the barber, the washerman and such other common workers get a certain quantity of paddy for their yearly services.

1765 is a memorable year. For in this year the East India Company got the grant of the Diwani from Shah Alam, the titular emperor of Delhi. It was a grant of the right to collect the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to exercise judicial powers in all civil and financial causes arising in those provinces.

The zamindars during the Mogul rule had to defend the country against foreign enemies as well as to administer law and maintain peace and order within their district. For this purpose they used to keep not only armed soldiers against hostile inroads but also a large force of *thanadars* or a general police force and others called *chowkidars*, *paiks* etc.

These people used to enjoy lands free or at a very low rent in consideration of their services. These are service-tenures (*vide* W.R. 1 Py. cases 26). I add below a verbatim copy of the notes on the subject prepared by Bankim Chandra. This will explain this intricate subject and will give some idea of the legal acumen and forensic insight of the author.

It has nothing extraordinary about it, and is based on the case in W. R. referred to by him, but it gives us an insight into the clear intellect of the writer. He grasps the subject accurately and expresses his views clearly as a shrewd administrator.

"PHANRIDARI LANDS"

"The question for determination is, I believe, whether these lands, on the occurrence of a vacancy which is not filled up, are at the disposal of Government.

"I believe they are; subject to the restriction in Section 8, Cl. 4, Reg. I of 1793.

"The only other party who may possibly advance any claims to them is the Zemindar. There is no question of the heirs of the late occupant having any claims.

"The Zemindar can lay claim to the disposal of these lands only on two grounds,

(1) if the land was included in the land assessed at the Decennial Settlement, or (2) if the law gives him any right to claim even in the absence of such inclusion.

"(1) There is nothing to show in the records generally that these lands have been included in the assessment on the Zemindaries. If any Zemindar can produce positive evidence on the point, he will of course be held entitled to resume them.

"(2) The law itself is against the Zemindar's claims. The effect of the Decennial Settlement was to divide all service lands into two classes :

"1. Thanadary lands, which by Regulation 1 of 1793, Section 8, Clause 4, were made resumable by Government, because the Government took upon itself the maintenance of police duties.

"2. Other Chakran lands which by Regulation VIII of 1793, Section 41, were to be annexed to the Malguzari lands. This includes Chowkidari Chakran.

"The words 'held in lieu of wages' used in this Section, may possibly be found misleading, unless this Section is read with Clause 4, Sec. 8, Reg. 1 of 1793. Both Regulations, it must be remembered, were passed on the same day.

"In the leading case on the subject of Chakran lands (*Joy Kissen Mukerjee vs. Collector of West Burdwan*—W. R. I. p. 26 Py. C. D.) the Zemindar was held to possess a certain right in connection with these lands because they belonged to the Second Class, those falling under Sec. 4, Reg. VIII of 1793. I contend that Phanridary Chakran lands differ from Chowkidary Chakran in this matter and come under Cl. 4. Sec. 8, Reg. I of 1793—viz., lands resumable by Government.

"The Choukidari Chakran lands were held to fall under the former class because the Choukidar performed, in addition to the police duties, *Zemindari duties*, i.e., personal service to the Zemindar. But the Phanridars were never

found or accustomed to perform any Zemindary duties. Their functions were and are entirely police functions and therefore they fall under the head of Thanadari or Police lands, resumable by Government.

"If in any case the Zemindar succeeds in showing that the Phanridar had Zemindary duties also to perform, his claims must be recognized. But in each case the onus will lie on him.

"If again, as already stated, the Zemindar succeeds in showing that Police or Thanadari lands within the estate in general, or the particular land sought to be resumed, were included in the land assessed as *mal*, his claims must also be recognized. But here also the onus will be upon him.

"What I suggest is that we should recognize it as a general rule upon which we can act, that Phanridari lands are resumable by Government, but we must be prepared to admit of exceptions when good cause is shown in particular cases.

The 23rd September, 1880.

Sd. Bankim Ch. Chatterji,
Dy. Collector."

I am preparing a little sketch of Bankim's life. His life and character should be made known to the outer world. Materials of his life and work may still be available. It would be a real pleasure to gather up some of his judgments. I appeal to the people of Jessore, Khulna, Midnapore, Howrah, Hooghly and Alipur, where he worked in different periods of his life, to send me any reference to my address at Chinsurah.

Bankim's was a many-sided genius. There is a big library round about Shakespeare's life. It is a pity that there is still no life of him in English. The Bankim centenary would be a meaningless celebration unless we do something solid to perpetuate the memory of this great son of Bengal.

Chinsurah.



GOGONENDRA NATH TAGORE : THE GREAT INDIAN ARTIST

By O. C. GANGOLY

A CENTURY hence, it would not matter how many bales of jute or cotton crossed the Bay of Bengal, or how many seats were allocated in a Legislative Assembly to Mohamedans and how many to non-Mohamedans, but it would indeed matter, what records contemporary cultural life inscribed on the tablets of history. In any segment of a nation's history, the problem of bread and butter and the equable distribution of material resources have tremendous consequences on the standard of life and the quality of living. Yet no manner of pleas of poverty can wholly explain away the lack of impulses for cultural life and spiritual living. It is indeed the moral and spiritual degeneration that precedes a period of political subjection. And it is the return to the moral cultural and spiritual ideals that can alone provide the panacea for political ills. And it is a fallacy to think that cultural emancipation can wait until one has achieved complete political independence, or attained absolute economic salvation. Where life is contaminated at the sources of spiritual energy—it is futile to expect success in any department of life. And in the delicate duty of nation-building—the part of a poet, of an artist, of a scientist is as much an essential as the leader of labour troubles or the voice of the politician. And when the time comes to write a true and balanced history of India's struggle for *Swaraj*, those who have toiled and battled for cultural autonomy will claim a large area of the canvas of that history. Indeed those who have fought with their brushes and their pen and pencil to protect the integrity and autonomy of India's cultural possessions and spiritual ideals from the domination of foreign aggressions, have not deserved less than those who have struggled for political powers, or economic freedom.

One such valiant and courageous soldier has passed away in the demise of Mr. Gogonendra Nath Tagore—the eldest brother and invaluable collaborator of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore—in the struggle for re-establishing the independence of India's National Art. It is very little known, what valuable service the elder brother rendered in building up the great movement of India's aesthetic autonomy—which from a small beginning has now swelled into a mighty current

which has swept over the length and breadth of India, and has assembled the finest forces of national life under the banner of Indian National Art. It is Mr. G. N. Tagore, who with his indefatigable energy, built up the Indian Society of Oriental Art—the great and inspiring centre of a new national awakening in an understanding of the ideals and basic principles of Indian Art—which has now flowered out in exquisite blossoms in all parts of India. That India had a great past in her spiritual achievements in Art and has an equally great destiny in the future—had to be demonstrated by actual contributions of the present. And this was the bold and inspiring programme that this leader of the modern movement in Indian Art set before him about 40 years ago. The banner that he helped his brother to unfurl reared up its head in Indian cultural firmament with a big query : *Art in India, should it be Indian or should it not be so?* It is a matter of great gratification that the challenge that the pioneer threw out decades ago was accepted and answered by numerous groups of Indian Artists who in different parts of India, have preached and practised the message of '*Indianness in Indian Art*.' The movement has indeed helped a self-forgetful nation to find itself and to recover its spiritual soul.

To people outside Bengal, Mr. Gogonendra Nath Tagore has been known as a prolific and versatile artist,—of daring originality, and the products of his brush have prominently figured in all exhibitions of Indian Painting in and outside Bengal for over 24 years. Indeed, he was undoubtedly an artist of great eminence and a devoted practitioner of his craft in diverse materials and technique and the solid output of his works stands today as an invaluable and staple part of the contribution to the building of the New School of Indian Painting—the contemporary achievement of India's National Art. While his younger brother sought to study, to interpret, and to revive the lost threads of old artistic traditions—and to find new ways to make the ideals and technique of the Mughal and Rajput schools, Mr. G. N. Tagore, from the beginning of his career abjured the paths of old traditions. An Impressionist to his finger tip, he sought, for a time,

inspiration from the Far Eastern ways of looking at nature. He found in the works of Japanese painters a cognate outlook. And his earliest studies were a series of daring brush drawings of Indian crows, a beautiful garland of



A brush drawing by G. N. Tagore

memory drawings of exquisite charm and of novel and fascinating realism. These attracted the immediate appreciation of a group of European critics—and Mr. Tagore's artistic talent leapt into fame, as far back as 1911. In 1914, the famous Exhibition at Pavilion Marson in Paris, brought him another triumph in winning the hearts of the most exacting critics at the centre and vortex of European Art. The writer had an humble part to play in selecting and organizing the Indian Pictures for this European show which was opened by the President of the French Republic, and in making a rigorous selection—few artists could be represented by more than two examples. Mr. G. N. Tagore's pictures mounted up to six in number. The Collection crossed the English Channel and was shown in London, where also they won admiring appreciation from the best of critics. This European appreciation drew Mr. G. N. Tagore's attention to the Cubistic phases of modern European Art, and he started experiments in Indian Cubism with remarkable success in original contributions. It is very little known that Cubism in European Art came as an inspiration from Eastern sources,—from a

study of Negro Sculpture and its emphatic delineation of the facets of forms. Mr. Tagore sought in the forgotten masterpieces of obscure Indian paintings the methods of his new forms of Cubism, which was not an imitation of the European experiments. Picasso, the earliest pioneer, in his so-called analytical attempts, began by breaking up the "Crystallization" of Form—and made his "facets" slip, and lose their places in the structure, leading to "deformations," particularly in his principles of "simultaneity"—that of simultaneous presentation of different facets of an object in the same picture—in a manner so abstract as to seem nearer to geometry than representation. Mr. Tagore never yielded to this temptation of breaking up Forms, but stuck to an original method of Synthetic Cubism in which the diverse facets of a subject were skilfully woven in intriguing and dynamic patterns. But the greatest contribution of Mr. Tagore's Cubism lay in his dynamic rendering of *light* by skilful manipulation of diverse values of dark and white surfaces of cubes, from which emanated a forceful presentation of the phenomenon of light with an actuality and realism which has never been attempted by any Western artist, consciously, except occasionally by Braque. Tagore's dynamic presentation of light gives one a real feeling of light—its vibration and illumination, its pulsating power and its suggestion of heat together with a feeling for space



A brush drawing by G. N. Tagore

without the formula of perspectives. His was indeed a valuable contribution to the principles of Cubism. His experiments in abstract methods, never seduced him from the paths of realism—a peculiar realism of the Impressionistic brand. For in numerous imaginative presentations of romantic and realistic scenes of proces-

sions of Royal pageants, or of "Coolie's Funeral," the "Casting of the Image" in the river,—in "Street Scenes" of Calcutta in rain or shine,—"Diwali Nights" or "Buckland Bridge,"—the artist never lost his grip on the actuality of life around him, which he incessantly wove into fascinating patterns of lights and shadows by the wizardry of his brush. His daring black and white sketches on gold backgrounds at times reached the heights of Ogata Korin. In spite of his romantic presentation of themes, he always remained a 'realist' in the most modern sense of the term and the most daringly modern of Indian painters. Indeed, when his pictures were exhibited in Berlin and in Hamburg in 1923, the German critics praised his modernistic outlooks, and some of them admired the "expressionist" tendencies of his nature studies and his dynamic presentation of Space. And when in a group of 65 Indian paintings that the writer had the privilege of sending to the United States in 1927, for a circulating Exhibition through 68 cities, three of Mr. G. N. Tagore's pictures were included and they easily scored over their companions by the quality of their original presentations of Indian scenes and subjects. In the India Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, held at the New Burlington Galleries in London in 1934, Mr. G. N. Tagore's pictures, in the words of the *Times* critic (10th December, 1934) "excited the greatest interest."

Yet Mr. Tagore's achievements were not confined within the four corners of his little pictures. His artistic talent found diverse expressions and applications. As an original designer of Indian Furniture and the pioneer of modern Furniture-making, his contributions were unrivalled and the push that he has given to this much neglected aspect of life, has put into it a new and galvanic activity and has restored a truly Indian atmosphere to modern Indian life. All the furniture and appliances of the School of Indian Society of Oriental Art were designed by him and executed by a talented *achary* from Madras, named Dhanuskody Achary. His genius found congenial scope in numerous productions of Indian Dramas, principally inspired by the poet Rabindranath Tagore, and the innovations that the artist introduced into stage-craft and dramatic productions have set the Indian stage on a new pedestal. His production of Tagore's *Phalguni* in the Hall of 'Vichitra,' in which he himself played the role of the King, was

eulogized by Mrs. Annie Besant, who remarked that it surpassed anything that she had ever seen in Europe. In an obituary notice there is no room for an elaborate analysis of his life-work, but this impromptu sketch of his busy career will be incomplete if one omitted to pay a tribute to his magnetic personality and the part he took in the social life of the City of his



Astrologers

By G. N. Tagore

birth and activity, to which he so richly contributed not only by his artistic gifts but by the more material resources of his bounty and magnanimity. For there was hardly an artist in Calcutta deserving of encouragement that he did not help with substantial gifts and material assistance. For the poor and the needy his purse-strings were always open. In spite of the rich contribution of his life, he deliberately avoided publicity of any manner or kind and has left to the world a volume of pictures from which to recover the lineaments of his personality. After all, the artist is best studied in his pictures. And the pictures that he has painted have rendered signal service to the cause of national progress and national life.

THE ART OF GAGANENDRA NATH TAGORE

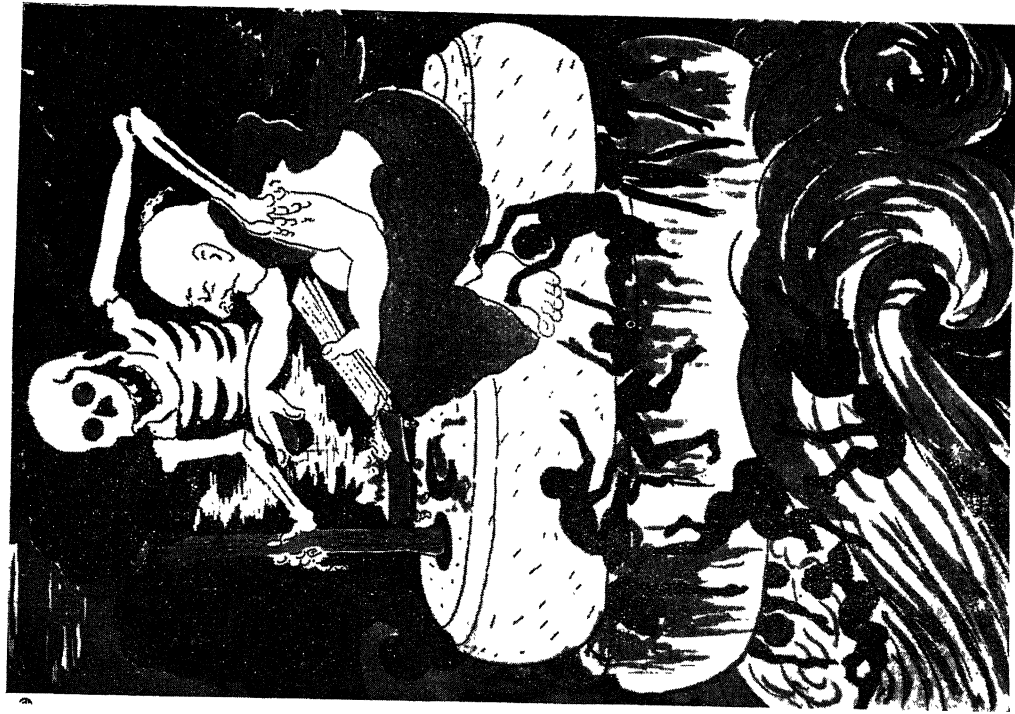
By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

GAGANENDRA NATH TAGORE's death removes a figure in contemporary art whose achievement will rank high among Bengal's many notable contributions to modern Indian culture. He was a remarkable painter, in many respects a great painter, although his work does not yield the quintessence of its quality to the most obvious line of investigation. This is due to his style, which more often than not has served to put the public as well as the critic on a false scent. Roger Fry once wrote that every work of art comes to us with a letter of introduction. This remark may perhaps be supplemented by saying that the letter of introduction is almost always an irrelevance. In Gaganendra Nath's case at any rate there seems to be no doubt that this is so. While he lived and worked he was affiliated on the one hand with the school founded by his brother, Abanindra Nath Tagore, and on the other with the Cubist school of Europe. These two schools approach the art of painting with moods and methods so irreconcilably opposed to one another that it is difficult to imagine a painter attempting to combine them except as a *jeu d'esprit*. Gaganendra Nath Tagore was too serious an artist to adopt mere displays of cleverness as his life-work.

The truth has to be admitted that the apparent character of his style is an accidental rather than essential feature of his pictures. Every thoughtful observer of his work must have noted with surprise how soon he ceased to be conscious of the convention, or call it mannerism, of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's art. A knowledge of the 'Six Limbs of Indian Painting' or the dogmas of the Cubist and Futurist schools is not really an indispensable and distracting preliminary to an enjoyment of his drawings. In fact, to appraise Gaganendra Nath by means of the labels attached to him by current opinion would be wholly wrong. He was another example of the real artist who adopts any convention that happens to be ready to his hand or catches his fancy, yet always contrives to rise above it. Had he not been the brother of the founder of the new school of Indian painting, nobody, it may be presumed, would have thought of Gaganendra Nath as a figure in that revivalist and archaistic art movement. On the contrary, it is a mark of the vigour and genuineness of his artistic impulse that he was

able to keep his work free from the influence of the new school to the extent he did, even while living so close to its founder and inspirer. In spite of the eclecticism of his outlook, his vision and technique was very individual, and his inspiration was always direct and robust enough to override the adventitious features his alert and experiment-loving mind was introducing into the pictures.

If this is true of his relationship with the modern Indian school, it is truer still of his affiliation with Cubism. Notwithstanding popular belief to the contrary, his connexion with Cubism is no more than surface deep. It is not a marriage. It is not even a dubious liaison. It is simply a snare and a delusion for the art critic who is out to class and label him. Perhaps the fact should not be disputed that the idea of composing his pictures in squares and rectangles came to Gaganendra Nath from Cubism. But in the process of being filtered through his mind for his own purpose it underwent a strange sea-change, which is as different in its results from Cubism as Cubism itself was different from Impressionism which preceded it in time. It is not often realized that a painter who employs rectangular *motifs* for creating decorative patterns is no more a member of the extremely dogmatic Cubist brotherhood than a painter who sketches in single-minded devotion his visual impressions is an Impressionist. The core of the Cubist dogma was to lay bare the abstract geometric structure which lies under visual appearance. It very often went to the extreme length of superimposing abstract geometrical structure on visual appearance by disrupting the latter. This conflict between abstract form and ocular experience, which was stridently revealed in Cubism, has also been present in greater or lesser degree in every school of painting since the origin of the art. It has at times pushed representation into the background and at others discounted abstract beauty of form. But it never was manifest in such a disconcerting manner as in the case of Cubism. The Cubists were the most uncompromising practitioners of abstraction of form in painting. Gaganendra Nath Tagore's mind, on the contrary, worked in the reverse direction. A master of beautiful geometric composition as he was, his work should yet be



The millstone of Caste
By G. N. Tagore



The obedient son persuaded to marry again
By G. N. Tagore

characterized not as aesthetic in the absolute sense but as emotive. In diametrical opposition to the doctrine not only of Cubists but of even far less uncompromising adherents of the formal in painting, Gaganendra Nath Tagore's mind was fixed on creating psychological values through visual forms rather than on creating forms for their own sake.

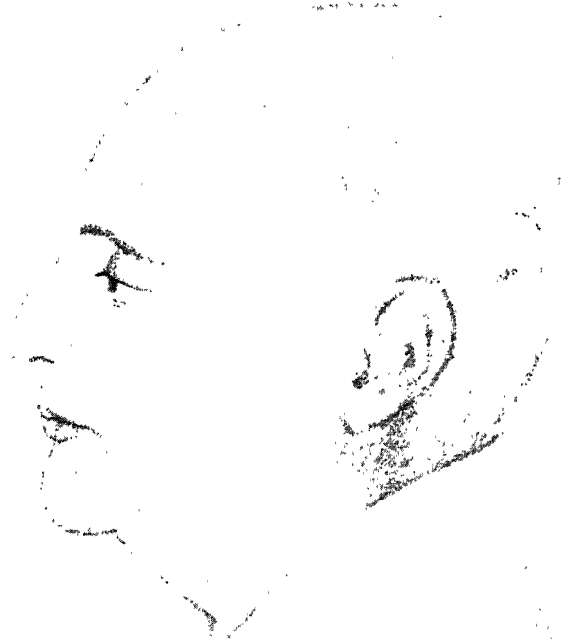
The proposition just put forward is worth pursuing a little further as it seems to cover the basic quality of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's art. It needs, however, to be placed against a definition of the normal appeal of great painting in order to be fully intelligible. Purely decorative pattern and pure representation as in a photograph stand at opposite extremes of graphic art. Both are equally common and both stand on an equally crude plane, so to say, considered as works of art. The really great painting is that in which representation combines with decorative appeal to form something which partakes of the quality of both and is yet a new thing. Those who believe that there can be great painting without the representational element have only to look at decorative patterns, even such lovely decorative patterns as borders of shawls, or *kinkhwabs*, or *pietra dura* work in a Mogul building in order to realize the relative superficiality of their appeal. As a matter of fact, the aesthetic instinct of man has been profoundly right in assigning to pure decorative pattern a subsidiary place, the position of an adjunct or auxiliary to another great art, for decorative art as such does not possess that explosive quality, that deeper and larger significance, which is the hall-mark of great art. In so far as painting is concerned, this explosive quality, this deeper and larger significance comes in only with the introduction of the representational element.

This is not to say that great paintings make their appeal through their subject-matter, that is to say, the story told in the picture. On the other hand the stirring of the soul produced by great paintings seems to be quite distinct and different from the emotions roused by the memories and experiences of actual life and by the representation of such experiences in pictures. To be quite explicit, this implies three things: first, that real appeal and value of a painting is quite independent of its illustrative content, yet is not independent of its representational content; secondly, that great paintings have the power to speak directly to our innermost being by short-circuiting our ordinary psychological reactions to sensations; and, thirdly, that the enjoyment of works of art is a special kind of experience undergone through a special dis-

position of the mind. It is quite possible that such a theory of the art of painting will be attacked as irrational, as substituting the wooliness of metaphysics for the clear light of reason. It has also to be admitted that such a theory is not easy to demonstrate except in the case of absolute music and architecture. Nevertheless a hypothesis of this kind seems to be imperatively called for in order to explain the effect on us of a work of art. Without preclaiming the unrelatedness of the real appeal and the illustrative content of a picture it is impossible to understand the irresistible attack made on our sensibilities by an interior by Vermeer or a picture by Raphael, for Vermeer's canvasses depict nothing but commonplaces of Dutch home-life, while in almost all of Raphael's pictures, the illustrative content is of an order which touches the lowest depth of sentimental triviality.

It is necessary to place Gaganendra Nath Tagore's work against this background in order to define its precise feel. In discussing his relationship to the Cubist school it has already been stated that he did not seek to create abstract decorative beauty by interweaving form and colour. Nor did he attempt to move us to emotion by the illustrative content of his pictures. In point of fact, the absence of the illustrative content was the most puzzling feature of his work so far as the average lover of pictures was concerned. At the same time, in clear contrast to the work of the masters just mentioned and of others not less great, he did not abandon the psychological channel of approach to our minds. In contemplating his drawings one after another the impression gathers volume that all the subtleties of geometrical pattern, shading of colours, and representational suggestion in them converge towards one object, that of inducing a romantic mood in us. On account of sheer facility of execution this quality sometimes degenerated into sentimentality in his later work. But there is no trace of this in his best productions. They are all suffused by the veriest essence of romance, the sublimation of even dreams and fairy-tales whose spirit passes before us in ethereal and disembodied emanation.

One question, however, remains. What relationship do such wistfully evocative works bear to the art of painting in its more abstruse and plastic aspect? The sole parallel that I can think of to this relationship is the one between absolute music on the one hand and programme, vocal, and operatic music on the other. And the explanation is also perhaps the same in both cases. Discussing the link between absolute music and the other kinds of music just referred



Sperling

Gogonendra Nath Tagore
A portrait by Sperling, a Russian artist



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to, Professor Donald Francis Tovey, the eminent musical scholar, says: "Neither the humble lover nor the master of pure musical form need entertain any tolerance for theories that deny the supremacy of absolute music. But all history and experience go to prove that the absoluteness of music is a result: that this result remains independent of circumstances that may happen to make music illustrative; and, moreover, that it is a result very imperfectly attained, if at all attainable, by methods that have not early familiarized the musician with the musical treatment of words. It is no mere accident that three of the four greatest masters of absolute music, Bach, Mozart, and Brahms, spent more than half their time in setting words to music, and that the fourth, Beethoven, took enormous pains in the later part of his career to recover the art which he had almost neglected since he wrote exercises in Italian musical declamation for Salieri." It is unnecessary to cite the examples with which Professor Tovey reinforces this argument. But with the help of one it may perhaps be suggested that if the 'Pastoral Symphony' is just as absolute music as any of Beethoven's quartets in spite of the thunderstorms, the cuckoos, and the nightingales which he made recognizable in it, a painter's work may also be pure painting, even though he might have strayed from the strict path of purity by having the psychological content as one or the principal ingredient of its appeal.

At any rate, the history of painting is not lacking in examples in which graphic forms have been used not for the sake of creating significant form but for suggesting exotic psychological values which draw one with a strange nostalgia. The famous setting of rocks and waters in Leonardo da Vinci's 'Mona Lisa' is the classical example of this. This setting could not have been inserted for realism's sake, nor, as it seems, for decoration's alone. Yet the psychologically explosive quality of those mysterious blocks of pale green granite and zigzagging waters surrounding the sensuous figure of the woman is undeniable. There are many drawings of Gaganendra Nath Tagore in which, more self-consciously and finically perhaps, similar devices have been employed. And in them also in their own way the apparently incomprehensive symbols move us deeply.

There is another aspect of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's artistic activity in which the psychological preoccupation is more obvious. This comprises his cartoons and portraits. The art of the cartoon and the art of portraiture have always occupied niches of their own in the history of painting. They belong to the latter

and are not yet wholly of it on account of the predominance that they give to psychological commentary and interpretation at the expense of abstract beauty of form. This has always proved something of a stumbling-block to the purist in art criticism. He cannot correlate these offshoots, dealing with psychological entities and handling in their own way the same stuff as literature, with the main line of development of the art of painting. Yet it is too late in the day to deny or sever the link. For this reason many critics have assumed a duality in the fundamental hypothesis of painting as an art-form, and have attempted by this means to keep a loose semblance of unity between caricature and portraiture on one side and the rest of painting on the other as branches of the same art.

It is impossible to bring the two sides closer in the case of Gaganendra Nath Tagore also, in spite of the concentration on psychological values in those drawings of his so far discussed. His cartoons and portraits have therefore to be considered in themselves without reference to the mood of his other works, and in these two levels of emotional reaction clearly make themselves felt. The cartoons display marvellous resourcefulness and originality as drawings. They were unsurpassed in India not only at the time they were published, they are unsurpassed even now. Yet judged as ethical comment, which all cartoons are, they easily date, for their outlook is of that of the reforming liberalism of the last decade of the 19th and the first twenty years or so of the 20th century. Chronologically they form part of the short burst of liberal propaganda in the second decade of the 20th century which had its most lively voice in the well-known Bengali magazine *Savruja Patra*. In mood and temper they can very well be looked upon as the graphic counterparts of the stories with a reforming purpose that Rabindranath Tagore contributed to the same magazine. This phase of Bengali liberalism has definitely been submerged in the tide of post-war developments, and with its waning the meaning of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's cartoons must also tend to become dim.

That all cartoons are *pièces de circonstance* furnishes no answer to this anticipation. They have to be topical by the very law of their being. Yet some of them do succeed in rising to a high-seriousness and human value which, as in the case of many comedies of manners, ensure their permanence. It can hardly be claimed that the content of Gaganendra Nath's cartoons rises from the satiric and didactic to the comedic plane. Not so, however, with his portraits of men as



The Riddle
By G. N. Tagore

well as places. They invariably embody values which are independent of time and place and personal associations. In them as in all his other drawings Gaganendra Nath shows himself to be an instinctive master of the psychological implications of visual form. It is by virtue of this faculty that he could lay bare the spiritual physiognomy of a man or place with the utmost economy of brush-strokes.

This in its turn is connected with another quality of his genius as painter. He was a true painter not only in the originality and intensity of his vision and the ease with which he could transform any conventional form into a

virile and significant composition but also in his rigid adherence to the possibilities and restrictions of his chosen medium of expression. In his works there is no irrelevant call for help to poetry, legend, or sentiment. Though he was no purist of the formal school, which he could not be by reason of his preference for psychological values, in him the profundity of the psychological content owed nothing to extraneous non-pictorial elements. His drawings were invoked as inspired visions and appeal through the eye alone. This is a hard test for any picture. All of Gaganendra Nath's work come through it triumphantly.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION EXPERIMENTS AT SRINIKETAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

MORE than a quarter of a century ago, in the year 1912, I was with Rabindranath Tagore in a suburb of Western London, named Ealing, when a transaction was made with Major Sinha of Raipur, the brother of Lord Sinha, in the course of a few moments' conversation, whereby this old house and its surroundings at Surul were purchased. I can still recollect how easily the whole matter was settled between the two friends. The price offered was immediately accepted. It seemed to come like a flash to our Founder, that here, on this very spot, something great was going to happen; and today after a quarter of a century we see how right he was. Little did I realize at Ealing, that in that transaction what is now likely to prove an important event in the history of Bengal had occurred. For out of that small beginning notable things have already come to pass.

In the next year, 1913, when I first came to Santiniketan, one of the teachers took me over the upland across the moor to Surul, in order to visit the house where this new venture was to be made and where our agricultural work was likely to begin. My heart sank within me as I noticed the dilapidated state into which everything had fallen. Indeed, the land all round the great central house had gone back into the jungle. It was clearly a deadly breeding place for malarial mosquitoes.

When the Poet himself came back from Europe, I told him how I had marvelled at his act of faith and openly expressed to him my own misgivings; but he simply brushed them aside and remained quite resolute about the future. He seemed already to have foreseen, in his wide vision, what was going to happen.

As we all fully expected, malaria became from the start our most relentless foe. Nearly every one who went over to live at Surul, especially after the monsoon rains were over, was stricken by a malignant fever. We soon began to realize from our own painful experience why the whole building and courtyard had thus fallen to ruin. For the place was a hot-bed of mosquitoes, and no one could live there for long with safety.

Yet we had one singular advantage in carrying on our anti-malarial campaign. For Santiniketan itself, standing on a rising ground, was out of the danger zone and comparatively free from malarial infection. This was due to the fact that its soil differed entirely from that

of Surul, which was on the alluvial mud-soil of the Ganges valley. Possibly, at one time, Santiniketan had been a sand bank, jutting out into the sea; for the sandy soil seems to go down more than a hundred feet, and the heaviest monsoon rains always dry off in a few hours.

So it was possible to conduct a great part of the anti-malarial campaign in the earliest days of the experiment from Santiniketan, though from the very first there were those also who had to live at Surul all the year round. Little by little the thick undergrowth was cleared away; the great tank was cleaned; new houses were built, and things were put in order. Some of these early workers, such as Santosh Mozumdar, have passed away, but others are with us, and there are a few stalwart veterans, who after more than twenty years' devoted service are still carrying on the work!

At one time, under the East India Company, nearly a hundred years ago, this very place, where Sriniketan now stands, had been entirely free from malaria. Indeed, so salubrious had been the climate, that people had come all the way up from Calcutta to "take the air." The fact that large houses like 'Cheap's Kothi' and the Surul house had been built in such a costly manner proves how healthy the spot must have been and how pure the air in the olden times. For these massive walls, which were built in the old 'Company' days, are still standing. They have even been utilized as parts of our reconstruction scheme. If these walls could speak, what a tale they would have to tell of old Bengal!

But, as I have said, when we took over possession, all this healthy period had gone by. The lord and master of everything was King Mosquito, and we were living in Mosquito Raj.

I can well remember the strenuous years that Leonard Elmhirst passed, living in the upper storey at Sriniketan, struggling to find a solution for this almost insoluble problem. We owe to him and his wife, more than to anyone else, the means whereby we have been able to get through the very worst times of all and to come out at last with the remarkable success that has now been achieved.

Dr. Muzumdar, at the Science Congress in Calcutta, has described the difference with regard to malarial infection between East and West Bengal. In the former, with its magnificent

network of rivers, the continuous flow of flood waters, unimpeded for the most part by railways and other obstructions, has kept the land healthy and comparatively free from malaria. In West Bengal, on the other hand, the land is impeded with high roads and railway lines which hold up the flood waters, and there is also a 'drying up' process already begun. Thus stagnant water is left behind in the dry season and the *anopheles* mosquitoes abound. In all the district maps, which medical officers make out for us, the Birbhum area is marked as "highly-infected with malaria."

Time will not allow me to relate the fascinating story of the diverse methods whereby this malarial plague has been attacked. We have found Dr. Bentley's wide knowledge and experience most helpful of all and have proved his conclusions to be correct. The way out of the vicious circle of poverty and misery in our villages, brought about by malaria, is not at all simple. It needs the combination of many factors, such as drainage, clearing of weeds, cutting down of undergrowth, cleaning of tanks, along with increasing the area of cultivation. For it has been proved over and over again that along with improvement of the land by close cultivation and a general clearing of the soil, the mosquitoes that spread malaria diminish in number. In European countries, where malaria once prevailed under the name of *ague*, engineering and drainage and improved cultivation have done most to destroy the disease. Here at Surul, and in the neighbouring villages, we have witnessed the same thing happening and we have found the same remedies successful.

All those who are engaged in this wonderful work of recovering the land from the grip of the malarial mosquito have asked me to remember with deep affection and esteem, Dr. Harry Timbres, whose sudden death in Soviet Russia only a short time ago, came as a very great shock to us all. We had heard from him in letters how his research work in Surul had been of the greatest help to him when he took up his new duties of the same character in Russia, where he had gone to help the poor. Our sorrow has been turned into admiration and thanksgiving as we have learnt how he met his death.

There, far away, while all too strenuously carrying on his work among the Russian peasants, he had contracted dysentery, pneumonia and typhus fever; and in his weak state of health he had no resisting powers. So he died, truly a martyr to the cause of Science while engaged in healing the poor. We recall how he showed exactly the same self-sacrificing devotion to the villagers of India: how he went

about at all hours, regardless of his own health, whenever an opportunity of service offered.

The story may now be told, how the fund which supported him and his wife Rebecca and their two children, while they were here with us, came from the publication in England of three books, containing records of Mahatma Gandhi's Life and Ideas, which are translated into all the principal languages of Europe. With Mahatma Gandhi's own cordial consent, the royalties were given in part to the Pearson Memorial Hospital and in part to Dr. Harry Timbres' remarkable anti-malarial campaign at Surul, which won him a high reputation in scientific circles.

We would wish to send from our annual gathering to his wife Rebecca, and their two children in America our affection and sympathy in their bereavement. It would be a happiness to me personally and to all who loved him if we were able to have some memorial of him in our Asram.

I have dealt at length with the one subject of malaria because that is really the gravest of all agricultural issues in a large area of India today. With millions of deaths every year from malaria, and tenfold that number of diseased human beings leading an enfeebled existence, how *can* India be happy or prosperous? It has been reckoned that as many as one in every four of the Indian population is thus debilitated.

Our Founder has laid great stress on this work of ours, at Surul, being regarded as a *laboratory*, where we have to try out experiments in rural reconstruction on an intensive scale. Afterwards these may be carried out on a wider scale in the country at large. Already as I have shown, we have had great success in our experiments with regard to malarial research. We have also now, in connection with it, a widespread village medical co-operative work, which has had equal success. I wish I had time to tell the story of all that has been done in this direction; how whole villages have united in a co-operative plan, admirably conducted, which gives them a doctor of their own who may be called in at any time of serious illness, and who looks after the health of the whole village.

Still further we have been able to do pioneer work in primary education, having already experimented with handicraft as its basis. Along with this, we have encouraged a 'boy scout' movement on purely indigenous lines, whereby all kinds of improvements have been made in the village life around us. Through the enthusiasm of the children themselves, new life and energy is flowing back to revive our villages.

In the same way our rural teachers' training school has now been started. The teachers, who are being trained, live in the midst of all the experiments and new ideas connected with our rural work which are being carried on around them.

It would be impossible to touch on each one of the many-sided activities at Sriniketan which make a complete unit of new village planning on an intensive scale. Accounts of agricultural and social experiments, worked out in detail, will be found in our annual report. A careful examination of the statistics there given would show how marvellously the whole work has

advanced in recent years, and also how malaria now is becoming more and more kept under control. Just to give one instance, in a village near Surul, the spleen-rate has been brought down from 90 per cent to 4 per cent, and the malarial attacks from 30 per cent to 1.9 per cent. Such figures as these tell their own story of a vast improvement in village conditions. Let me add at once that without improvement in every other direction these health results themselves cannot remain permanent. For steady advance all along the line in work like ours is, in the long run, the only form of progress that endures.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Hindi as Lingua Franca"

An article under the caption, "Hindi as the Lingua Franca" by P. V. Acharya appears in the January number of *The Modern Review*. I beg to correct some notions of the learned author and also offer my views regarding the question. Eminent authorities on politics agree that a common language is one of the main factors in nation building. "The most obvious element of Nationality is language," says Bernard Joseph in his famous book *Nationality*. Further he says, "The use of a common medium of expression is of primary importance in bringing about a similar way of things and in development of common interest and community of idea."

"The question of the establishment of a Lingua Franca of India" has not come in to the forefront due to the establishment of Congress ministries," as the author seems to think. But this question has been before the leaders of public opinion ever since the question of National solidarity has come before them. The Congress has felt the necessity of common language long ago. The only thing Mahatma Gandhi did was to suggest Hindi as the language best suited for the purpose as it is spoken by over 120 million people and understood by millions more out of 350 million total population of India. Moreover it is so much akin to other languages of the land that it can be picked up very soon by the people. The spread of Hindi in provinces where Dravidian languages are spoken is not so easy but the results achieved by the Dachhin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha encourage us in the enterprise. I am not aware of the 'widespread propaganda for counteracting the evil of the Hindi cult in Madras' referred to by Mr. Acharya. On the contrary we read encouraging reports about the keen interest which the people of Madras Presidency are taking in learning Hindi.

It is not a fact that the 'question of the application of the Hindi cult is being enforced regardless of its impracticability.' Surely it is not going to be forced as the English language has been forced by our masters which our boys and girls have to learn regardless of its unscientific grammar and the consequent difficulties. Some sort of compulsion will have to be applied for every good thing and if the author blames the Premiers of Madras and Bombay for the announcement of their intention to make Hindi compulsory in their provinces he must also blame the late Mr. Gokhale for starting the idea of Compulsory Education. The teaching of Hindi as one of the subjects, to be sure, is not going to cost the students as much time and energy as the wasteful method of learning through the foreign tongue is doing.

The author's assumption that 'establishment of Hindi

as Lingua Franca' pre-supposes universal Compulsory Education is also not correct. The two propositions are to be run independently though they may be run concurrently. I fail to understand how the author tacks the Wardha Education Scheme with this idea and makes it responsible for the action of the Congress ministers.

There is another misunderstanding under which Mr. Acharya is labouring. He seems to think that the 'evil of the Hindi cult is started to wipe out the provincial languages.' Far from it. We want all provinces to take pride in fostering their own languages. There is no question of competing with or replacing provincial languages by Hindi. We only want that they should take equal or even some interest in fostering the common national language also along with their mother-tongues.

The author seems to argue that all the provinces are opposed to the spread of Hindi in their respective provinces, which is not warranted by facts. As regards Muslim opposition, it is also not common to Muslims of Bengal and other provinces who take pride in their provincial languages and are not very enthusiastic about the protection of Urdu. Rather they are in a better position to understand Hindi than Persianised Urdu due to the common origin and connection of their languages with Sanskrit. The little opposition which is coming from the supporters of the Urdu cult from the North, is likely to be calmed down by the definition of Hindi given by Mahatma Gandhi that Hindi or Hindusthani means the language spoken by Hindus and Mohamedans of the North and written either in Devanagri or Persian script.

There is no question of competing even with English as the author puts it. The fact that it has been forced on us as the state language and medium of instruction from the past 150 years is no reason why it should be allowed to rule over us for all times to come. We quite realise the importance of English as the universal or international language for political and commercial purposes. Hence we are not for boycotting or banishing the same. But one only wishes that it should not usurp the place of our common language for inter-provincial political and cultural purposes. The real suicide for the nation will not be the banishing of the English language (which by the way, is not our objective), but the banishing of a common tongue like Hindi will surely be our cultural and political suicide. We are not for 'wasting our energy and funds on misguided patriotic motives,' but want to minimise and if possible to stop the three-fold waste of wealth, time and national consciousness which is going on at present on account of the use of a foreign language at the cost of our provincial languages. Jubbulpore.

BEOHAR RAJENDRA SINHA, M.L.A.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rabindranath on Gandhi

'Mahatma Gandhi has shown us a way which, if we follow, we shall not only save ourselves but may help other peoples also to save themselves.' Writes Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly* :

Politicians plume themselves on being practical and do not hesitate to ally themselves with the forces of evil if they think that evil will accomplish their end. But tactics of this kind will not pass the audit of the Dispenser of our fortunes; so while we may admire their cleverness, we cannot revere them. Our reverence goes out to the Mahatma whose striving has ever been for Truth; who, to the great good fortune of our country at this time of its entry into the New Age, has never, for the sake of immediate results, advised or condoned any departure from the standard of universal morality.

He has shown the way how, without wholesale massacre, freedom may be won. There are doubtless but few amongst us who can rid our minds of a reliance on violence—who can really believe that victory may be ours without recourse to it. For even in the Mahabharata, not to speak of the "civilized" warfare of the West, we find even *Dharma-yudda* to be full of violence and cruelty. Now, for the first time perhaps, it has been declared that it is for us to yield up life, not to kill, and yet we shall win! A glorious message, indeed, not a counsel of strategy, not a means to a merely political end. In the course of unrighteous battle death means extinction; in the non-violent battle of righteousness something remains over,—after defeat victory, after death immortality. The Mahatma who has realised this in his own life, compels our belief in this truth.

As before, the genius of India has taken from her aggressors the most spiritually significant principle of their culture and fashioned of it a new message of hope for mankind. There is in Christianity the great doctrine that God became man in order to save humanity by taking the burden of its sin and suffering on Himself, here in this very world, not waiting for the next. That the starving must be fed, the ragged clad, has been emphasised by Christianity as no other religion has done. Charity, benevolence, and the like, no doubt have an important place in the religions of our country as well, but there they are in practice circumscribed within much narrower limits, and are only partially inspired by love of man. And to our great good fortune, Gandhiji was able to receive this teaching of Christ in a living way. It was fortunate that he had not to learn of Christianity through professional missionaries, but should have found in Tolstoy a teacher who had realised the value of non-violence through the multifarious experiences of his own life's struggles. For it was this great gift from Europe that our country had all along been awaiting.

Wardha Educational Scheme

In the course of the Presidential Address of the last All-India Educational Conference held

in Calcutta, extracts from which have been published in *The Indian Journal of Education*, C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, remarks :

As regards the Wardha Educational Scheme formulated by Mahatma Gandhi it contains four essential points, namely : (1) withdrawal of state support from University and higher education; (2) leaving Universities and technological institutions to be organised by private corporations or the industrial firms concerned; (3) making elementary education up to the age of 14 compulsory and universal, and in order to find the finances and teachers necessary to give it a directly industrial basic turn so that salable commodities could be produced and thus education be made self-supporting; and (4) to conscript educated men and women so that they might serve as teachers for a stipulated period.

It must be said that the Wardha Educational Scheme is splendid as a whole.

Who can deny admiration for the wonderful way in which all the parts are combined into a harmonious whole. Mahatma Gandhi is by no means a fanatic about his ideas like most other people. He does not only invite criticism but encourages them. Whatever may be the defects of the scheme it cannot be denied that it has been produced by one of the most dynamic personalities of the world. When Mahatma Gandhi invited my opinion as to the Wardha Scheme I pointed out to him that he was going to transplant "Ashrama" education in the place of the system of education set up by the modern civilised world. I am glad to note that the scheme has in a large measure been modified to suit modern conditions as a result of criticism advanced by the educationists. It is true that Plato's *Republic* or Moore's *Utopia* cannot be adopted in practical life. But who could deny the contribution they had made to human progress?

In the report of the Committee it has been clearly pointed out that the formation of a non-violent, and non-aggressive society was to be the ideal of education.

People may ask themselves if such a society was possible. All historical developments, it has got to be remembered, have tended towards the increase of the strength of the society. To become strong has been the aim in every society. Consciously or unconsciously, production of power or development of strength has been the motive of all civilization. Ideally it is no doubt very good : but how are people going to create a non-violent society? If desires are not limited, if men want to enjoy in an inordinate measure, if wants are not minimised naturally, there can be no non-violent society. If men minimise their wants, if their wants are satisfied easily, if they are to produce only what they can consume naturally, there can be no motive for aggression or competition which is prevalent in every sphere today. Throughout the original scheme there has been talk of

doing away with sciences and applied sciences. In fact exploitation today of one by another is carried through sciences. But the applied science can be made fruitful in another way, by employing it to the development of men, now being used for purposes of aggression and destruction. If these can be put into practice, a new age will be introduced putting an end to all violence and aggression. It may be that some of the advocates of the schemes may be able to introduce this new development in the world. For prophets came not to accept existing conditions but to create something new.

Freedom of Reason

Justice M. R. Jayakar's Convocation Address at the Lucknow University is reproduced in *The Progress of Education*. In conclusion he observes :

In the patriotic desire to popularize and reform their schemes of education, there should be no interference by the new Government with the intellectual democracy of our colleges and universities. It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic Government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State. Their ideals of education are as the poles apart. The one aims at ungrudging subservience, the other at freedom. An authoritarian Government, putting a premium on obedience aims at producing citizens who will be serviceable in the propagation of its political views—mere cogs in the wheel. The democratic State, on the other hand, demands that its citizens should be dynamic forces to mould a new order. Rebelious enterprise in thought and action will be its watchword. Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless enquiry, will be the ideal it will set before its youth. "A thinking man is the worst enemy of the Prince of Darkness," said Carlyle, and this is ever true of all autocracies, religious or political, and often-times they are masked under the guise of democracies.

It is therefore necessary that this spirit of freedom, this triumph of the human reason must be maintained at all costs within the precincts of our colleges, the nurseries of the future citizen. Freedom must be fully preserved for the youth to use his own reason, to think for himself, to develop on his own lines, without the slightest interference from any one, except in the interests of discipline and corporate life. Freedom of association and discussion, methods of persuasion and argument must be strictly preserved and the individual must be left untouched by any desire on the part of the State to become a nation-wide schoolmaster. The aim should be to produce extreme flexibility of mind—an intellect able to grapple with the complex problems facing the community—able to form its mind and express it without reserve or equivocation. Doubt and questioning must have their due place in the mental apparatus of the youth. "In his own breast," said Mathew Arnold, "every man carries about with him a possible Socrates in that power of a disinterested play of consciousness upon his stock notions and habits." This possible Socrates must be revived and set free from the debris of ready-made thought.

Is India Over-Populated?

In an article in the *Financial Times* Dr. H. L. Dey deals with the above question. He says :

What is the optimum population? It is that size of the population where the productivity per head is at

its maximum, such that if the population were more or less than that ideal size, the productivity per head would be less than the maximum possible. This is the view that is finding an increasing measure of acceptance among the leading economists of the world. The theory of optimum population is the only valid theory that exists. But, it must be confessed that it is a pure theory or abstract theory, logically perfect but difficult of application to the practical problems of life. It does not enable us to say of any country at any particular moment whether the population is below, above or at the optimum.

According to him, the greatest tragedy of the present age is not that there is poverty because of society, but that there is poverty in the midst of plenty. He observes :

It, then, comes to this that we have a perfect theory of population free from the flaws and inconsistencies of the old Malthusian theory. The only inference of a practical nature that we can draw from it is that there is no limit to the size of optimum population, provided knowledge, organization and capital grow as fast as, if not faster than, population. In the light of this theory, one will not be justified in making a statement to the effect that in 1950, for example, the optimum population for India would be, say, 380 millions, and that, therefore, through the education of public opinion or through legal compulsion or regulation of marriages, etc., we ought to control the birth rates in such a way that 380 millions may be the size in 1950. And even if such an estimate were possible, it would be impossible to regulate the reproductive activities of such a huge mass of population representing every stage of culture and education.

The proper attitude for us to take towards the question of population would be, not to be awed and dismayed by the vast size of our population, but to apply our intelligence and energy to the discovery of ways and means for augmenting our national income through proper inventions, organization and adjustment, and a rapid accumulation of capital.

There are good reasons for suspecting that those who are always raising the spectre of over-population and advocating large-scale birth-control are either suffering from some sort of Freudian complex or are persons who have developed a dismal outlook or are such people as are interested in inculcating the wrong belief in the public mind that all the ills of India are due to over-population and over-population alone and to nothing else. Poverty, unemployment, class struggle, communalism, diseases—the responsibility for all these evils should be laid at the door of the phenomenon of over-population; nothing else can be blamed for these. We can only suggest that the nation should think not twice or thrice but at least a hundred times before believing these prophets or accepting their advice. For, in reality, the ill-founded fear of over-population has arisen out of a lack of courage and energy. It is the counsel of despair. It bespeaks a defeatist attitude of mind. And it is one of those dangerous illusions which would have us believe that there is in every case a short cut to greatness and prosperity. The sooner we got rid of them, the better for us.

An Early Portuguese Account of Bengal

The earliest Portuguese account of Bengal is probably to be found in a letter, addressed by

Dom Joao de Leyma, a Portuguese nobleman serving in India, to His Highness the King of Portugal from Cochin on the 22nd December, 1518. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen publishes the letter for the first time in *The Calcutta Review* :

"Dom Joao, my Lord, spent the last cold season in Bengalla, where he wintered, being always in desperate war, without concluding any treaty of peace with them."

"We are told that silver, coral and copper are highly prized there but still no one wanted to buy any of these things, the reason my Lord, was that some Gujara: boats were there and they caused all possible hindrance. The country is very rich, ten *fardos* of rice sell for a *pardao* of 320 *reis*, there being three *alqueires* in each *jardo* and the rice is *giracall*; twenty hens and as many as sixty ducks sell for a *tanga* and three cows per *pardao*, shells are the coins of this country, for none but the king can own gold or silver. The people are short and speak almost like those of Goa, this is because the coast of the Bay of Bengal is opposite to that of India. Bengal lies 20 degrees to the north which is the altitude of Diu. A slave is worth six *tangas* and a young lady double that sum. At the bar of this river, my Lord, there are three fathoms of water at low tide, which swells from there to six fathoms at high tide. The city is said to be two small leagues from the bar. The city is big and populous but very weak. Here was Dom Joao for five months awaiting the monsoon for returning to India."

Dr. Sen remarks :

It is interesting to note that the early Portuguese visitors should observe the linguistic affinity between the people of Bengal and those of Goa, though their explanation is not worthy of serious consideration. The Saraswat Brahmans of Goa claim to be the descendants of Bengalee immigrants. Like the Bengalees they rub their body and head with oil, and, unlike their neighbours of Maharashtra, freely partake of fish. One of their holy places Chandranath, the mountain abode of Shiva, naturally reminds us of a hill of the same name in the Chittagong district which is still frequented by thousands of Bengalee pilgrims. The most popular dieties are Shanta Durga and Nava Durga and the original image of Shanta Durga was, according to a popular tradition, transported by thirteen Brahman families from their old home in Trihut to their new settlement on the western coast. The Saraswat, like the Bengalee, is noted for the broad pronunciation of vowels and in stature and look they are so alike, that if the Saraswat doffs his *pagota* (turban) or cap or the Bengalee dons it, a stranger will find it extremely difficult to distinguish one from the other. The *Konkani* language or dialect shares many words, expressions and idioms in common with Bengali. The story of Saraswat migration may not, therefore, be entirely unfounded and Dom Joao de Silveira and his companions were quite right when they observed that the "people of Bengal are short and speak almost like those of Goa."

The Rise of the Himalayas

In the introductory portion of his lecture, which appears in *Science and Culture*, delivered at Allahabad on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Allahabad University, D. N. Wadia says :

At a period in the geological history of our earth, which to compare earth-history with the known human history since its earliest dawn, would be as recent as

the closing years of the Moghul dynasty, the geographical outlines of India were of the haziest description and it was not separated from Eurasia by the present formidable mountain ranges which so effectively barricade it from the west, north and east. One of the most closely established facts of geological science tells us of a sea, which girdled India along its north face through vast aeons of time—a true mediterranean sea which divided the northern continent of Eurasia (known as Angaraland) from a southern continent of more or less uncertain borders, but which united within its compass the present disjointed peninsulas of Africa, Arabia, India and Australia (known to geologists as Gondwanaland). Between the Deccan and the Siberian lowlands as far as the Arctic Ocean, there was then no mountain barrier of any importance, save the stunted and broken chain of the Altai of Eastern Turkestan; and there then prevailed an oceanway which provided in the beautiful words of the hymn "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand" an uninterrupted intercourse and migration of marine animals unknown in the world of today.

The rise of the Himalayas from the floor of this mediterranean sea is an epic of the geological history of Asia. All the relevant facts of this event are well dated and documented in the rock-records of these mountains.

The Civilization of China

Prof. Tan Yun-Shan of the Sino-Indian Culture Society, Nanking and Santiniketan, points out in his article in *Prabuddha Bharata* the antiquity and richness of Chinese culture.

The European scholars often make the grave mistake of looking upon the Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations as the two oldest in point of time. This mistake is occasioned by their almost complete ignorance of Chinese history and misunderstanding of Chinese culture. I venture to suggest that the Chinese civilization is much older than either of these two civilizations. The Egyptians and Babylonians have long vanished away, and the relics which have survived the onslaught of time are also few. But as to China, her old chronicles are almost complete and the numberless historical records of the country point to the great antiquity of her civilization.

According to old historical records You-Tsao first invented houses to teach the people to live safely. Swei-Jen invented fire by drilling wood to teach the people to cook. These discoveries took place more than ten thousand years ago. Fu-Hsi taught the people to catch fish with nets, animal with snares and he also taught them to sing to the accompaniment of guitars. He also laid down the formal rules of the wedding ceremony; this is the inauguration of social marriage in human society. He created the Eight-Diagrams which were the origin of the written characters. He found the way to measure time, which is the prelude to the almanac. Shen-Nung invented spades and ploughs and taught the people to cultivate corns. He established a kind of market and taught the people to exchange their products. He experimented with the curative qualities of various plants, roots and leaves and thus laid the foundations of the science of medicine. He also reformed the system of calendar. It is to be remembered that all this took place more or less than ten thousand years ago. Since then many great sages, one after another, have laid the world under a great debt of gratitude by their inventions and discoveries. Huang-Ti or the Yellow Emperor ruled over the country about 2700 B. C. He was a

successful king but we remember him today most for some of the vitally important inventions connected with civilized life. Amongst his numerous useful inventions, mention should be made of (1) cap and dress, (2) vehicle and boat, (3) mortar and pestle, (4) bow and arrow, (5) compass, (6) metallic coins and (7) coffin. Apart from his direct personal inventions, he had reformed and improved upon many of the things already in current use. Astronomy and the system of determining the seasons, studies into the solar system are only a few of the fields he had enriched with his genius.

Periodical Publications

The *Indiana* of Benares, writing editorially in its notes, observes :

Some of our magazines publishing two volumes a year, call them two halves of the year or volume. *Prabasi* is a typical example of those magazines. For purposes of reference to their volumes we have introduced two symbols, D and D, the former being used to denote the first half (*purvardha*) and the latter the second half (*uttarardha*). Two other magazines issued from the same *Prabasi* press, namely, *Modern Review* and *Visal-Bharata* do not however call their six-monthly volumes as halves of one and the same volume, but number the six-monthly volumes serially from the very start. Thus, the current half-yearly volume, for January to June, 1938, of *The Modern Review* is vol. 63, the magazine having completed 62 volumes in the last 31 years. In our opinion it is a better method of numbering volumes, so long as the two half-yearly volumes of the same year are not two component parts or sections. *Prabasi*, which is going to complete its 37 years of existence, in a couple of months more, having published 74 volumes (double the number of years) may very well begin to call its next volume as vol. 75, treating the previous 37 years' volumes as the first 74 volumes. The conductors of magazines would, we hope, find this method to be more suitable both to themselves and to their constituents.

As regards sewing and wire-stitching of publications and binding cases for volumed journals, it remarks :

Sewing is always preferred. When however stitching has to be done wire stitching, by brass or copper wire rather than iron, is preferable to thread stitching unless the rough hammer strike by the bindery boy on nails spoiling the publication can be avoided. Iron wire gets rusted in damp weather and disfigures and decays paper.

A number of foreign periodicals supply lettered binding cases at the end of a volume together with the title pages, contents and indexes. We do not know if some Indian periodicals, also do the same. If a case (or cover) seems to be too costly, a lettered title label for the back of a bound volume, supplied together with the title pages, etc., may even be appreciated by a number of subscribers.

Indian Christians in Bengal

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's Address delivered in Calcutta at a joint meeting of the Calcutta

Missionary Conference and the Bengal Christian Conference, and published in *The National Christian Council Review*, begins with the following remarks :

According to the last census, the total number of Indian Christians in Bengal is approximately 1,32,000. Of these about 26,000 live in towns and 1,06,000 in the country. There are 43 towns of various sizes in Bengal. About 14,000 Indian Christians are permanent residents of Calcutta and Howrah while the rest of the Indian Christian urban population numbering approximately 12,000 live in 41 towns. Thus the majority of our community live in the country where they earn their living as unskilled labourers, agriculturists, etc. Very few of them, in fact so few that they are negligible in number, own the land they cultivate. Those of them who are not on the verge of destitution, share in crops raised by them with owners or leaseholders of land.

These 1,06,000 Indian Christians are scattered in 27 districts of Bengal and in the two States of Cooch-Behar and Tripura, the total area of which is 82,955 square miles. They live either in single families, or in very small groups, in predominantly non-Christian villages scattered over this wide area. It follows therefore that Christian children of the rural areas will either have to go without education or be educated in non-Christian institutions.

Dr. Mookerjee points out that the revival of the national spirit has not only manifested itself in politics but it has also assumed a religious form.

Islam, like Christianity, has all along been characterized by an aggressive spirit. The same propagandist spirit has at last made its appearance in Hinduism. Whereas formerly, the ascetic was content with working out his own salvation by pilgrimages, fasts, prayers and meditation, he has now come to realize his duty as a religious teacher and is organizing societies for the propagation of Hinduism. When I was penning these lines, I had before me the Annual Report of one such society of Hindu ascetics, vowed to poverty and celibacy, one of the declared aims of which is to preach and to convert to Hinduism all classes of men as well as to engage in social service work, such as starting schools, outdoor dispensaries, indoor hospitals, etc., in out-of-the-way corners of this country where facilities of this kind are not available. What is more, controlled as this body is by educated *sadhus* who have developed leadership the society is doing really useful work.

The value of the propaganda carried on by these Hindu *sadhus* is recognized even by the Moslems. In one of his books, Dr. Stanley Jones says how a Muhammadan Maulvi came to a Christian friend and said, 'I hear that funds are being cut off from your mission work, and that you must close a good deal of it. Why don't you come to us? We will contribute and help you rather than see this work closed, for if it is closed, many of the Christians will go back to Hinduism, and we Muhammadan Maulvis have lain down on the doorstep of your co-religionists so that they would have to walk on our prostrate bodies in order to go and be reconverted to Hinduism.'



WORLD AFFAIRS

India's Foreign Policy

A POLITICAL philosopher, anxious to find a satisfactory definition for a state, once concluded that it is the authority which possesses a foreign office and has foreign relations of its own with others. The merit of the definition may be questioned. But a foreign policy of a people without a state would be no less intriguing a sight for political thinkers. Yet just at this hour we, the people of India, are presenting the world with a very curious thing—a statement on the foreign policy of the Indian people voiced through the Indian National Congress, the mouthpiece of a nation which is yet to be born, of a people who possess no state of their own—though there are so many “Indian States.” At Haripura the Congress is expressing its sympathy with China and defining its position with regard to the world situation :

“In view of the grave danger of widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world the Congress desires to state afresh the policy of the Indian people with regard to foreign relations and war. The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others and build up their strength on the basis of international co-operation and goodwill. Such co-operation must be found on world order and free India will gladly associate itself with such order and stand for disarmament and collective security. But world co-operation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remain and one nation dominates over another and imperialism holds sway. In order therefore to establish world peace on an enduring basis imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end. During the past few years there has been rapid and deplorable deterioration of the international relations; Fascist aggression has increased and unabashed defiance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of the Fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must therefore largely shoulder the responsibility for progressive deterioration of the world situation. That policy still seeks arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain. It is helping in the drift towards an imperialist world war.

India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress therefore entirely disapproves the war preparations being made in India and the large scale manoeuvres and air-raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in the war this will be resisted.”

So, the Indian people at last admit that through the inexorable logic of events they find themselves in the tangle of the times to be inalienably linked with other peoples near to the home or far away. Even the Indian legislature is waking up to this consciousness. Foreign relations are the close reserve in this country for foreigners. They are shaped and re-shaped in secrecy according to the policy of Westminster. So, it may sound rather unreal for us to talk of a foreign policy; still the talk started sometime ago, and did not start a day too soon. A people seriously aspiring after independence must look around itself, as every student of public affairs or of the international affairs would recognize, if its resolve is not unreal.

The Underlying Principle

The foreign policy of the Indian people as defined above lacks, however, definiteness. It only states its line of approach to international questions, and, under the present circumstances, it can do little more. “What would India wish—Japanese imperialism to conquer China, and grow into a real menace to the British imperialism in the East? or China to beat the imperialists and remove the future menace of Indian liberty?” put an eminent American journalist to one of the Congress leaders. It was difficult to answer. The Congressman admitted this. “Well, as the under dog we are always in sympathy with under dogs. But the question would be simplified for us if only the Britishers put down their feet on any of these sides. We would then jump over to the other.” Perhaps the problem is not so simple. India would hardly in her present mood rob China of her liberty. But nonetheless her foreign policy is negative—she would refuse to further the interests of her own opponents. In her present political status this is quite understandable and probably wise; for, a people whose very life is blighted by negation of rights can have only a negative policy of resistance and challenge.

India and the Far East

In international politics sympathy counts for little—especially in these days. Abyssinia had had enough of sympathy, and indeed the

Negus was deceived by it to an audacious resistance which ended so miserably. The Spanish republicans get more sympathy than help. China has none of the latter and the very sincere expression of the former from all quarters except Italy and some others, as was seen at the Brussels Conference. But, to quote Professor Shelley Wang in the *Labour Monthly* (November, 1937) :

She has learnt that sheer sympathy will not stop the Japanese invasions. On the contrary the failure of translating sympathy and protest into concrete action has merely emboldened Japan to go on with her crimes, impervious to universal condemnation which she holds in utter contempt. . . . Sanctions, (advised the writer,) can stop the war. Continued supplies of oil, cotton and other materials help Japan to go on with the slaughter of Chinese men, women and children. Loans help Japan to carry on her undeclared war on China. All trade with Japan means assisting her in getting the means of taking heavier toll of lives in China. But the full application of sanctions, if they were enforced rigidly and faithfully, will bring Japan 'down to her knees'.

But, while we Indians have been talking of boycott or sanction, Indian cotton that was to find its way to Japanese factories is lying in stock unsold and the Berar cotton-grower is feeling what the boycott may mean. This crisis in cotton market incidentally, has only served to give the Bombay mill-owner an additional advantage. Busy with manufacture of armaments, Japan has even to import Bombay cotton goods from him. His 'patriotism' and his cry of 'boycott Japanese' will not prevent him to avail of it fully whatever be the plight of the cotton-grower, the worker or the consumer of the Swadeshi or of China.

Meanwhile, Japan is advancing through the very heart of China, and, the ruthless march is laying low every opposition of the Chinese. The only hope of China lies in her bulk and number, and perhaps in a long continued resistance by guerilla warfare. But the Japanese know that well enough and are prepared for it. So far none of their plans has miscarried in spite of the dismal predictions of her critics. *The Living Age* (January, 1938) reminds its readers editorially :

In its sympathy with China, the world has not yet grasped the phenomenal efficiency of the Japanese military machine in the art of invasion. Liaison between the Navy, Army and Supply Departments has been excellent. Even allowing for the Chinese collapse after the Hangchow Bay landing, the Japanese Staff seems to have made no mistakes of consequence. Operations of a similar kind in the past have invariably been badly bungled; the American landing in Cuba, the British campaign in South Africa, the ill-fated Dardanelles and Mesopotamian expeditions and Sarraill's exasperating postponements of his push at Saloniki. This proficiency of the Japanese in conducting vast operations overseas without delay may well become a perpetual night-mare

to the Philippine Commonwealth, to Australia and to the European Powers which have possessions in the Far East.

Japan's objectives were sketched by the Tanaka Memorial as clearly as ever in 1927. It stated :

"In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China the rest of the Asiatic Countries and the South Sea Countries will fear us and surrender to us, than the world will realise that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. . . . Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step, if the Yamato race wishes to distinguish itself in continental Asia."

Even to us Indians this is no secret; only we need take no alarmist view of a possibility that, as Pandit Jawaharlal reminded at Haripura, was yet remote,

A Japanese or German or Italian invasion of India is to forget the realities completely and to live in a world of fantasy. Japan is further away from India, for all practical purposes, than England is. The land route is entirely closed and impossible of passage even for aircraft. The sea route is very long and terribly dangerous and cannot be negotiated till Japan is master of the sea and air and Britain and the United States have been wholly disabled. Japan cannot think of coming to India till she has absorbed the whole of China, a task almost certainly beyond her competence and resources. Even after that, the next countries on the list are Australia and Philippine Islands and the Netherlands India.

It is equally fantastic to think in terms of a German or Italian invasion of India. Both these countries will have their work cut out for them in Europe and their objectives lie in Europe or North Africa. But if by any chance the Fascist Powers gain an overwhelming victory in a world war and the world lies prostrate before them, then of course anything might happen. Even so, India will not go as a gift to anybody. She will resist the invader to the utmost and in spite of lack of military and such like resources she has developed enough strength and technique of her own method of struggle to make an invasion a terribly burdensome operation. We have to struggle today with an entrenched system which has dug itself deep into our very soil. It will be far easier to deal with a new-comer who comes with hostile intentions.

—(A. B. Patrika).

But Sir Ian Hamilton, who knows the Japanese from the days of the Russo-Japanese War, told recently an English audience :

How monstrous it will seem to posterity that, throughout 1937, the European nations should have been quarrelling like dogs over a bone about Spain, which has not the least intention of allowing itself to be gnawed by any outsider.

The Emperor is marching from the Island of the Rising Sun. His fighters drink up the great rivers of China. The smoke of their bombs makes dark the air.

His road is clearly marked—Hankow, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bhamo, Burma, Assam, Bengal. That is the prospect if nothing is done. Nothing less than Europe united can definitely hold up that army.

The Far East and the European Powers

Europe may herself be the theatre of war by no less rapacious powers. So, the European powers who have interests in the Far East have to be satisfied with their diplomatic protests and the Japanese diplomatic expression of regrets. This saves the face, though it does not save Britain's or France's interest or prestige.

Britain, at any rate, must not be drawn in in this phase of the struggle for supremacy in the East. She is to arm herself at this hour thoroughly, before the Japanese conquest and assimilation of the vast country is completed so that when the hour of decision comes she may be found fit and ready for it. The Singapore Base was recently opened. Yet, Singapore is now outflanked, as an eminent English military correspondent reminds us :

Let us examine Japanese policy apart from her desire to wield influence on the North East frontier when complete control of China is obtained. The Japanese will never forgive us the severance of the alliance after she had served the Allies in the War. Our decision meant the building of Singapore Base and brought in its train the policy of neutralizing the Base. Japan's first essential is to creep down the coast of the South China Sea and take up a position between Hongkong and Singapore. An extension from that position would outflank Singapore and there are indications that the scheme is to obtain a concession from Siam to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Kra, about 700 miles north of Singapore. A glance at the map will show how she would get behind the new gateway base and touch right in to Victoria Point, Burma. France wanted to make this canal some years ago as a safeguard for Indo-China but did not proceed with the idea, and the Japanese at once began to establish influence in Siam. A waterway through the 55 miles of land would take Japanese ships from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean out of range of Singapore. To be sure we are fortifying Penang but even that is distant from any northern cut through the Isthmus. Developments on these lines could only mean an ultimate Japanese squadron in the Indian Ocean and perhaps considerably increase the flooding of India's markets with cheap Japanese goods. In the long view there is the possibility of Japanese power being felt on the land side of India where China touches the frontier, and by way of the southern waters.

The Far East and America

A clear indication of the American intentions in solving the Chinese puzzle would perhaps be helpful for Britain. But after the refusal of the Stimson offer by Sir John Simon during the Manchurian crisis in 1932, the U. S. A. are not going to move away from their "peace and neutrality policy" and throw themselves again into the arms of the "perfidious Albion." This attitude got further support from the recent turn in British foreign policy. Of course America has her own interests on the Pacific—the Philippines, the fishing interests disregarded

by the Japanese, and lastly, the old policy of "Open-door in China" and "the territorial integrity of China." For the present her answer to all Japanese challenge is a big navy and a gigantic armament programme, and, a demand in company with France and Britain to know the plan of Japanese naval building Japan necessarily refused it, but she cannot stop the U. S. A. from building a formidable fleet.

The Far East and the Soviet

The only other factor in the Far Eastern politics is the Soviet Russia—an incalculable force which may again favour China by her alliance as a result of the understanding between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang. But the U. S. S. R. did not appear to be very vigorous when they were challenged on the Amur by the Japanese. Russia is no doubt busy preparing feverishly on the Baikal, which has been characterized as the key to Asia by a correspondent in the *News Chronicle* :

In this part of the world history and geography are both in the making. To understand why Baikal is a potential storm centre we must look eastward.

On the East, Outer Mongolia borders upon Japan's puppet State of Manchukuo, and upon Inner Mongolia. The Trans-Siberian railway, which skirts Lake Baikal, continues through the Buryat Republic and then for a thousand miles runs close to Japanese territory, at some points only a few miles distant. But it does not run in a straight line. At Khabarovsk, the headquarters of the Far Eastern Red Army, the line turns southward down Russia's Maritime Province to Vladivostok. And Vladivostok is only a few hours by air from Japan's great industrial centres.

There is no doubt that Japan has her agents among these people. She has, indeed, confessed to harboring a scheme for an 'independent' Mongolia which should unite the 2,000,000 Mongols living in Manchukuo, the 1,500,000 Mongols of Inner Mongolia, the 750,000 of Outer Mongolia and the 500,000 in the Buryat, who are at present Russian citizens.

Japan has even promised the feudal lords of Inner Mongolia the whole Province of Hsining if they will further this scheme. The stakes in this mighty chess game are enormous and are not all political. Siberia, as a whole, is the richest region in the world still largely unexploited.

Outer Mongolia, which Russia must continue to control if she is to hold her Eastern Empire, is also not negligible economically.

The strategic importance of Outer Mongolia, however, is the dominant factor. To the Japanese, Outer Mongolia is the key to Baikal and the cutting of communication between Moscow and the Far East. To the Russians, Outer Mongolia is the corridor to China and the still unexploited parts of Asia.

Nothing is certain, but the sands appear to be running out from the Japanese hour-glass. Time favours the Russians. To begin with, the Far Eastern District is rapidly becoming impregnable from the military viewpoint. No longer is it an army 6,000 miles from its base which could be cut off and starved out.

Twenty years of solid economic and social reconstruction stands to the credit of Moscow, and the recent purges, however, astounding and distasteful to the world at large, are said to have left it strong in morale so as to enable Stalin himself to refer to the 'anti-Comintern pact' and to accept the challenge, if it comes, from Rome and Berlin and Tokyo. Naturally. Stalin's eyes are sharp and watchful even though to his Communist compatriots they may appear to have lost their revolutionary dreaminess and fire and brilliance. He must save the U.S.S.R. from the counter-revolutionary forces that surround her and thus keep Communism in saddle in Russia, so that international Communism in other lands may in that success find hope and courage for itself. The enemies of Moscow at the moment are too many. Poland, Greece, Rumania (with or without the short-lived Goga regime), are almost at a striking distance, while the arms of Hitler are long enough to strike her even in her heart, the Ukraine. Europe is in the grip of Fascism.

Nazism in Triumph

Around Hitler's totalitarian Germany and Mussolini's corporative Italy revolves today the politics of all Europe. This Fascism bound Moscow and Paris together, Prague to Moscow, and brought London nearer to the two. The Spanish tragedy drags on its barbarous course in which Fascism and Republicanism with Communism as its ally, are contending—a prelude, as the ideologues hold, to the real war under the shadow of which the world lives today. Meanwhile, Hitler has indulged in a shorter purge. The military heads of the General Staff, General Von Fritsch and Marshall Von Bloemberg, are gone—one imprisoned, the other removed,—and the top of the army Nazified at one stroke. Even in their wildest dreams the Hohenzollern would never think of challenging the Prussian militarists in this way. Yet, the army has yielded, and Germany though voiceless, looked probable askance. But the Fuehrer was ready with his trick of 'external success' to appease the Germans. Quick came his invitation to Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, and an eleven hour's talk and marshalling of forces on the Austrian border made that unreasonable man see reason in Hitler's proposal to give the important post of the Ministry of Interior and police administration in Austria to Hitler's nominee, an approved Nazi. The Fuehrer now can turn to Czechoslovakia. He triumphantly talked of his achievements and even of 'not tolerating a free

press in Britain.' In a day Austria has been reduced to vassalage—and the good Catholics of Austria no more can count on Mussolini to move his soldiers on the frontier, nor on the allies who pledged Austrian sovereignty, opposed in the pre-Hitler days even an Austro-German trade agreement and resisted the Austrian wish for a restoration of the Habsburg House. Il Duce is silent now, probably sullen, or more probably, he was sounded beforehand by the Berlin dictator. Any way, it remains to be seen how the Berlin-Rome axis works on after Hitler's triumph in Austria and Britain's recent attempt to please Mussolini.

British Policy

The outstanding event of the month in political affairs is the split in the British Cabinet. Mr. Anthony Eden's resignation has advertised clearly the rift that existed within it over the question of its foreign relations. The autograph letter of the British Premier to Mussolini and Lord Halifax's visit to Hitler showed the mind of the British upper classes who, in spite of the rebuffs from the two dictators, and their professed faith in the democratic principles, recognise that in the inevitable division of the world in coming days into rival ideological camps their fate was bound to be linked with that of the Fascist powers. Mr. Chamberlain has, therefore, to break with his Foreign Secretary though the Italian press was still continuing its Radio war in Arabic in the Near East against Britain and shows no signs of agreeing with Britain on the Spanish or any other question. For the present the retreat from the 'League policy' will be covered up by an admission of the claims of *Realpolitik*—viz., advantages of Anglo-Italian understanding by a recognition of the Abyssinian conquests of Italy and granting of a large loan to Italy to balance her budgets by Great Britain, and the withdrawal in return of volunteers from Spain by Italy. These are calculated to buy a safe Empire route in the Mediterranean, and, possibly, at the moment when Hitler has just got Austria under his virtual sway against the will and interest of his dictator-partner Mussolini, draw these two anti-British partners a little apart. Of course Berlin is already noting that and the Nazis would never allow "the Berlin-Rome axis" to weaken. Now that Eden is off, they would rather ask this Anglo-Italian negotiation to broaden into an Anglo-German-Italian negotiation on the basis, in addition to the above, of a return of the old German colonies. Can Britain agree to that? She has to, if Mussolini:

and Hitler stand together and the British upper classes, who are behind the Chamberlain cabinet and its policy of appeasing the Fascist dictators, remain in power. The return of the German colonies is not an academic question with the German or British diplomats today. Lord Lothian hints in the *International Affairs* (Nov.-Dec. 1937) that a return of the former German colonies is not a bad bargain to buy off Hitler though Mr. Wickham Steed may compare it to the Danegeld. The question is examined by Harold Nicholson in the *International Affairs* (Jan.-Feb. 1938) :

Are we correct in assuming that Germany would be "satisfied" were we able to return to her those colonies which she possessed in 1913? Even when she possessed those colonies in undisputed and unconditional ownership she was still clamouring for her place in the sun.

"What Germany wants is power." She knows very well that the return of her former colonies (even if that were feasible) would diminish rather than increase her power. I regard Herr Hitler as a most consistent man. I believe that what he himself desires is contained in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. What he desires is *Grund und Boden* or, in other words, territorial and economic acquisitions in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Such acquisitions might lead him into conflict with Russia. If he is to succeed in that conflict he must assure that he is protected in the rear, that he has the necessary *Ruckentdeckung* as against France. In order to sterilise France he must sterilise England. Yet what does he possess wherewith to purchase our neutrality? He has no real assets at all. Therefore he creates an artificial asset, the Colonial Propaganda. He can now offer us the abandonment of his claim for the colonies in return for a free hand in the East. If we take his colonial demands at their face value, then he at least obtains some colonies, which will please his people. If we refuse his demands, then he can claim in compensation our neutrality in his European ambitions. It is for this reason so important that we should not surrender one inch of colonial territory without obtaining in return precise assurances in regard to Germany's European ambitions. To restore the colonies in return for German "friendship" would be to exchange a substance for a shadow. It is for this reason that I am opposed to any colonial concession except as part of a general settlement.

Yet, if Italy and Germany hold together, the present British Cabinet will have to yield on this question too; for the combined forces of the totalitarian states are too strong to be challenged by Britain. The only hope of asserting himself, the Britisher knows, as a practical man who does not talk much of *Realpolitik* or *Machtpolitik*, is to re-arm thoroughly and win over suitable allies. If only America could be persuaded to see, that Britain means to 'make the world safe for democracy.' Mr. Wickham Steed undertook this on a mission to America, and in the Chatham House spoke of his American experiences. The extracts to follow show how an adept British publicist woos a country with a draft policy.

This draft policy has not yet been made public in Great Britain; but it has been agreed to by some members of all parties, and I will quote its main lines :

The aim of British policy should be to uphold and defend the vital interests and free civilisation of Great Britain and the British Commonwealth and, in co-operation with other countries, to safeguard peace. The methods of attaining this aim are: (a) to ban aggressive violence from international relations, to restore respect for treaties and covenants, and *for this purpose* [these are very important words] to raise and to keep the armed strength of Great Britain and the Commonwealth up to whatever level may be needed; (b) to co-ordinate, through the League of Nations and otherwise, political, economic and military strength, so as to deter and, if need be, to resist armed aggression; (c) to discountenance and counteract aggression in the form of propaganda; (d) to promote impartial inquiry into international grievances and peaceful redress of proved wrongs.

While recognising that all civilised peoples are entitled to choose their own political and social systems, British policy must nevertheless seek to support at all times the positive principles of responsible individual freedom, under representative democratic government, upon which the British Commonwealth is founded. Among these principles are respect for individual human rights, toleration of racial, religious and political differences and free association between the members and sections of the community, all of which are essential conditions of the establishment of peace. British policy, therefore, must oppose in the international sphere intolerance and recourse to arbitrary violence. It must favour methods of impartial inquiry and peaceful adjustment, and the willing acceptance of a common law of nations, and it must be ready to join others in withstanding breaches of this law as the only way to diminish armaments and to create peace.

I spoke in public in the United States only once or twice, but I spoke confidentially to the Council on Foreign Relations, to the Foreign Policy Association, to the New York Jewish Committee to the Harvard Club, and various other gatherings. I met also some responsible executive officers of the United States. In all quarters I was assured that our draft policy is in accord with American ideas, and I was asked whether I could give them the assurance that it was, or would be, British policy. I said: "I cannot. I can only tell you what some of us are trying to do."

The speaker of course noted the Chicago speech of President Roosevelt. But certainly the Chamberlain Government, as the move to open negotiations with Mussolini proves, do not share his hope or faith in "democratic front" and America knows British foreign policy is in the hands of Mr. Chamberlain and not of Mr. Steed.

World Economics

A survey of the world affairs today thus leaves no doubt in the mind that the world appears to be 'deeper in cynicism and disorder, more tangled in intrigue than ever before.' Even the economic facts hold out no great hope. There has been, no doubt, a slow emerging from out of the slump that overtook the world in 1929, but how far this is based on permanent

and really firm foundations, and how far this prosperity itself reflects the disease of the world. a result of its maddened hurry to re-arm—is a question that remains yet to be seen. Already America is said to be facing another slump which is to overtake others. How the world fared economically before this can, however, be seen from a League of Nations publication *World Economic Survey*, Sixth Year, 1936-37 : (summarised in the *International Affairs*, Jan.-Feb., 1938).

World industrial activity continued to recover, and is now back to its 1929 level, even when the U.S.S.R. (where industrial production has quadrupled) is excluded. On the other hand, it is far lower than it would be had the normal rate of expansion of at least 3 per cent. per annum been maintained since 1929. One important stimulus, at least since 1936, has been rearmament, which is estimated to affect 60 per cent. of industry. The world spent two and a half to three times as much on armaments in 1936 as in 1933. But the relative importance of armaments expenditure varies widely in different countries. In Japan it represents one-fifth of the national income; in the United States one-fiftieth.

International trade continues to lag behind industrial production, although if the U.S.S.R. is omitted the gap is not very wide, trade having recovered to 98.3 per cent. of its volume in 1929, whilst industrial production has reached 107.1 per cent. of its 1929 level. On the other hand, the recovery in trade is primarily accounted for by increased demand for raw materials. Trade in manufactured goods in 1936 was still only 75 per cent. of its volume in 1929. The crisis barriers to international trade remain, even though the factors which may have justified their erection, exchange instability and falling prices, have disappeared.

World unemployment, at one time three times as great as in 1929, was only twice as great in the middle of 1936, and falling rapidly. Social legislation proceeded apace; a striking example being the law securing four weeks' paid holiday annually for agricultural labourers in New Zealand.

In discussing the recent "gold scare," the *Survey* argues that "the glut of gold in some countries and its scarcity in others reflects, not a superabundance of gold in general, but an international disequilibrium based upon fundamental economic and political, rather than monetary, causes . . . Only by a greater rise in prices in the gold-receiving than in the gold-losing countries, coupled with freer imports into the gold-receiving countries, could the flow be reversed and the stock of gold be more evenly distributed." Elsewhere it is pointed out that the inflow of foreign capital into the United States throughout 1935 and 1936 amounted to "over \$3,500,000 daily, including Sundays and holidays."

Are we again approaching the end of this cycle?

Economists have often put faith in their own science for a solution for the present troubles. They prophesy a break-down for Germany (Herr Shacht is no more the Economic dictator), an exhaustion for Japan, a failure of the Abyssinian investment of Mussolini. But we should remember that a people, which is in a mood to suffer privations for the sake of any vision, true or false, can put up with incredible difficulties. The Bolsheviks proved it for long years, the Italians did the same during the Abyssinian campaign and are still doing so along with the Germans and the Japanese. Until the ship of state founders on some rock—probably a first class war—economics does not play the role that economists attribute to it.

And is the world drifting towards that cataclysmic fate? Or, will nations, fully conscious as they are of the strength of their opponents, wait and wait, in spite of every temptation to plunge themselves headlong, until the mad heat will be passed? There is no guessing where the forces lead the world today.

G. H.

FACSIMILE OF MANUSCRIPT



Kushan and Svastika coins

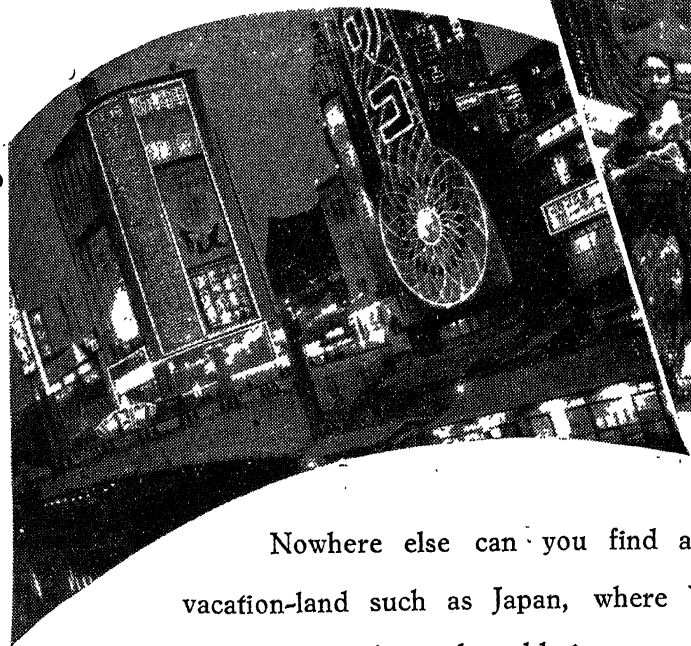
Bronze figures

[See Exploration of Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State, p. 303]

See

JAPAN

GEM OF THE EAST



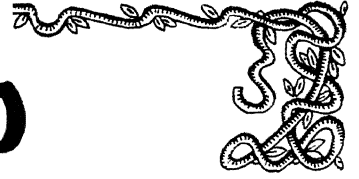
Nowhere else can you find an ideal
vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in
perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything
New in civilization, and unrivalled land — and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS



Notes



Mahatma Gandhi To Be Proposed For Nobel Peace Prize

A cablegram, dated Oslo (Norway), February 14, 1938, has it that "the Norwegian organization of the Friends of India states Mahatma Gandhi will be proposed as a candidate for this year's Nobel Peace Prize."

No worthier name can be proposed. It ought to have been proposed long ago. But, better late than never, as the proverb goes.

Among those who have received the Nobel peace prize up to date, there was no one who got it for having actually established peace in the world. They got it, because their work and influence were believed to make for peace.

The Nobel Peace Prize should go to one who works for world peace and who is absolutely opposed to war on any account, if such a person can be found. Mahatma Gandhi is such a man. He believes in *ahimsa* or non-violence, not as a mere policy, but primarily as a spiritual principle, which is also binding in the political and economic spheres.

If any wars be defensible and justifiable, they are those waged for freedom, liberation, independence. The question, therefore, arises, if all wars are to be condemned and avoided, what is the effective substitute for wars of independence which is morally justifiable. Mahatma Gandhi believes that *satyagraha*, of which soul force, civil disobedience, passive resistance are approximate free renderings, is such a substitute for war.

But is it an effective substitute, so far as the attainment of freedom and independence is concerned?

To have recourse to *satyagraha* for the attainment of freedom and independence and to take up arms for the same purpose are as poles asunder as means to an end. A sufficiently long period of time must be allowed for demonstrating the efficacy of the new method. Mahatma Gandhi has been doing all that is

possible to ensure its success. Many a time he has risked his life in the pursuit of *satyagraha*. Many co-workers and followers of Mahatmaji have likewise done so. The result so far obtained is not unpromising.

One of the most potent causes of war is imperialism. Pacifism and imperialism cannot, therefore, go together. Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to imperialism. His pacifism is sincere. If a citizen of an imperialistic country wants to sincerely oppose war he must become an anti-imperialist. For imperialism promotes war either directly or indirectly. Without war no empire can be built up, and the preservation of an empire also necessitates war. Nor is this all. The very fact that a nation owns an empire and is in consequence wealthy and powerful, incites other nations to exert themselves to build up empires by means of aggressive wars. The last great world war, Italy's war in Abyssinia and Japanese aggression in China are examples.

Capitalism is nearly allied to militarism and imperialism. The capitalists of all industrial nations produce more manufactured goods by power-driven machinery in their big factories than are required for home consumption. Therefore they require foreign markets. If the foreign countries where these goods can be sold are their dependencies which are prevented directly or indirectly from remaining or becoming industrially self-sufficient, that is considered very lucky for the industrial nation. Hence all powerful industrial nations wish to have dependencies or subject countries, mis-called colonies, both for obtaining raw materials at cheap prices for manufacture and for the sale of manufactured goods. The obtaining of dependencies and keeping them in subjection involves war.

No means have yet been thought of and no steps taken to control and restrict the manufacture of goods in factories to such an extent as to obviate the evils of capitalism pointed out above. Unrestricted manufacture leads to

economic war, which may lead and has often led to actual war.

All this shows that pacifism and capitalism as it exists today can not go together.

Mahatma Gandhi is for obtaining all the service to humanity that he can from all classes of men, including the wealthy. As he said in a speech at Quilon on the 16th January, 1937 :

"If all the princes would call themselves servants of God, they would be correctly describing themselves, but they cannot be servants of God unless they are servants of the people. And if zamindars and monied men and all who have possessions would treat themselves as trustees and perform the act of renunciation that I have described, this world would indeed be a blessed world to live in."

Though Gandhiji has never declared himself in favour of any class war and has not denounced capitalism and capitalists in the way some other leaders of men have done, the very great importance which he attaches to spinning and hand-weaving and other village industries (which are all cottage industries), shows that he has discovered a key to world peace which many other pacifists have not perhaps done.

It is not our object here to discuss whether big factories and capitalism can be entirely dispensed with. In some places in India cotton mills cannot meet even provincial demands, and therefore whatever other evils may be due to them, they cannot lead to dumping and war. We wish only to show that Gandhiji's ideals and activities are all conducive to world peace.

As Gandhiji is against political and economic imperialism, so is he opposed to religious imperialism. Religious imperialism—the belief of some religious communities that their religion is the only true religion or that it is the best, and that all other communities must be converted to their faith, has in the past led to many wars, and may again, indirectly and in a disguised form, do so in the future. Gandhiji believes in the equality of all religions, is against proselytizing and is in favour of all men living according to the best ideals of their own religions and at the same time learning from other religions. He is thus against religious imperialism, which has been and may again be directly and indirectly the cause of many wars.

Here again it is not our intention to discuss whether it is right to rule out all conversions. Our object is merely to point out that Gandhiji's belief in the equality of all religions is calculated to promote peace and goodwill among the followers of all religions.

Racialism and racialists have caused many wars and may do so again. Mahatma Gandhi is not a racialist. He does not believe in the

innate superiority of some races and is not guilty of fomenting race hatred. He is a lover of man. The life, character, idealism and words and deeds of a man like him are calculated to promote peace and goodwill among men.

There is at present no man living in any country who enjoys to a greater extent the love and respect of a larger number of men of his own country and of outsiders. That itself makes for peace.

Britain's power and wealth, due directly and indirectly to India's subject condition, have roused the envy and jealousy of many nations leading them to aggressive attempts at similar self-aggrandisement. Therefore, one principal condition precedent to world peace is the liberation of India. Among men now living no one has been doing more for India's political freedom and independence than he. This is Mahatma Gandhi's last, but not the least, claim to recognition as the greatest living promoter of world peace.

How India's Subject Condition Menaces World Peace

More than a decade ago the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America, than whom there never was a greater friend of India in any foreign country, pointed out in *The Modern Review* that it had been repeatedly declared by European statesmen that the real cause of the world war of 1914-1918 was India's subject condition. Great Britain's possession, for more than 150 years, of so vast and rich an empire in Asia as India is, had been all the while kindling jealousy, envy and lust of conquest in the breasts of the other leading nations of Europe. They had looked on with envy and said: If Great Britain holds her vast and rich Indian possessions as the result of conquest, why should we not also conquer rich and lucrative possessions?

Herbert Adams (Gibbons) writes in his book *The New Map of Asia* :

"No one can understand the foreign policy of Great Britain, which has inspired military and diplomatic activities from the Napoleonic wars to the present day, who does not interpret wars, diplomatic conflicts, treaties and alliances, territorial annexations, extensions of protectorates, all with the fact of India constantly in mind."

This is true. For the larger part of the wars which England has fought during the last two centuries have been directly or indirectly caused by India. And perhaps England fought more wars during this period than any other nation.

Lajpat Rai on Subject India As A Menace to World Peace

Lala Lajpat Rai wrote to a foreign friend of his :

"The problem of India, that is, the problem whether great India is to be bond or free, is not only an important problem to Great Britain, but it is one of the gravest possible concern to the whole world. It is a question upon which, more perhaps than any other whatever, the future peace of Asia, Europe and the whole world depends.

"India is such a huge slice of the earth and contains such an immense population, that no person interested in world affairs can ignore its importance. India's human potentialities of all kinds are very great. Commercially it is strategic for nearly half the globe. It is the key to the Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger part of the Orient. This is why militarism and imperialism have always looked upon it with eyes of greed. This is why India has inspired Alexanders, Tamerlanes, Napoleons, Wellesleys, Czars and Kaisers with visions of world-empire. This is why for two centuries Great Britain has shaped her foreign diplomacy, her military plans and her imperial policy with a constant eye to strengthening her hold on India, her richest province, her greatest source of wealth and prestige. This is why she has carried on so many wars to guard the borders of India, to keep open her road to India, to weaken any nation that might endanger her possession of India."

As regards the future, the patriotic Lala went on to add :—

"Nor will India in the future be any less an apple of discord among the nations, a source of endless plottings, jealousies, intrigues and wars, so long as she remains a subject people,—a rich prize to be coveted, sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety and the only promise of peace and safety for the Orient or for Europe lie in her freedom; in her ceasing to be a pawn on the chessboard of the world's diplomatic, imperialistic and capitalistic plottings, and in her power to protect herself, a power which she will abundantly possess, if free. In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can ensure peace to the world so long as a great civilized nation, located in the very centre of the world's greatest continent and possessing one-fifth of the entire population of the globe, is in bondage. We see, therefore, why the problem of India's freedom or bondage is not only a world problem, but a problem more fundamental to the world's peace and safety than any other whatever."

Consequence of the Subjection of India

Ever since the eighteenth century the subjugation of India by Great Britain has stirred up perpetual rivalries, jealousies, strifes, plots, hatreds and wars among the nations of Europe. That is but another way of saying that India held in subjection, held as a rich prize by one European nation and coveted by the rest, has been the leading influence in turning all Europe into an armed camp and thus making inevitable the terrible conflict which began in 1914. Nor can things be permanently better so long as

India remains a subject land; that is, so long as this prime cause of the plottings, jealousies and hostilities of nations continues.

If about a quarter of a century ago Britain had admitted India to partnership within the British Empire, making her a self-ruling Dominion like Canada, Australia, etc., Germany would never have dreamed of her Berlin to Bagdad railway project. Germany went into the great war—which became a world war—believing that India was the British Empire's weak spot and that the Indian people would take the war as an occasion to revolt against their British rulers. Who knows whether Japan also is not labouring under some such misconception? This mistake would not have been made by Germany if India had been a free country or at least a contented partner in the British Empire, and in consequence there would not probably have been the last great world war.

On July 14th, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George, then the prime minister of Great Britain, sent a telegram to the prime minister of Russia saying :

"There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established from one end of Europe to the other."

He did not add, what was quite as true and quite as important : "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established from one end of Asia (including India of course) to the other."

The Allies in the world war all saw plainly and declared that there could be no permanent peace in Europe unless Belgium was helped to remain free and Serbia and Poland were given freedom. Why could not they all see the same with regard to Asia, especially India? A few of them who saw this were overruled. All of them ought to have realized that a peace settlement, with India still in subjection, would leave her, as in the past, one of the principal danger spots, if not the danger spot of the world. And perhaps more than in the past, for India has risen to a new self-consciousness, to a new sense of her wrong and her humiliating condition, to a new determination to be free.

Key to World Peace in "Isopanishad"

In some of his speeches in Travancore last year Mahatma Gandhi gave lucid expositions of the first *mantra* or verse of *Isopanishad*. The last part of that verse, "*ma gridhah kasyavid-dhanam*," means, "do not covet anybody's wealth or possession." Referring to this and

other precepts contained in the verse, Gandhiji said: "The moment you carry out these precepts you become a wise citizen of the world, living at peace with all that lives." The injunction, not to covet anybody's wealth, is meant for individuals as well as for aggregates of individuals, such as classes, castes, communities, nations and races.

Ban on "Bharat me Angrezi Raj" *Lifted*

The Bombay Congress ministry and perhaps some other Congress ministries have lifted the ban on some books proscribed by the provincial governments concerned in previous years. One of the important publications thus proscribed was the Hindi book "*Bharat me Angrezi Raj*" by Mr. Sundarlal of Allahabad. For the preparation of this work Mr. Sundarlal asked the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., to permit him to translate the latter's monumental work, "*Rise of the Christian Power in India*." The permission sought was given and Mr. Sundarlal utilized it to very great advantage. Major Basu gave Mr. Sundarlal other books and material also from his library. Mr. Sundarlal collected some material himself. It is to be noted that the ban has been lifted unconditionally and without any reservation. The author will now be able to present the book again to the Hindi-reading public, if he chooses to do so. We are glad, those among the Hindi-reading public who do not know English will now become acquainted with some of Major Basu's historical researches.

Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress

When the Indian National Congress was given its present constitution in supersession of the previous one, it was perhaps intended, by limiting the number of delegates, to prevent the assemblage of delegates from reaching unwieldy proportions. Naturally that object has not been gained. For Congress being a growing body, the number of its delegates must go on increasing. Further limits must be imposed—and perhaps from time to time.

Another object was perhaps to make the holding of a Congress session less expensive than before. This object, too, has not been gained. It is said, the arrangements for holding the session at Haripura cost Rs. 7½ lakhs. And it is also said, Gandhiji asked in consequence rebukingly: "Where was the necessity to get things from Bombay, Ahmedabad and Paris?" Was plaster of Paris for the sculptures obtained

from Paris? Or was something else imported from Paris?

But another and a very important object has been gained. Our village people—particularly in the province in which a particular session of the Congress is held and more specially those in the vicinity of the village where it meets—have been brought into greater and closer contact with this national organization. And the mass of our people live in villages. In the construction of the temporary town constructed for the session, mostly material available in villages has been used. The labour of village artisans and craftsmen has been utilized. Village women have played as great a part in the construction of the town, in keeping it clean and sweet and in preparing and providing food for the delegates and visitors, as village men. Conservation is women's special function in social life. When once the new political and economic message of India has been brought home to the humble women dwellers in village huts, one may be sure it will bear enduring fruit.

India's two principal news agencies, the Associated Press and the United Press, have sent to the dailies a vivid description of the opening of the 51st session of the Indian National Congress at Vithalnagar, Haripura.

The fifty-first session of the Indian National Congress opened today at Vithalnagar in a vast amphitheatre, the open grandeur and simplicity of which easily mark it out as the piece de resistance of the whole Nagar.

With ten foot bamboo 'thatti' walls skirting all round and its six huge gates, the amphitheatre presents the spectacle of a vast fortress with menacing battlements from a distance.

On a nearer approach the gates, particularly the two main ones opening on the Jhanda Chowk, reveal glorious examples of art with a distinct Oriental stamp about them. Stepping into the arena past the tri-colour curtains which hide the view of the interior through the gates one suddenly comes upon the vastness of the area which bamboo 'thattis' hide from public view.

To Accommodate Three Lakhs

Oval in shape the amphitheatre which has been planned to accommodate more than three lakhs must have entailed the organisers the least labour for all its immensity. The natural lay of the ground makes it immensely suitable for the purpose of a gigantic gathering. Sloping gradually from the river side, the ground suddenly rises in the opposite direction towards the leaders' dais on the opposite side. Neatly marked out enclosures for delegates from different provinces, visitors, the press, a spacious dais with galleries on either side of it for the Reception Committee members, and crowning all, a brilliantly lighted rostrum with its artistic outlines marked out by multicoloured lamps present an unforgettable spectacle of grandeur and orderliness.

A Picturesque Crowd

A seething mass of humanity besieged all gates to the vast amphitheatre where the open session is being



A Haripura Village Woman

held, and, despite the orderly behaviour of the crowd, volunteers at various gates were hard put to it to regulate admission.

Long before the meeting was due to commence, the vast visitors' enclosures began slowly but steadily to fill up. Villagers, men, women and children, carrying blankets began to settle down in orderly fashion for what to them was a memorable event in their lives. Volunteers and 'Desh-sevikas' were busy directing the stream of visitors through the proper gates leading to the different enclosures while long rows of booking offices outside worked with feverish activity.

At ten minutes to five, over two lakhs of people were inside. One part of the visitors' enclosure had been filled, while the other was only partially filled. The delegates' enclosure and the Reception Committee gallery, however, were completely filled. Outside the villagers were squatting down patiently in their hundreds, letting the more impatient pass and waiting to take their turn. The gates were thrown wide open and people kept pouring in in their thousands and the vast visitors' enclosure was steadily filling. The sun was casting long shadows and in the mellow light of the setting sun, the

presidential dais with the row of saffron-saried Sevikas guarding it all round with their hands interlocked, presented a colourful picture. More Sevikas and volunteers lined all the routes inside the amphitheatre. In a high pitch of expectancy the crowds sat awaiting the presidential procession, when the band announced that the leaders had formed the procession from the presidential tent by the blue waters of the Tapti river. All eyes immediately turned towards the west and the entire gathering rose up in their seats.

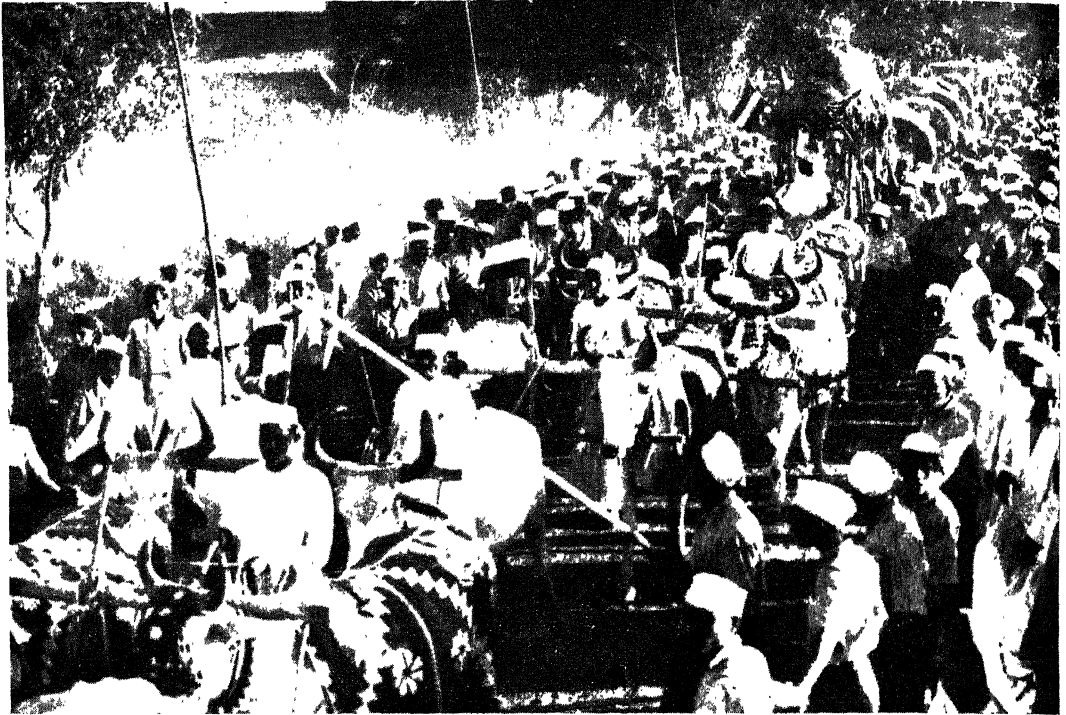
The Storm Abates

The dust storm continued even to-day and huts of many leaders and delegates suffered in consequence. The electric wires are reported to have snapped in many places and the electricians of Vithalnagar were kept busy repairing them and preventing damage and accident. A timely warning was also broadcast.

Despite the dust and cold visitors in thousands poured into the Congress camps and by evening every inch of the space in Vithalnagar was one solid mass of humanity moving towards the pandal where the open session is being held. By the time the session began, the storm abated and the atmosphere was calm.

Peasants and Kishans

In order to implement the fundamental idea underlying Gandhiji's suggestion of having village sessions of



President Subhas Bose being taken in procession from Haripura to Vithalnagar (Congress Camp)

Congress, the Reception Committee had granted concession to peasant and Kisan visitors from the interior and taking advantage of this offer nearly one lakh of them were present today. Besides these another one lakh of delegates, visitors and Reception Committee members also attended, while over two lakhs of people, mostly villagers, were outside the pandal. The entire area was fitted with loud-speakers and every word from the rostrum was distinctly audible from the farthest corner.

Presidential Procession

Just at 5-30 p.m. the presidential procession glided to the rostrum preceded by a band party of volunteers. The procession was in the following order:—Chairman of the Reception Committee, Darbar Gopal Desai and then in order of two, S. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram and Mr. Sanker Rao Deo, Mr. Narendra Deo and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Lord Samuel, who was present, was seen enthusiastically taking snapshots of the mass of humanity present in the enclosed natural amphitheatre.

Homage to the Mother

The 'Bande Mataram' song was sung in rich melody by a party of girls from Bengal. The spell cast by this song was marvellous and it was broken only by an equally soul-enthraling song, "Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka" of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. As soon as the 'Bande Mataram' was set to tune the huge assembly rose silently to one man.

On the pedestal stood garlanded President Bose, having Mahatma Gandhi to his right and Sardar Patel to the left.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee thereafter came to the rostrum and addressed the gathering through microphone. In pindrop silence the gathering heard the Chairman's welcome with rapt attention. His reference to Bengal's contribution towards the development of Indian nationhood in India and the compliments to S. Bose were applauded.

President Bose then proceeded to the rostrum and slowly mounted the stairs amidst vociferous cheers and cries of 'Bande Mataram' and 'Subhas Bose Ki Jai.'

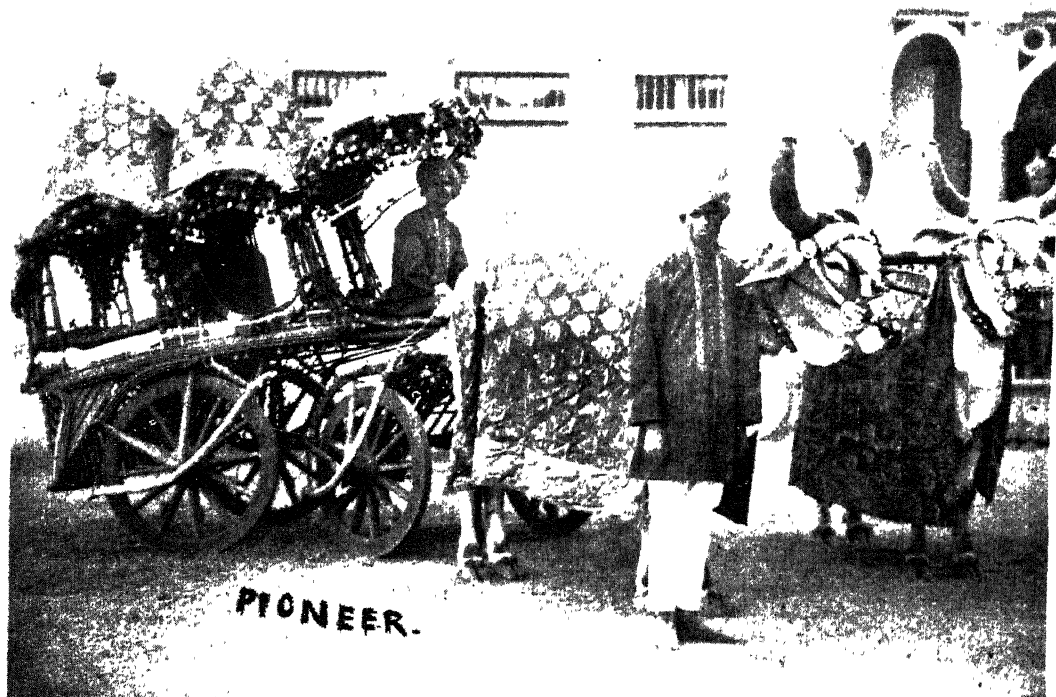
The revered old mother of Mr. Bose was cheered as she came and took her seat on the women's enclosure.

President Bose at first addressed the vast gathering in Hindi and spoke a few words on the present constitutional crisis in two provinces in English.—

(A. P. and U. P.)

Address of Darbar Gopaldas Desai

The address of Darbar Gopaldas Desai, chairman of the reception committee of the Haripura session of the Congress, was brief and characteristic of the person who delivered it. He is well known in Congress history for his sturdy patriotism, his democratic principles and practice, the fraternal help which he gave to "harijans" in his estate when he owned it,



The chariot for Congress President at Haripura drawn by 51 bullocks

his sense of self-respect and adherence to Non-co-operation in spite of the "advice" of the political agent, and his sacrifices.

He said he was a soldier whose duty it was to carry out the orders of his chief, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, not to make speeches. He welcomed the delegates on behalf of Gujarat.

My business is to welcome you to-day on behalf of Gujarat, and welcoming you as I do on behalf of businesslike Gujarat, I will make only a brief business-like speech. My own faith in the old programme of 1921 is well known, and in spite of the alteration in details that it has undergone, I think it is that programme that is going ultimately to help us to win our freedom. If value of truth and non-violence and of the constructive programme that they imply was great for the initial stages of struggle, it is greater while we are passing the middle stages and, God willing, are nearing the end of the journey. It is as a staunch believer in those basic principles and as a humble soldier that I have the honour to welcome you on the bank of the Tapti."

"Since last year we have begun to hold the Congress session in the villages. Faizpur had the first honour, and we have had benefit of the experience gained there. I don't know how far we have succeeded in making full use of that experience, but what you see here is the result of the labour of hundreds of devoted volunteer workers, two of whom have laid down their lives here. Not only Gujarat but India mourns the loss of Pandit Khare, whom all of us miss here so much. My share

in the work here is negligible. It is not for me to say how far we have succeeded. It will be for you to give your verdict after the end of this session. All I have to do to-day is to welcome you cordially on behalf of Gujarat, and especially on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli and Ras whose share has been not inconsiderable in making what history we have made. And in giving you a welcome, I would also beg you to bear with our many shortcomings, to be content with what comforts we have been able to provide, and not to mind the discomforts we have not entirely been able to avoid."

Referring to Bengal and the President-elect, he said :

"We are blessed with the Presidentship of one whose life is one unbroken record of sacrifice and service and suffering. He comes from a province which has on all three previous occasions given to Gujarat the Presidents of the Congress, and which in suffering would easily take first rank among the provinces of the country. I hope and pray that under the wise guidance of our President, we may march farther forward to our goal, and add more glorious chapters to our history.

"Subhas Babu, I request you to take the chair."

—(A. P.)

President Subhas Chandra Bose

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is one of the youngest presidents which the Indian National Congress has had during its history of half a



President Subhas Bose, Kripalani, Patel and others arriving for the Subjects Committee Meeting in Haripura

century. Perhaps the youngest was Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who presided over the Benares session of the Congress in 1905, when he was 39. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first presided over the Congress at Lahore, when he was 40. Sir Sankaran Nair was president at Amraoti in 1897, at the same age. Mr. Bose is 40.

Indian and foreign readers of Indian newspapers and periodicals, including our readers, know how well Mr. Bose is equipped intellectually for his work by his education, his political activities, his residence and travels in different countries of Europe, and his general experience. His services, his sacrifice and his sufferings in the cause of the country are also known to the country. His ability and his powers of organization had on one occasion to be mentioned by the Government apologist in the Central Assembly in order to justify his continued detention. Being a bachelor who is not obliged to earn his own livelihood, he can devote all his time and energy to the service of the country. All these facts led to his election to the high office which he occupies. They are also the grounds on which it is expected by Congressmen and many others that his incumbency of the presidency of the Indian National Congress

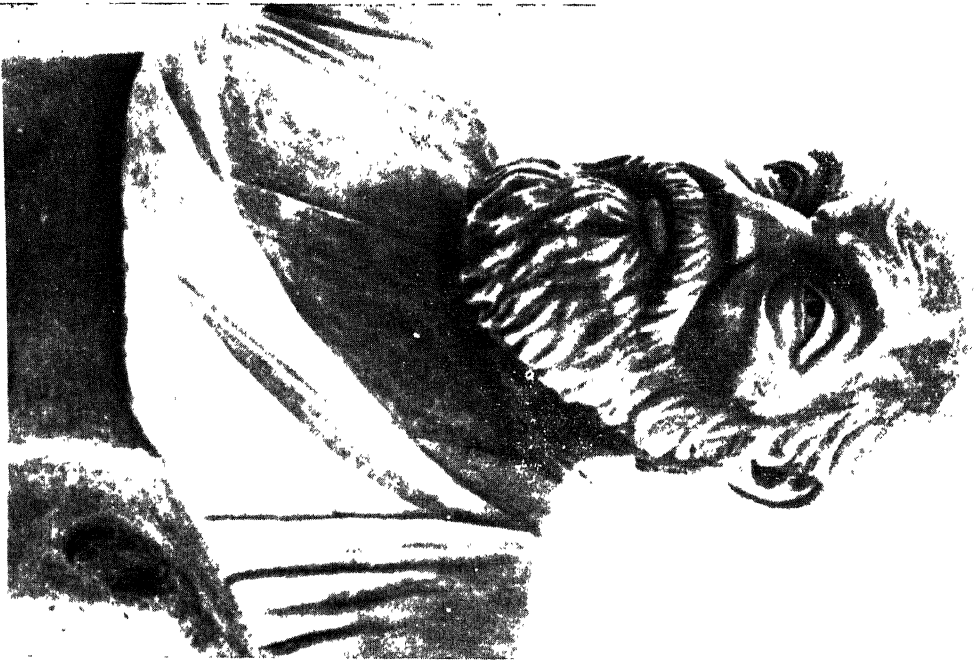
will be marked by some noteworthy achievement.

Mr. Bose's Presidential Address

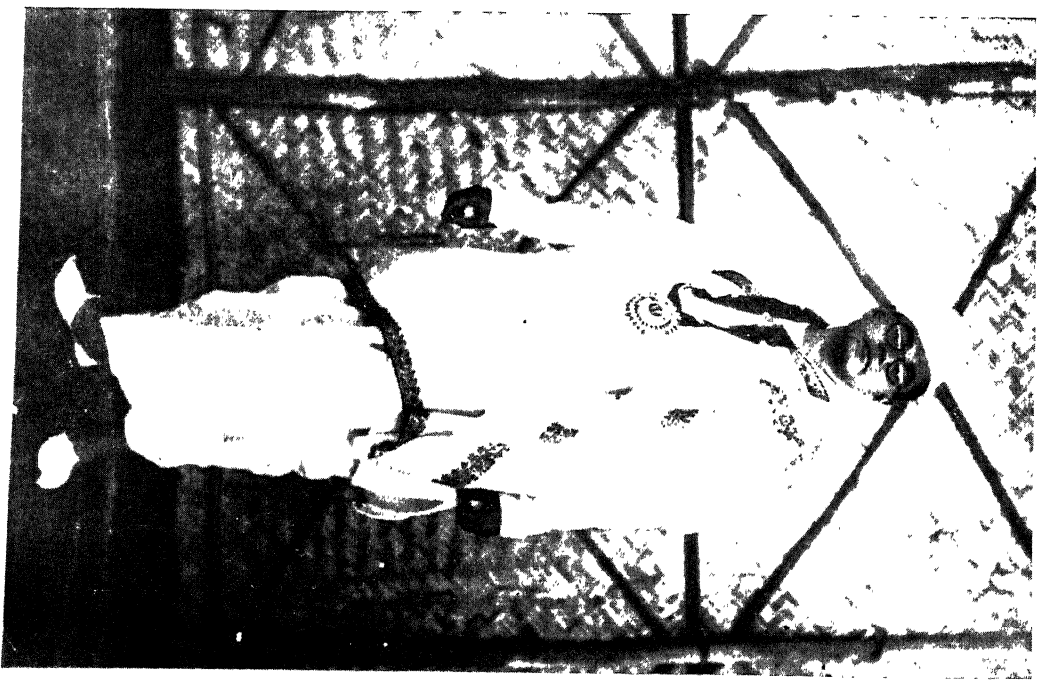
In his presidential address Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has very clearly and ably expressed his views on the topics dwelt upon therein. It contains no purple patches, no flights of oratory. Nor is there any attempt at timid or diplomatic mystification. What he thinks and believes he has stated plainly and boldly. Whether one agrees with him or not, one must recognise and appreciate this quality of his speech. Perhaps we agree with him more than we disagree.

After paying a tribute to some illustrious dead and homage to comrades in arms who have laid down their lives in prison or detention camp or after release therefrom, President Bose discoursed on—

What lesson Great Britain may learn from the rise and fall of empires; How British Empire may either become a federation of free nations or may break up ingloriously; Wider meaning of India's struggle; Britain's Divide and Rule policy; Her problems within and outside the



Bust of Vithalhai Patel, unveiled
by the Congress President



Subhas Chandra Bose at Vithalnagar, Haridwar.



The main Entrance Gate to the Exhibition at Vithalnagar, Haripura Congress



Mahatma Gandhi inspecting one of the stalls at the exhibition grounds at Vithalnagar, Haripura, before he opened the same

empire; Balance of power in the world disturbed by the Air Arm; An independent federal republic as the goal of India; The problem of minorities in India; Opportuneness of the time for solving the communal problem, and how to do it; Satyagraha method to be followed in the coming struggle; Alternative methods after severance of British connection, and the Irish example; Congress organization to continue after winning freedom, and to rule after winning freedom; After-"victory" reconstruction to be on socialistic lines; Common national language and common world script; Restriction of population necessary; Eradication of poverty by radical reform of land-system, extension of co-operative movement, scientific agriculture, and a comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state-ownership and state-control; Gradual socialization of both entire agricultural and industrial systems in spheres of production and appropriation; Evil effects of office acceptance, and how Congress can be strengthened and consolidated while Congress ministers are in office; Role of Congress Working Committee as directing brain of fighters for freedom and as shadow cabinet of Independent India; How to oppose inauguration of Government scheme of federation; Detailed account of the defects of that scheme; Civil Disobedience the last weapon to fight federation; Need of disciplined volunteer corps for mass mobilization in freedom's fight; Trade Union Congress and Kishan Sabhas and their relations with Congress; Question of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organizations to Congress; Formation of the Congress Socialist party; Foreign policy of Congress; Foreign friends of India; Need of cultural and commercial contacts with all continents; Need of attending International Congresses and Conferences; Grievances of Indians Abroad; Question of Release of detenus and political prisoners; Duty of the public to alleviate misery of released detenus and political prisoners; Differences inside the Congress; and, Why India and the whole world stand in need of Mahatma Gandhi for many a long year to come.

Some Observations on the Presidential Address

TRANSFORMATION OR BREAK-UP OF BRITISH EMPIRE

If the passage in Mr. Bose's presidential address on the rise and fall of empires had stood alone, his observation there that the British empire "will either go the way of other empires or it must transform itself into a federation of free nations," might have led the reader to

conclude that Mr. Bose would be satisfied if India became a free nation within the "British Commonwealth of nations." But other passage in the address show that he wants to sever the British connection and get rid of British domination first, and then India *may* as a free and independent entity enter into a treaty of alliance with Britain as with other nations.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN AND INDIA

He says that the transformation of the British Empire into a federation of free nations "will be possible only if Great Britain becomes a socialist state." Again, he says, "a socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonization" The juxtaposition of these two statements show that Britain's colonies and dependencies cannot become "free nations" unless Britain becomes a socialist state, and Britain cannot become a socialist state unless her colonies and dependencies cease to be such. That is somewhat like a vicious circle. But the two processes—of Britain "socializing" herself, and of her colonies and dependencies freeing themselves—can go on simultaneously.

It may be noted in this connection that the French Republic had recently had a socialist government at least once; but that government did nothing for "the liquidation of colonization" in the French Republic's empire abroad. Indian subjects of Britain may also remind themselves that the Labour government of Britain, which its opponents called a socialist government, did nothing to make India a free nation. So it is not improbable that a socialist Britain may like to continue to hold India in subjection unless in the meantime we assert our will to be free in an effective manner and thus inconvenience the imperialistic socialists of Britain *in posse*.

PLEASING THE MOSLEM

Describing Great Britain's embarrassments and problems caused by her dualism, her policy of divide and rule, Mr. Bose asks: "Will she please the Moslem or the Hindu in India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine, the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq?" etc. But so far as India is concerned, Britain seems to have no problem. At least three decades ago she decided to please the Moslem, and has been doing so in all possible ways ever since.

The Indian National Congress also has decided to please the Moslem at all costs, though not in pursuance of the *divide et impera* policy. It may be doubted if that is the way to achieve real Hindu-Moslem unity.

MINORITIES

In dealing with the problem of minorities Mr. Bose has quoted in full "the latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta in October, 1937." The Congress, so far as we are aware, has never explained what kinds of minorities it will recognise as minorities, though in practice it recognises only religious minorities. And, like the British Government, it tries to please mainly the Mussalmans. The Congress lays the greatest stress on "our common interests, economic and political," but in practice it has not recognised economic or occupational minorities.

Then again, like the Government, the Congress appears to recognise only All-India minorities, not provincial minorities. Let us take an example. The Mussalmans are an All-India minority and the Hindus an All-India majority. But in Bengal the Hindus are a minority and the Mussalmans the majority. If protection is to be given to minorities, Bengal Hindus ought to have protection. But here Hindus, far from getting political protection, do not get even cultural protection at the hands of either the Government or the Congress. Bengal Mussalmans have got all sorts of protection. So the phenomenon of majority protection, unimagined by the League of Nations, has manifested itself in India.

THE COMMUNAL DECISION

In the All-India Congress Committee's authoritative pronouncement quoted by Mr. Bose, it is said :

"The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.

"In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim, which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India."

It has been pointed out again and again, *ad nauseam*, that the Congress opposition to the Communal Decision "as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian Unity,"

is practically of no value. For the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. In this declaration the Congress has only said ditto to the British authors of the decision. The decision is apparently a temporary arrangement but practically a permanent one. For the party which has been a gainer by it shows no inclination to give up any of its advantages, but, on the contrary, wants more advantages. And that is only natural.

As for bringing about a change by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned, Mr. Jinnah, a leader of one of the parties, has been approached by the Congress, but no Congress leader has even suggested that any Hindu leader should be consulted.

Mr. Bose says : "We are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution, *consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism.*" As the Congress has declared that the Communal Decision is "anti-national," no agreed solution which does not scrap it can be consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism.

'HAVES' AND 'HAVE-NOTS'

Mr. Bose says that when national reconstruction takes place, it is the "have-nots" who will benefit at the expense of the "haves." The "haves"—the land-lords, the capitalists, &c.—are the economic or occupational minority. There is to be no attempt at any agreed solution with this minority. For the socialists among Congressmen appear to believe that human nature in India is different from that in the West and therefore no war between fascism and socialism need be apprehended in India. Or perhaps Indian socialists anticipate such a war. Some among them may even be eager for the fray and may be willing to precipitate such a class-war. But what then would be the place of non-violence in the scheme of "national reconstruction" "on socialistic lines" "after the capture of political power" by the Congress? Those whose homage to non-violence is not lip-homage should be able to answer.

LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

Like all or most other Congressmen Mr. Bose takes it for granted that Hindi-Urdu is or is to be the lingua franca of India. But perhaps it would be wise to take note of the opposition to such an assumption in some provinces, both in the north and in the south, of which Hindi-Urdu is not the mother-tongue.

There are in India already so many bitter controversies that we do not wish to add to their number. Nevertheless we think the Congress would not lose by not ignoring the opposition to Hindi-Urdu as the proposed *lingua franca*. Even in an independent Asiatic country like Japan students in middle schools have to learn English, French or German. So our children also require to learn a European language (preferably English) for facilitating world contact, if for no other reason. Congress advocates of Hindi-Urdu no doubt say that they will not prevent boys and girls from learning English. Assuming then that they are to learn English also, boys and girls in non-Hindusthani-speaking areas will have to learn their mother-tongue. Hindusthani, English, and Sanskrit or some other classical language, in addition to the other subjects in the school curriculum. It is also to be noted that boys and girls in Hindusthani-speaking areas will have to learn one language less, and will thus be able to devote more time to the learning of other subjects.

A COMMON SCRIPT FOR INDIA

As for the adoption of a common script for the whole of India, Mr. Bose thinks the choice should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit. The problem, he says, should be considered from the scientific and historical point of view. In his opinion there is nothing sacrosanct in a script. He has ceased to feel that it would be anti-national to adopt a foreign script. He has realized that the adoption of the Roman script would give us the "great advantage" of having "the same script as the rest of the world." Now in Asia, even if we ignore India, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, etc., China, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia and the Moslem countries have scripts different from the Roman. Some North African regions use the Arabic script. Palestine Jews have the Hebrew script. In Europe the biggest region, *viz.*, Soviet Russia, has a script different from the Roman. Greece also has a different script. Germany has not yet wholly adopted the Roman script. Therefore, it is not correct to say that by adopting the Roman script, we shall have the advantage of having the same script as "the rest of the world." Mr. Bose thinks that the Roman script will facilitate the learning of a European language. But if India adopts the Roman script, the vowels and some of the consonants will have different sounds from those which they have in some of the European languages. Mr. Bose has used the word "scientific" more than once in this connection. We do not know in what sense or senses he has used it. But the Roman alphabet and

script is certainly less scientific than Sanskrit ones. We do not say all this to oppose the adoption of Roman—we have a somewhat open mind on the subject. What we want is that all arguments should be couched in precise and exact language.

ADOPTION OF FOREIGN SCRIPT AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE

There is a great difference between the adoption of a foreign script and the adoption of a foreign language as our *lingua franca*. But if Congressmen do not pooh-poo the idea of adopting a foreign script, they may tolerate the discussion of the proposal made by some persons in South India that English should be India's *lingua franca*.

RESTRICTING GROWTH OF POPULATION

The question of restricting the growth of population cannot be discussed within the limits of this note. We wish only to suggest that migration to sparsely inhabited regions in and close to India should also be tried. Perhaps it ought to be tried before artificial means are thought of for preventing the growth of population.

DEFECTS OF GOVERNMENT FEDERAL SCHEME

Pointing out in detail the defects of the Government federal scheme, Mr. Bose observes :

The total population of the Indian States is roughly 24 per cent of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless, the rulers of the States, not their subjects, have been given 33 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. In these circumstances, there is no possibility, in my opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the federal scheme at any time.

But, though Mr. Bose's exposure of the defects of the federal scheme is very elaborate, he does not mention the fact that, though the Hindus are more than 70 per cent. of the population of British India, they have been given only 42 per cent. of the seats in the British India part of the Federal Assembly. This is reducing a majority to a minority with a vengeance. But Mr. Bose does not say that this is one of the reasons why "there is no possibility, in [his] opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the federal scheme at any time." Taking a narrow view of the matter, one would call it a Hindu grievance. Even as such it should be noted and strenuous attempts ought to be made to remedy it. But in reality it is not a mere Hindu grievance. The reduction of the Hindu majority to the position of a minority in the Federal Assembly is one of the principal

means adopted to make nationalism powerless in that body. For it is the Hindus who have hitherto been and who continue to be Nationalists par excellence. When Moslems also become such, we will be among the first to proclaim the advent of that glorious day from the housetops.

AFFILIATION OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Bose has dealt with the question of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organizations. We could wish he had dealt with students' organizations also. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has recently expressed the opinion, it is reported, that students should not take active part in politics—whatever that may mean. What does Mr. Bose think? Should students have their own separate *political* organizations? Mr. Bose's answer to these questions would have been useful.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURE CONTACTS

Mr. Bose's observations on international cultural contacts by means of holding art exhibitions in foreign countries, exhibiting Indian films in foreign countries, attending international congresses and conferences, and similar other ways, show his breadth of outlook. There are some such conferences with which the British Government has something to do. There are others with which it has nothing to do. For example, the international P. E. N. Congresses, some world educational conferences, etc. Shrimati Sophia Wadia, Miss Kapila Khandwala, Dr. Kalidas Nag and a few other persons have attended one or more of them.

New Features in Mr. Bose's Presidential Address

In the discussion of so many topics of the day, one cannot help repeating oneself or reiterating what others have said. But what is repeated does not thereby lose any value. And Mr. Bose has a way of his own in repeating old things. We do not mean to say that he has not said much that is new or anything that is new. So far as we are aware no previous speaker has outlined the policy or policies to be adopted after the severance of the British connection, considered who will rule after freedom has been won, sketched out a plan of socialistic reconstruction, described the function of the Working Committee as the shadow cabinet of independent India, stressed the great importance of educating and training a Volunteer Corps, and emphasised the urgency of developing inter-

national cultural and commercial contacts. While sojourning abroad, he pointed out that India ought to have bilateral trade agreements with foreign countries.

Marks of Foreign Experience in Presidential Address

His address bears marks of the experience he has acquired abroad.

His visit to Turkey has made him realise that the adoption of a foreign script is not necessarily anti-national.

In the course of the discussion of the question who will rule after freedom has been won, he states :

Looking at post-war Europe we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction. I know that it will be argued that the continuance of a party in such circumstances, standing behind the State, will convert that State into a totalitarian one; but I cannot admit the charge. The State will possibly become a totalitarian one, if there be only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany and Italy. But there is no reason why other parties should be banned. Moreover, the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi Party which is based on the "Leader principle." The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress Party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

Discussing India's policy after severance of the British connection, he expresses the opinion :

When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination, we shall be in a position to determine our future relations with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties. What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President De Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people.

To show how the Working Committee may function as the shadow cabinet of independent India, Mr. Bose draws attention to recent Irish and Egyptian history.

This is what President De Valera's Republican Government did when it was fighting the British Government and was on the run. And this is what the executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it got into office. The members of the Working Committee while carrying on their day-to-day work should accordingly study the problems they will have to tackle in the event of their capturing political power.

In explaining the difficulties and the partial ineffectiveness of the Congress ministries President Bose writes :

In every country, the Ministers come and go, but the steel frame of the permanent services remains. If that is not altered in composition and character, the Governmental Party and its Cabinet are likely to prove ineffective in putting their principles into practice. This is what happened in the case of the Social Democratic Party in post-war Germany and perhaps, in the case of the Labour Party in Great Britain in 1924 and 1929. It is the permanent services who really rule in every country. In India they have been created by the British and in the higher ranks they are largely British in composition. Their outlook and mentality is in most cases neither Indian nor national. A national policy cannot be executed until the permanent services become national in outlook and mentality.

Regarding India's indefeasible right to end British exploitation and check British competition, it is stated in the presidential address :

The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this right we cannot sacrifice on any account. I would like, in this connection, to cite the Irish parallel. The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935 provides for a distinct Irish citizenship in connection with the electoral system, entry into public life, merchant shipping law, aircraft, as also in connection with special privileges which it is thought proper to reserve for Irish nationals, such as those conferred through measures for assisting Irish industry. Irish citizenship, in other words, is distinct from British, which cannot claim equal right in the State of Eire (or Ireland) on the basis of British citizenship, which is not recognised there. I feel that India must similarly seek to develop her own distinct nationality and establish a citizenship of her own.

As regards the training of a volunteer corps, Mr. Bose thinks:

A disciplined volunteer corps manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover, education and training should be provided for our political workers so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through summer schools and other institutions—and is a speciality in totalitarian states. With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party. This defect can be made up partly by recruiting promising young men for the Congress and partly by providing education and training for those whom we already have. Everybody must have observed how some European countries have been dealing with this problem. Though our ideals and methods of training are quite different from theirs, it will be admitted on all hands that a thorough, scientific training is a requisite for our workers. Further an institution like the Labour Service Corps of the Nazis deserves careful study and, with suitable modification, may prove beneficial to India.

In the matter of our foreign policy also, we should learn from other countries.

I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage

of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her treaty of alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Italian tension in the Mediterranean. . . . We should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state. We shall find in every country, men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be. In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a Communist State, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-Socialist States and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should, therefore, aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who would feel sympathetic towards India. To create and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions would be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions. Above all, personal contacts are necessary.

Extempore Addition to Presidential Address

President Subhas Chandra Bose's address was prepared and printed before the ministerial crisis in Bihar and the United Provinces. Hence he had to supplement the passages in the printed address on detenus and political prisoners by extempore remarks, in the course of which he referred to the ministerial crisis and the Working Committee's resolution on it. He said :

"Congress is entirely in the right and the Governors and the Governor-General are entirely in the wrong. You will remember that before the Congress Ministries took office they were given the definite assurance that there would be no interference in the day-to-day administration. The recent actions of the Governors of the U. P. and Bihar constituted a violation of this promise. The interpretation of section 126(5) given by the Governor-General, in my opinion, is based on a misconception of the Government of India Act. It is for the Ministers alone to assume the fullest responsibility for the administration of 'law and order.' The Working Committee had adopted a correct attitude which, he had no doubt, would be supported by the A.I. C. C. and the open session."

Haripura Congress Session Resolutions

The important resolutions which the Indian National Congress passed at its three days' session at Haripura numbered seventeen. They were on the following subjects :

(1) The ministerial crisis in the United Provinces and Bihar; (2) Government scheme of federation; (3) The Indian States; (4) Kishans; (5) Rights of Minorities; (6) National Education; (7) Foreign Policy and the danger of war; (8) Indians overseas; (9) The Zanzibar situation; (10) China; (11) Palestine; (12) Excluded areas; (13) Retrocession of villages in Ajmer-Merwara; (14) Condolence

resolution; (15) Release of Rani Guidallo of the Nagas in Assam; (16) Kenya; (17) Midnapore Congress organisations.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Seats in Legislatures

In the course of one of his speeches at Haripura Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have made a remark to the effect that the number of seats occupied in the legislatures of India by members of the different religious communities or sections of the people, was a trivial matter. If the franchise enjoyed by the people were on a democratic and nationalistic basis, if the constituencies had been formed on democratic principles, and if every voter in a constituency had the right to vote for any candidate in his constituency he liked, irrespective of the religious community or section of the people to which the candidate belonged, then it would not have mattered much how many members of particular communities or sections of the people chanced to capture how many seats on the result of a particular general election. For, if the result of a particular general election proved detrimental to the cause of democracy or of nationalism, the next general election or some future general election might be expected to set matters right. But, if by law seats are given to different communities, classes or sections with the transparent and deliberate object of neutralizing the forces of democracy or of nationalism, surely the disproportionately large number of seats given to some communities, etc., in order that they may act as allies of an alien autocracy, is not a trivial matter.

In his presidential address Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has observed that one reason why the Congress cannot possibly alter its attitude towards the British federal scheme at any time is that the rulers of the States, not their subjects, had been given a disproportionately large number of seats in the federal legislature. His objection is twofold: Considering the population of the States, so many seats ought not to have been given to them; and, considering that the rulers are autocrats and would support the British alien autocracy, the seats assigned to the States should not be filled by nominees of the rulers. Now, it is a fact that in the British-ruled provinces of India seats have been given to minorities like the Moslems, the Europeans, etc., in excess of what they could have captured by virtue of their numbers and ability in open competition with other communities; and it is also a fact that this has been done because the members belonging to the Moslem, European

and other favoured communities are expected to side with the British alien autocracy.

Therefore the assignment of seats to the favoured communities in British India is open to the same objection as the allocation of seats to the States. If, so far as the States are concerned, the number of seats given to their rulers had been a trivial matter, Mr. Bose would not have mentioned it as one of the reasons for the Congress opposition to the federal scheme.

Is the distribution of seats among the communities in the legislatures of the British-ruled provinces and in the federal legislature a trivial matter because it is the Hindus who have been wronged by it?

We would ask Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders to forget for a moment that it is the Hindus who have suffered and to consider that the distribution of seats has been a blow to Indian nationalism. For among Indian nationalists, the Hindu element naturally predominates in number and quality. That may be an unpleasant fact to some classes and persons. But it is a fact. So the more the Hindus are prevented from entering the legislatures by artificial means, the more must the cause of democracy and nationalism suffer and be weakened.

So the distribution of seats is not a trivial matter.

It is because in six provinces the Hindus could not be reduced to a minority in spite of weightage being given to the Moslems, that the Congress has been able to become the strongest party in the legislatures there, and has availed itself of the opportunity to strengthen and consolidate its position. It is because the Hindus have been reduced to a minority in the Federal Legislature by artificial means, that the Congress is not expected to be the strongest party in it and may not be able to do any national reconstruction work through it.

It is because of the distribution of seats for bolstering up imperialism that the Congress is not the strongest party in the Bengal legislature. Those who live under communal raj in Bengal know that seats in the legislature are not negligible things. Every branch of the public service and all aspects of the life of the people in Bengal are being affected for the worse by the communal decision.

The non-Congress ministries and governors of Bengal and the Panjab are unwilling to release their political prisoners before the expiry of their terms of imprisonment. It is to save these ministries and governors from pressure, that Lord Linlithgow has prevented the release

of political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar and thus brought about a crisis. The ministries in Bengal and the Panjab would have been Congress ministries and there would not have been ministerial crises in U. P. and Bihar of the present kind, if there had not been a biased distribution of seats owing to the communal decision.

Hence, the distribution of seats is not a trivial matter.

Hindu-Moslem Unity

Congress leaders appear to think that Hindu-Moslem unity can be achieved by practically accepting the Communal Decision and in addition agreeing to any further communal demands made by communally-minded Mussalmans. That would certainly bring about a kind of *Congress-Moslem* unity. But it will not be *Hindu-Moslem* unity. For Hindu Congressmen are not the whole of Hindudom, and non-Congressite Hindus still count and will continue to count, until Congress becomes broad-based on the entire Indian people's will by really nationalising and democratising itself.

Though outside the Congress, we believe in the Congress political goal and also believe that India ought to reach that goal by continuing to adopt non-violent methods.

We have not made any sacrifices for advancing the cause of Indian freedom, nor have we suffered *lathi*-charges and imprisonment. Nevertheless we may be permitted to observe that the initial mistake made by the Congress was to declare that it neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision. It ought to have rejected it outright and stood frankly and boldly for democratic and nationalistic principles. Had it done so, we are sure it could have retained or enlisted some nationalist Mussalmans in its rolls. That number, of really nationalist Mussalmans, would have gradually increased.

It has been reported that the number of Moslem nationalists is one lakh. How many of them have joined the Congress in the expectation that it would continue to practically support the communal decision and in addition concede further Moslem communal demands, is not known. Nor is it known how many have accepted the Congress creed unconditionally and without any mental reservation.

We are not only for Hindu-Moslem unity but also for the unity of all communities, classes, castes and sections of the Indian people.

An "Un-hearable" Song?

It was a good suggestion, perhaps made first by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, that some trained singers from Bengal should go to Haripura to sing "*Bande Mataram*" there. They went there and their music was highly appreciated. Though none of the reports in the papers which we have seen states that only the first few lines approved by the Congress were sung at Haripura, we may take it that it was so. But we are curious to know whether at any gathering which was not a meeting of the Congress or of any Congress Committee, the whole song was sung. We should be sorry to think that the singers were taken at so much expense to such a distant place to sing only the less important part of the song. We are not for any Congress body disobeying the Congress. But surely there would be no harm in gatherings other than formal Congress gatherings listening to the whole song.

But one cannot be sure.

In India there are men who are "untouchable." There are others whom many very sensitive persons at their meals must not see. They are "un-seeable." There are others again, who must not come nearer the same sensitive men than, say, 100 or 50 yards. We are unable to coin an epithet which will describe them exactly—"unapproachable" will not do. And there are also those whose shadows must not fall on these men of fragile purity. You can't call them "un-shadowable." There are harmless lunatics in this world. But these hereditary lunatics of India cannot be called harmless.

But we are digressing.

What we want to say is that, seeing that in India there are men who are "untouchable," "un-seeable," "unapproachable" (?) and "un-shadowable" (?), it would not be surprising if a song were considered "un-hearable" in great part.

Gogonendra Nath Tagore

In Gogonendra Nath Tagore, who died last month at the age of 71, India has lost a prominent artist. He was the eldest brother of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, founder of the Bengal school of painting. Gogonendra Nath did not exactly belong to the school founded by his youngest brother. He had a style of his own, or rather different styles for different kinds or classes of pictures. His Himalayan series, his landscapes, his illustrations of Rabindranath Tagore's "*Reminiscences*" and

"Gitanjali," his life-story of the Vaishnava prophet Sri Chaitanya, his Bengal village scenes, and his cartoons were masterpieces. Many of these appeared in the Bengali magazine "Prabasi." His cubist pictures were not executed in any style copied from Western cubists. His cubism was original and was his own.

More about his achievement and genius as a painter will be found in the two articles on him which appear elsewhere in this issue.

He was the founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Art and was prominently and closely connected with it for many years. He was also a founder of the Bengal Home Industries Association. The club, named "Vichitra," which was located at Rabindranath Tagore's Jorasanko "parlour-house," and which had for its object the cultivation of art and literature, was founded by Rabindranath Tagore and his two nephews Gogonendra Nath and Abanindra Nath.

Gogonendra Nath excelled also as an actor. Those who have seen him in Rabindranath's "Phalguni" and "Baikunther Khata" will never forget his acting.

To many authors and artists he was a generous giver. A few of them had their *pucca* houses built at his cost. How he helped the national cause is known only to a few.

The magnificent collection of Indian and other paintings and other works of art which the family residence of the brothers Gogonendra Nath, Samarendra Nath and Abanindra Nath contains, is perhaps worth a few lakhs.

He was one of nature's gentlemen and the pink of courtesy. Even a half-hour passed in his company gave one an idea of the old-style cultured nobleman of Bengal.

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, who died last month full of years and honours, was in a sense the maker of modern Bhavnagar. He served that State in various capacities, including the highest, and his services to it have done it lasting good. Among Indian statesmen in Indian States he was the first to introduce prohibition in a State, and thus set an example to other States and British India. During the last decade he had much to do with the Indian federation movement. As one who thoroughly understood the British Indian and the Indian States points of view in relation to federation, he did his best to reconcile and bring the two closer together.

"Communal Poison Invades Britain"

The Indian Social Reformer writes under the caption printed above:

You cannot touch pitch without some of it adhering to your fingers. That British methods of Indian administration must eventually affect the methods of administration in Britain itself, was long foreseen by statesmen like John Bright. The communal principle which has now ousted all other principles—right and wrong, just and unjust, true and false,—in important spheres of Indian policy, is beginning to have its repercussions in Great Britain. . . . Col. Wedgwood wanted to know how many of His Majesty's ambassadors and ministers in foreign countries were Roman Catholics. Mr. Anthony Eden refused to answer the question. "Members of the diplomatic service," he said, "are not required at any time to state the church to which they belong. Any such enquiry would, in my view, imply a reversion to the standpoint of religious discrimination happily abandoned in this country for over a hundred years." He might have added, "and introduced in India thirty years ago." Indian Ministers are constantly pestered with questions as to the number and names of persons of different creeds and castes engaged in Government jobs ranging from judges to sweepers. No Minister dares to reply as Mr. Eden did that he would on no account condescend to reply to such inquisitorial interpellations.

Why should provincial ministers or the members of the Governor-General's Council refuse to answer such questions? As they carry out the policy of the British Government, it is their duty to answer them.

British imperialists think that "the standpoint of religious discrimination" is poison for Britain but nectar for India.

Burma Government's Courageous Statesmanship

The Burma Government has decided to release all political prisoners and to lift the ban on books dealing with advanced political and economic thought. The political prisoners who are to be released in Burma include even those who were involved in the recent rebellion, and they were not non-violent rebels. This courageous and statesmanlike decision serves two purposes. It restores to useful citizenship energetic men who would otherwise have rotted in jail for some time longer and thus increases the peaceful man-power of the country, and it makes the Government popular. The prisoners are put on their honour. If they behave honourably, which we hope they will, both they and the country become gainers. If they do not, the Government which was powerful enough to imprison them can send them to jail again.

Mysore Too Releases Political Prisoners

Last month the Mysore Government, too, ordered the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of pending political cases.

Madras Government Releases Scores of Prisoners

When the controversy over the ministerial crisis was raging, the Madras ministry was quietly busy releasing scores of prisoners, and there were among them men guilty of crimes of violence, too.

So there is *some* provincial autonomy so far at least as the release of prisoners is concerned! Lord Linlithgow has allowed the Madras Government to be autonomous.

Crimes of violence committed by non-political prisoners are not crimes of violence!

The "Nagar", The Bust and The Will of Vithalbhai Patel

The people of Gujarat, who held the most successful session of the Congress at Haripura, have honoured their great patriot, the late President Vithalbhai Patel, by naming the temporary Congress town 'Vithalnagar' and by placing a bust of him there of superhuman size.

But those who had and have it in their power to give effect to his will, by which he directed a lakh of rupees left by him to be used for foreign publicity purposes in the interest of India, have dishonoured him by acting contrary to his intentions.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose must have unveiled his bust with mingled feelings.

Ministerial Crisis in U. P. and Bihar

The Congress ministries in U. P. and Bihar wanted all the political prisoners still in prison there to be released simultaneously. The governors of the two provinces, as advised or ordered by the Governor-General, stood in the way of such wholesale release. So the ministries have resigned.

On first thoughts, both the parties may appear to have acted somewhat precipitately. For, the release of political prisoners individually had been going on in these provinces and the ministries have been pressing the governors thereof to agree to wholesale release during the last six months. Seeing that the ministers had waited so long as six months, one might ask, "why could not they hold their souls in patience a little longer?" And, as regards the governors,

one might ask, "as they had previously released some political prisoners individually and were prepared to consider the release of the remainder individually, surely they could have agreed to the release in one province of about a dozen and in another of less than three dozen at once—that would not have set all the rivers in the two provinces on fire."

The Congress ministries in the two provinces had very good reasons for not waiting longer. They had won the elections on their election manifesto, in which one of the promises made was the release of political prisoners. And they had accepted office in order to be able to fulfil the promises made in the manifesto. The session of the Congress was imminent. They knew and felt that they would be called upon there to tell Congressmen what they had done to redeem their promises. It would not do to plead that the governors did not allow them to do what they wanted to do. They would be told that in that case their duty was to resign—they had already had ample time to release the political prisoners.

That the U. P. and Bihar ministries would have been called upon at Haripura to explain why they had not carried out the promise to release political prisoners, if they had not in the meantime resigned, is quite clear from the passage devoted to the "burning topic of the day," "the release of detenus and political prisoners," in Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's presidential address, which was written before the ministerial crisis. There Mr. Bose said:

"The recent hunger-strikes have brought this question to the forefront and have focussed public attention on it. I believe that I am voicing the feelings of at least the rank and file of the Congress when I say that everything humanly possible should be done to expedite release. So far as the Congress Ministries are concerned, it would be well to note that the record of some of them has not come up to public expectation. The sooner they satisfy the public demand, the better it will be for the Congress and for the people who are suffering in provinces ruled by non-Congress Ministries. It is not necessary for me to labour this point and I fervently hope that in the immediate future, the public will have nothing to complain so far as the record of the Congress Ministries on this point is concerned."

All these considerations have led us to conclude that the U. P. and Bihar ministers have not acted precipitately. Their action has been quite proper. According to the Government of India Act, they are in charge of law and order. Their electors and the public at large hold them responsible for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity. If they be not given effective power to do what they want to, they should not be made responsible for what happens.

The Governor-General and the Governors of Bihar and U. P. have acted on the British imperialist assumption that the British rulers of India are more interested in maintaining peace and tranquillity, are more anxious to preserve peace, and know better what makes for peace, than the chosen leaders of the people. If this assumption be correct, law and order ought not to have been placed under the charge of Indian ministers. If, as we believe, this assumption is not correct, the ministers ought to have been made really responsible for law and order and given power unreservedly corresponding to the responsibility. What the Government of India Act has done is to make them responsible, but at the same time to keep the final power in the hands of the governors and the governor-general. The transference of power to Indian hands is a make-believe.

But even under the Act as it is, the Governor-General and the Governors need not have acted as they have done. The U. P. and Bihar ministries have proved clearly and effectively that they are both willing and able to tackle violence on the part of released prisoners and others. If the political prisoners whom they wanted to release were guilty of violence or incitement to violence after release, surely powerful police departments in the two provinces would be able to bring them to book. After all they were not even four dozen all told. Moreover, the ministers concerned had interviewed the prisoners in jail in the presence of the jail superintendents, and every one of them had said that they had ceased to believe in methods of violence. They knew they would be put on their honour and would be marked men. Under the circumstances, there was every hope of their becoming peaceful and useful citizens after their release.

The fact should also be taken into consideration that these interviews with the prisoners individually satisfied to an important extent the condition of consideration of their cases individually, insisted upon by the Governors.

In our opinion the Governors ought to have given their advice to the ministers frankly and left them free to take it or reject it. If the release of the prisoners in question led to disturbances with which the ministries could not cope—we are sure such a thing would not have happened, then the Governors could have taken any steps the law empowered them to do.

The British rulers of India ought to remember that in the long decades before Indian ministers had been nominally placed in charge of law and order, when these rulers were solely and really responsible for India's internal calm,

unrest, communal and other riots and other disturbances had been of frequent occurrence. That shows that they are neither so wise nor so efficient as regards the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity as they consider themselves to be. Why not then allow Indian ministers to have a fair try?

There ought to be a limit to overweening conceit even on the part of British imperialists.

Not being constitutional lawyers, we do not wish to say whether the Governor-General was within his legal right to intervene in accordance with sub-section (5) of section 126 of the Government of India Act. But this we can say that he has not acted properly in interfering with the U. P. and Bihar ministries' decision to release all political prisoners. It is ridiculous to think or to suggest that the peace and tranquillity of these provinces—not to speak of those of India—would have been jeopardised by the release of a few political prisoners. Some of the political prisoners are not the only prisoners guilty of crimes of violence. There are others more numerous guilty of similar offences. Every day, in all provinces, many of them are released on the expiry of their terms of imprisonment *without their word of honour being given that they would in future refrain from acts of violence*. If their release, day after day throughout the year,—and there may be scores of such released on a single day in a province—does not give rise to apprehensions of disturbance of public peace in gubernatorial minds, we do not see why the simultaneous release of a lesser number of political prisoners who had abjured methods of violence and given their word of honour to refrain from violence should rouse such fears. Perhaps the gubernatorial mind really apprehends increased non-violent political activity directed towards the attainment of freedom, not recrudescence of violence. It does not want any sudden accession of new workers in the ranks of Congressmen who are non-violently active in the cause of Indian freedom.

It may be that the Governor-General was more anxious for the indirect effect of the release of the U. P. and Bihar political prisoners on Bengal and the Panjab than for the effect on the U. P. and Bihar. What His Excellency has himself written shows that he does not want that the release of political prisoners in the U. P. and Bihar should be used as a lever for the release of detenus and political prisoners in Bengal and the Panjab. He has acted, at least partly, with the intention of saving the Bengal and Panjab ministries from pressure. Neither the ministries nor the gover-

nors of these two provinces may have appealed to him for protection. He may not even have consulted them. He may have acted solely on his own initiative. But the intention is clear.

The step taken by the Governor-General shows that the Central Government does not like that the Congress ministries should do what would inconvenience the non-Congress ministries, at least in this matter. The latter are the proteges, the favourites, of the Central Government.

The Congress Resolution on the Ministerial Crisis

As the Congress resolution on the ministerial crisis, like some other resolutions, had to be explanatory and argumentative, it was very long, and cannot be quoted here. The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis by instructing the Congress ministries in the other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action. The Congress resolution has left the way open for His Excellency to reconsider his action. But from his statement on the ministerial crisis published on the 23rd February it does not appear that he is inclined to do so. Gandhiji has issued a convincing statement in reply to that of Lord Linlithgow, in which he states how the impending crisis may be avoided or prevented.

One thing in His Excellency's statement gives me hope that the impending crisis might be prevented. He has still left the door open for negotiations between the Governors and Ministers. I recognise that notices were sudden, because in the nature of things they had to be so. All parties have now had ample time for considering the situation.

In my opinion the crisis can be avoided, if the Governors are left free to give assurance that their examination of cases was not intended to be a usurpation of powers of Ministers and that since they had armed themselves with assurances from the prisoners, they were free to release them on their own responsibility and I hope that the Working Committee will leave the Ministers free, if they are summoned by the Governors, to judge for themselves whether they are satisfied by the assurances they may receive.

Further developments may take place before the Congress Working Committee meets by the end of the first week of this month.

Who Will Help Bengal Political Prisoners?

A large section of the public in Bengal—perhaps educationally the most advanced section—believe that for the good of the province its detenus and political prisoners should be released. Pressure would have been brought

to bear upon the Bengal authorities to release them if the U. P. and Bihar political prisoners had been released. But the Governor-General has prevented their release. And the Congress ministries of the provinces other than those of Bihar and U. P. and the Congress itself are not in favour of making the release of political prisoners an All-India question. They want to localise the crisis. Therefore, the resignation of all Congress ministries to bring pressure to bear on the Central and provincial governments (including that of Bengal) for the release of political prisoners (including those in Bengal) is out of the question.

Hence, the detenus and political prisoners of Bengal can expect relief only from Mahatma Gandhi's intercession with Bengal's Governor and Ministers. If that fails, Bengal need not despair. Heaven helps those who help themselves.

We have again and again drawn attention to that sentence in the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's Report where the Committee observed that they were 'perhaps' destroying India's unity to promote provincial autonomy! They were right.

Release of Detenus And Political Prisoners Not A Provincial But An All-India Question

As the detenus were never brought to trial, they are innocent in the eye of the law. They incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the Government because of their zeal or their activities in the cause of freedom. To whatever province they may belong, they wanted the freedom not of that particular province alone but of the whole of India. Therefore, as they are suffering for the whole country, not for a particular province, the question of their release is undoubtedly an all-India question.

The political prisoners are generally considered as being of two kinds: those whose offence included acts of violence and those who were non-violent. We are not trying to argue whether they were guilty or not, nor are we trying to extenuate their guilt. It is admitted that their guilt or the error of their ways was proved judicially. The question is, what led or misled them to do what they did? To whatever province they may belong, they acted, as they thought (they wrongly thought, in the eye of the law), in the interest of the whole country, not merely in that of the particular province to which they belong. They are suffering for the whole country. Therefore, if efforts are to be made for the release of political prisoners

by any organization which works for the whole of India, that organization ought to take steps for the release of political prisoners of all provinces, not merely of any particular province or provinces. As the Congress is such an organisation, it ought to make the question of the release of political prisoners an all-India question. Mahatma Gandhi's actions show that he considers it an all-India question. The Congress has not yet, perhaps, looked at the question from the point of view indicated in this note.

It may localize ministerial crises. But it cannot localize or provincialize the question of the release of the detenus and political prisoners without being untrue to its all-India character.

Other Conferences During Congress Week

There were many important conferences during Congress week. The bigger dailies have been able to publish brief reports of their proceedings. We are sorry it is not possible even to mention them in a monthly review like ours, the Congress having taken up much space.

"These Trivial Questions"

We have genuine respect for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the single-minded zeal, devotion and energy with which he has been serving the country for years. Therefore it is not with pleasure that we have to criticise any statement of his somewhat adversely.

Speaking on the Congress resolution on minorities' rights, he is reported to have said :

The Congress had assured the minorities of their religious and cultural rights. The Communal Award, which they all opposed, had ensured them seats in legislatures. Now what remained to be satisfied? If one examined it, it was clear that the communal question was merely a problem created by the middle or upper classes for the sake of a few seats in the legislatures or appointments in Government service or for ministerial position. "Shall we, who have seen ups and downs in the fight for freedom and sacrificed our all in the cause of the country," asked Pandit Nehru, "go on fighting on these trivial questions?"

We have already tried to show that the question of "a few seats in the legislatures" is not a "trivial question." We shall now try to show that the question of "appointments in Government service" is not a "trivial question."

If an appointment in the public service going to this man or that meant only that one man got a few rupees and another did not, even then it would not be a trifling thing for any man who in spite of being the fittest candidate for a job did not get it. But it is not a mere question of the distribution of loaves and fishes.

The carrying on of the administration efficiently and honestly is necessary even before we have won Swaraj. For that purpose we require to appoint men who are fittest for particular kinds of work and who are not corrupt. Therefore, we object to the communal distribution of jobs and favouritism in such distribution. Judicial and executive work, the prevention, detection and punishment of crime by the police, public health and sanitation and all "nation-building" work suffer under such a system.

If even medical men are chosen not because they are the best available physicians or surgeons but because they belong to a particular religious community, will Mr. Nehru call that a trifle? Questions of life and death are not trivial questions.

If police officers are chosen not for their ability and incorruptibility but because they belong to a particular religious community and if these men do not do their duty, for example, in the matter of crimes against women, and in consequence women's honour is not safe in a province, is that a trivial matter? By way of illustration we refer below to a particularly gruesome case, much against our will.

Bindu Goalini's Case

The following are extracts from the report of the trial of a case, which concluded on the 19th February last, and in which a widow, named Bindu Goalini, had been subjected to repeated criminal assaults during many weeks by five scoundrels :

Mr. E. C. Simpson, Additional Sessions Judge of Alipur, agreed with the verdict of the jury and sentenced Ali Haider, a mukhtar and a municipal commissioner of Barrackpore, and Ahmed Sardar (whom the judge described as Haider's procurer) to ten years' rigorous imprisonment each for wrongfully confining and criminally assaulting Bindu Goalini, a Hindu widow of 21. Abdul Aziz was sentenced to eight years, while Asgar and Fekan were sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment each.

The jury unanimously found all the accused guilty of criminally assaulting and wrongfully confining the woman at Ahmed's house. By a majority of four to one they found all the accused guilty of criminally assaulting the woman during her stay at Ramjan's house on both the occasions. By a similar majority, Haider and Ahmed were found guilty of assaulting her at Reja Mia's house. The jury unanimously found Haider and Ahmed guilty of confining her at Reja Mia's house. By a similar majority, all the accused were found guilty of wrongfully confining her at Ramjan's house on the two occasions. Aziz was further found guilty of committing unnatural offence on her at Ahmed's place. Haider and Ahmed were given the benefit of the doubt on the charge of sodomy.

It came out in the course of the evidence in the case that unnatural offence was committed

on the girl in a particularly cruel and revolting manner with serious injury to her, because, on account of repeated ravishments followed by an act of diabolical cruelty, the commission of 'natural' offence on her was no longer possible. We are extremely sorry to have to mention these gruesome details.

In sentencing the accused the judge remarked :

"There is no school of behaviour that can justify the conduct of these accused persons and no extenuating circumstances of any kind can be pleaded in mitigation. What the court had before it at the trial was a sordid history of lust and carnal desire, brutal, unleashed, and uncontrolled, and carried to extremes beyond the comprehension of civilised men. Not only was chastity despoiled but it was besmirched and tarnished mercilessly, shamelessly and ruthlessly. The victim was an unfortunate defenceless girl, homeless and with no relations, and had her cause not been championed by the Matri Sadan and the Arya Samaj, it is possible that these offenders who prey upon the virtue of women, would not have been brought to justice. The women of the community are entitled to demand that their safety be assured by warning and example to others."

The last two sentences quoted above from the judgment deserve the serious attention of the Government, the police and the public.

Cases of such criminal offence against women are not at all rare in Bengal—rather the contrary, though the commission of unnatural offence on them is rare.

Commenting on the case, the *Hindusthan Standard* writes :

The horrible oppression to which Bindu Goalini, a helpless widow, was subjected at Barrackpore by a set of scoundrels one of whom was a man of position, has been so aptly described by the Sessions Judge of Alipore that the case calls for no further comment. But there is one passage in the judgment which the Government should take note of. The Judge is of opinion that but for the Matri Sadan and the Arya Samaj it would not perhaps have been possible to bring the offenders to justice. Does this reflect credit on the police? We are afraid the police are not doing all they should in connection with such crimes, and surely it was time for the Government of Bengal to think of the situation which, grave as it is, is considerably aggravated by the silence of the Muslim leaders and papers on the question.

In view of the gravity of the situation referred to in the words in thick type in the foregoing extract—a situation which is by no means recent, we are constrained to observe that sincere Hindu-Moslem unity can never be brought about in Bengal unless there is cordial co-operation between the two communities in putting down crimes against women, to whatever community the women and the offenders may belong. There should at least be unequivocal and strong condemnation of such crimes in all unity conferences and in the newspapers of both communities.

In another case, in which the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta convicted the accused Abdur Rahman and a woman for having decoyed two Hindu girl widows from their village home and kept them in a house for immoral purposes, the magistrate observed in the course of his judgment :

"Although the cases of these two unfortunate girls are pitiable and appalling, I suppose there are hundreds of girls in a similar plight, whose cases are never brought to the notice of the police."

The magistrate was perfectly right. There are numerous cases of abduction and criminal assault which are never brought to the notice of the police or the public. The main reasons are : very many police officers in the mofussil are unwilling even to listen to complaints in such cases; the aggrieved parties and the witnesses are terrorised by the scoundrels who commit these crimes; the fear of social obloquy and ostracism; and the indifference of the public (including Congressites) to the number and gravity of these crimes.

Indian States' People and "Kishans"

The Congress resolution relating to Congress Committees and Congress activities in the Indian States may not please extremists on either side. But it is a wise one in the circumstances. A similar opinion may be expressed on the resolution on *Kishan Sabhas*.

Resolution on National Education

In moving the Congress resolution on national education in the subjects committee, Acharya Narendra Dev is reported to have said :

The present system of education was opposed to their culture and heritage. It was denationalizing. The educational system was designed with a view to making Indians clerks to administer imperialist laws. It had made Indians lose sight of their great heritage and become slaves. On the other hand, the national scheme of education sought to reinstill a sense of true citizenship in the people and make them really serviceable to the Motherland. He also spoke of the sad plight of educated unemployed. This was the result of such a system of education.

These remarks are far too sweeping. Most of the leaders of the Congress had their education under the present system. They have not been denationalized. The system may be partly denationalizing, but not entirely. It is not entirely opposed to our culture and heritage. That we have got some idea of our culture and heritage is partly due to the present system of education. Originally, the system may have been designed to turn out Government servants of subordinate grades, but, later, it has under-

gone some changes. Most, if not all, the fighters for the freedom of India are products of the present system of education. They are not slaves. The products and present-day students of the indigenous Sanskrit and Persian-Arabic seminaries are not more free from servility than the persons educated in the schools, colleges and universities conducted according to the present system.

The proportion of educated unemployed may be greater in India than in other civilized countries. But there are considerable numbers of unemployed graduates in other countries also.

The Wardha scheme has its merits. But its advocates ought to carefully consider *all* outside criticisms made by competent persons. They ought not, like Mr. Manu Subedar in *Harijan*, airily dismiss all criticism with a superior air.

Britain Mollifies Mussolini

The British prime minister has mollified Mussolini by sacrificing Mr. Anthony Eden, the foreign secretary. Let us wait and see how much farther Britain will go to make friends with Italy. British imperialists are evidently not yet ready to meet the challenge of all who are disposed to dispute their supremacy on land, sea and air. But will their present policy ever make them ready? Is it not strengthening the challengers and gradually destroying Britain's prestige?

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, the Armenian scholar, the veteran author of "The Armenians in India," has been deservedly elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.

Congress Opposition to Government Federal Scheme

The Congress resolution opposing the British Government's Indian federal scheme is worthy of support so far as it goes. In addition to the defects and harmful features of the scheme pointed out by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in his presidential address, and some other Congressmen, it has been pointed out that it reduces the majority of the people to the position of a hopeless minority. We should like all true nationalists to declare in advance that no federal scheme will be acceptable to them which reduces the majority to a minority, maintains the provisions of the Communal Decision and extends all or any of them to the Indian States.

Congress Attitude Towards Burma Re-stated

The Congress attitude towards Burma was re-stated and re-defined by a new clause added to the Congress constitution. The new clause removes Burma from the Congress provinces and creates a new 'Burma Committee' working for the freedom of the people of Burma.

Acharya Kripalani moved the new clause in the constitution, which reads as follows:—

"There shall be a Congress Committee with power to organize subordinate committees in accordance with the rules framed by it and approved by the working committee. The Burma Congress Committee stands for the freedom of the people of Burma."

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, further explaining the Congress attitude, said that the question of Burma was undoubtedly a difficult one. It was neither a province of India nor a part of it.

Mr. Nehru said, 'It will be absurd to say that the Burma Committee stands for the freedom of India and not Burma. We do not want Burma as a colonial province of India.'

Mr. Nehru added that he was not attaching much importance to the fact of the separation of Burma. He always treated it from a realistic point of view. Conditions in Burma differed and most of the resolutions passed by the Congress had no bearing on them. It would be wrong also to treat Burma as a foreign colony like Malaya, where there was a large number of Indians.

Burma is certainly not a colony of India and cannot be treated as one. But it is also true that it possesses a large Indian population, larger than the Indian population of Malaya, the Federated Malaya States and the Unfederated Malaya States combined. What is more, Burma has large tracts of unoccupied and undeveloped territory, and is quite adjacent to India. The area of the Province is 261,610 square miles and population (in 1931) 14,667,146. The density of population is only 56 persons to the square mile. Hence there is bound to be migration to the Province from India.

Chinese Air Raid on Japanese Empire

TOKIO, FEB. 23.

Eleven Chinese planes participated in the first Chinese air raid on the Japanese empire, bombing the Taihoku aerodrome in Formosa. Ten bombs were dropped. No serious damage is reported.

Later it was reported that Shinchiku, forty miles from Taihoku, was also bombed and private houses were struck. There were several casualties.

This telegram shows that, though the Japanese continue to occupy new areas in China, the Chinese are in a position to take the offensive.

Spain Fights Illiteracy In The Midst Of War

Valencia (NNS)—Loyalist Spain, in the midst of the war, is engaged in a gigantic educational program. Progress in the establishment of schools may be seen from one example, that of Sabadell. This town had 30 state primary schools a year ago with 2,000 children in attendance. To-day it has 100 schools with 5,000 pupils.

But primary schools are not enough. Adult illiteracy, the heir of the past, must be wiped out. For this reason the Ministry of Education decreed that "flying brigades shall be created to fight against illiteracy, whose functions shall be to teach the illiterates to read and write, particularly in the countryside." These brigades are composed chiefly of members of youth and women's organizations under the control of the General Board of Primary Education. In this way the Government hopes to make up for the neglect of former governments.

That is how Spain has been fighting illiteracy in the midst of war. How marvelously the British Government in India has been fighting illiteracy in the midst of peace!

"Rebellion" in Abyssinia

All is not yet quiet on the Abyssinian front. The people of Abyssinia are still fighting the Italians here and there and the latter are calling the former rebels!

It may be a hopeless struggle. But it shows the spirit of the people of Abyssinia.

Class War Abroad and in India

We have only as yet the beginnings of class war in India. What the future may bring cannot be accurately forecasted now.

We should be happy if our country did not become the battle-ground for Indian fascists and Indian communists. Indian socialists are as yet only figuratively on the war-path. And Sardar Patel, a great autocratic democrat, openly declared at Haripura that he had long tolerated the socialists, but (if provoked further?) he would pay them back in their own coin (figuratively?). President Bose is for a socialistic reconstruction of India, in which the have-nots are to be gainers at the expense of the haves.

So the powder-magazines seem to be ready.

Cannot the Indian genius discover some means and method by which India's socio-economic problems may be solved on the basis of justice without a repetition of the violent struggles in the West? We expressed this desire before, and do so again now. Mahatma Gandhi has all along been urging the adoption of non-violent remedies for our ills. His principles find an echo in some passages quoted in *Harijan* (and, in part, in *The Leader*) from Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means* :—

"To be regarded as successful, a revolution must be the achievement of something new. But violence and the effects of violence—counter-violence, suspicion and resentment on the part of the victims and the creation, among the perpetrators, of a tendency to use more violence—are things only too familiar, too hopelessly unrevolutionary. A violent revolution cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence, which are as old as the hills. We insist that ends which we believe to be good can justify means which we know quite certainly to be abominable, we go on believing,

against all the evidence, that these bad means can achieve the good ends we desire."

The results of violence cannot be consolidated by compensatory acts of non-violence, viz., of justice and goodwill. In the opinion of Aldous Huxley, such compensation is impossible in the nature of the case, psychologically impossible. For,

"A tradition of violence is formed; men come to accept a scale of values according to which acts of violence are reckoned heroic and virtuous. Violence, as we have seen, can produce only the effects of violence; these effects can be undone only by the compensatory non-violence after the event; where violence has been used for a long period, a habit of violence is formed and it becomes exceedingly difficult for the perpetrators of violence to reverse their policy. Moreover, the results of violence are far-reaching beyond the wildest dreams of the often well-intentioned people who resort to it. The 'iron dictatorship' of the Jacobins resulted, as we have seen, in military tyranny, twenty years of war, conscription in perpetuity for the whole of Europe, the rise of nationalistic idolatry. In our own time the long-drawn violence of the World War produced the 'iron dictatorship' of the Bolsheviks. The threat of worldwide revolutionary violence begot Fascism; Fascism produced rearmament; rearmament has entailed the progressive deliberalization of the democratic countries. What the further results of Moscow's 'iron dictatorship' will be, time alone will show. At the present moment (June 1937) the outlook is, to say the least of it, exceedingly gloomy."

U. P. Ministerial Deadlock Ends

It is very good news indeed that the United Provinces ministerial deadlock has ended. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the U. P. Premier, had an hour's interview with the Governor on the morning of the 25th February and a final settlement was reached. The Pandit saw His Excellency again at 3 in the afternoon that day when the terms of the settlement were further discussed and the following statement was issued by His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable the Prime Minister :

"We have had a full discussion between ourselves about the present situation and the recent developments. We have arrived at agreed conclusions and the Hon. Ministers are accordingly resuming their normal duties. The cases of certain prisoners classified as politicals have been individually examined and the Governor will soon be issuing orders, on the advice tendered to him by his Ministers, to remit under section 401, Cr. P. C., the unexpired portion of the sentence in each case and to order their release.

"The cases of the remaining prisoners are being individually examined by the Minister concerned and appropriate order will be similarly passed thereon within a short time.

"We have had also a long discussion on the mutual relation between the Governor and the Ministers. We discussed the recent statement of His Excellency the Viceroy along with the views of Mahatma Gandhi on it and also the resolution passed at Haripura about the resignation of Ministers and the previous statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy last summer.

"There is no reason to fear any usurpation of or

interference with the legitimate functions of the responsible Ministers. We are both desirous of maintaining healthy conventions and with goodwill on both sides we hope we will succeed."

On the 25th February the Hon'ble Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, prime minister of Bihar, received a letter from His Excellency the Governor of Bihar intimating the latter's desire to meet Mr. Sinha next morning. Mr. Sinha agreed to meet him. So it is expected that the ministerial crisis in Bihar also will soon come to an end.

Lord Halifax Becomes British Foreign Secretary

Lord Halifax, better known in India as Lord Irwin, has been appointed Foreign Secretary in the British cabinet to succeed Mr. Anthony Eden.

The opposition has indicated that a full Commons debate on Lord Halifax's appointment will be demanded, both Major Atlee and Col. Wedgwood Benn making it clear that it is felt strongly that the Foreign Secretary should be from the House of Commons instead of the Lords.

The debate will probably be held next week.

—*Reuter.*

British Government to Recognise Ethiopian Conquest?

LONDON, FEB. 24.

Defending Government's decision with regard to the Anglo-Italian talks in the House of Lords, Lord Halifax declared that Government were not prepared to let slip the opportunity from which peace might spring. They might be disappointed, but that did not necessarily prove that they were in the wrong, and emphasised that the British policy was unchanged.

With regard to Abyssinia, he said that provided the consent of the League of Nations was obtained, we should be willing to consider the recognition of Italian conquest as part of a general settlement.—*Reuter.*

International brigandage changes its ethical character in course of time if the brigand possesses sufficient armed might.

Prison Conditions, Police Torture, Girls As Chattel

Mr. C. F. Andrews has issued the following statement from Santiniketan through the *United Press* on prison conditions, police torture in India, and the treatment of minor girls as chattel:

"While the attention of the general public has been rightly concerned with the release of those political prisoners who have declared themselves individually and personally ready to renounce violence and secret conspiracy and follow the Congress principles of non-violence and truth, the lot of other prisoners in Indian jails should not be lost sight of; for it is due to intolerable conditions in jails themselves that hunger-strikes so frequently occur.

"The general public, which read the newspapers, had been made painfully aware of things which are being done within prison doors through the misconduct of the police. First of all, Sir J. D. Young, the Chief

Justice of the Lahore High Court, has delivered a judgment in terms which are very rarely employed by the highest dignitary of the law. He has condemned methods of police torture of a most horrible kind which had been used to extract evidence. The Chief Justice, at Patna, has passed a judgment in equally scathing language on the gross corruption which was revealed by a miscarriage of justice in a sordid police case in Orissa. A father had actually "sold" his minor daughter for Rs. 500 to be the concubine of a Rajah in a small feudatory state. The child had died only a short month after this disgraceful transaction had taken place. If it had not been for the bravery of a young social reformer exposing this wrong doing, such a terrible state of things would never have been brought to light; and for more than ten years this young man had to suffer until the High Court justified his conduct. In such High Court judgments as these, we can see glimpses of intolerable things which ought to be put an end to at once. We can also be practically certain that for one such act brought to light there are others of exactly the same character which still go on in the dark.

"I have received from Indian leaders, men of unchallengeable veracity, accounts (some in writing) of things unspeakably evil which they have witnessed with their own eyes while in prison during Non-Co-operation days—how wretched prisoners, fellow human beings, were tussled like fowls and beaten and then forced through abject terror to do humiliating acts which degrade the very soul: how men of gentle breeding have been put to intolerable shame by being compelled to expose themselves before others, while performing their natural functions: how refined men have been hand-cuffed and locked up in the darkness in solitude till they have nearly gone mad: how others have been forced to live and sleep in cells where lingering germs of disease were likely to infect them: how any brave freedom of spirit has been deliberately broken by all kinds of petty torture.

"While visiting Indian prisons, in order to see prisoners, I have myself heard cries that I can never forget. This personal experience, and the narrative I have heard from others on whose word I can rely, have made me convinced that in many prisons the whole system has been built up on fear: any reformation of the prisoner has been entirely neglected. Prisoners have gone out from these prisons much worse than when they came in.

"Let me add, at once, that I have met also Superintendents of Jails who are both humane and kind, men of high character, eager to do what is merciful and just. But the system, which has insidiously grown up and has led on to these incessant hunger-strikes which shock the public needs badly overhauling in every province; it requires the introduction, after special training, of an entirely new type of prison staff: it also requires the separation of the judiciary from the executive and no question of the extra expense should for a moment be allowed to stand in the way of this supremely necessary change.

"If Harendra Nath Munshi's lamentable death through his hunger-strike to obtain better conditions, creates in the public conscience a greater vigilance and awareness as to the wrongs, which still go on unredressed within the prison walls, it will not have been in vain."

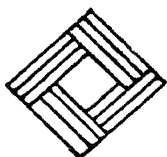
—(*United Press*).

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for February, page 237, col. 1, between lines 22 and 23, read further improvement could be effected. So the

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ENGLAND'S LOSING GAME

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"NAPOLEON knew the strategic advantage of securing Spain in a struggle with Britain . . . but our Ministry seems to be as blind as bats," remarked Mr. Lloyd George a week ago on the eve of his departure for a holiday in France. He might have discoursed still further on the Napoleonic theme. For Napoleon, in common with all the most famous Generals in history, was a master of the strategy of indirect approach. According to this strategy, you do not meet the enemy in a head-on collision, do not let him guess what you have in mind or where you will strike. Because to do so, to follow "the line of natural expectation", is to throw away immense advantages. In a trice you mobilise against you all the material and psychological factors there are on the other side. What folly! So instead you save up the decisive encounter until the end. You may even get all you want without it ever happening. And in the meantime you exercise your strength on indirect objectives—getting rid of the smaller fry or the momentarily weaker fry (assuring the ultimate Enemy as you do so of your fundamentally pacific intentions!); those fry whose material resources you covet and which might have proved useful to the real Enemy, or who lie in the way of the Enemy's line of communications.

This is exactly what is happening today. Germany wants hegemony over Europe. She

also wants the return of her Colonies. So the ultimate enemy is England (now that the purblind English have repudiated Collective Security), who cannot allow any single Power to swallow up Europe and who holds the mandate for Germany's former African Colonies. Accordingly Germany is fighting England already. But, following the strategy of indirect approach, she is fighting not England but Spain. When she and her ally-for-the-time-being Italy have conquered Spain, they will be in command of the western entrance to the Mediterranean. With air bases and naval bases on opposite shores of the Mediterranean—not to mention at Majorca which both Italy and Germany are using as an air base now against Republican Spain—England's lines of communication with India and Australia are cut. To suggest that we can use the Cape route is of course abdication and kissing the rod. No. Germany and Italy, however much Mr. Neville Chamberlain will not see what all but he can see, are fighting us now in the Mediterranean. And we must either fight them now by supplying the Spanish Government with the arms we have hitherto refused to allow Spain to buy—or fight them a few years' hence when Germany has become the strongest Power extant.

It is said that Mr. Chamberlain has been assured that Germany will not be in a position to fight a major war until the year 1940. By

then no doubt he anticipates that our rearmament will have reached so satisfactory a level that Germany will hesitate to strike. But, in Hamlet's words, who has cozened him at hoodman-blind? Time is on Germany's side, not ours. While we are rearming, she is sucking-in her neighbours. It is only necessary to look at a map of Europe to see what is happening. As someone shrewdly observed, when Germany marched into Austria unopposed, all France's allies on the continent were suddenly turned into liabilities. Czecho-Slovakia had another frontier to defend. Poland sent an ultimatum to Lithuania and began what is really a penetration there, the port of Memel being her envy. But the inwardness of this is that Poland wants to form a Baltic bloc. And this bloc of course would immobilise France's ally, Russia. Roumania, with its own brand of Fascism, is already more than half in the stampede. (And in Roumania is all the oil Germany requires. Just as in Czecho-Slovakia she is after the Skoda Munitions Works.)

No, there is no time to lose. If we take a strong line now, we may avert catastrophe. But nothing can save us in a few years' time. If we embark on a war then, we cannot win. Indeed some wise men in England, such as Mr. Bertrand Russell and Mr. H. G. Wells, believe that the next European War will never end.

Perhaps it is worth while to digress for a moment and listen to what Mr. Bertrand Russell has to say on the subject. It is appallingly like the H. G. Wells film. Indeed the only difference is that whereas in the film civilisation was brought back to the world by a race of super-scientists, in Mr. Bertrand Russell's view it is to be salvaged by America stepping in "after a catastrophe in Europe." Said Mr. Bertrand Russell in an interview:

"If I were a betting man and were laying a bet, I should think the odds in favour of a big war within the next ten years about 3 to 1. If not in the next ten years, sooner or later, I am afraid there will be war.

"I think it will go on until Western Europe is reduced to chaos. Industrialism and ordinary government would disappear. The countryside would be full of marauding gangs of disbanded soldiers who would turn into bandits. There would be vast epidemics. All sanitary services would have gone to pieces. There would be widespread starvation. Petty chiefs would be setting up military despotisms all over the country. You would have the kind of condition which existed after the fall of the Roman Empire."

I have said that if we take a strong line now we may avert disaster but that nothing can save us, or Europe, if we go on procrastinating. But unfortunately there is a third alternative.

If we follow Garvin and the Beaverbrook star, and the Londonderrys and the Astors, we may merely deteriorate into a second-class Power with Fascist leanings.

Are we doing that already? Certainly the past weeks have been weeks of humiliation. On February 22nd, in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain, as a writer in the *News Chronicle* points out, virtually invited Herr Hitler to invade Austria. "We must not," said Mr. Chamberlain on that soon-to-be-famous occasion, "delude ourselves and, still more, try to delude small weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression and acting accordingly when we know that nothing of the kind can be expected." Not very surprisingly, less than three weeks later, German troops marched into Austria. And still less surprisingly, when our genteel Lord Halifax had with the Prime Minister put out a hand to stop the avalanche which they themselves had heralded, they found the avalanche was threatening them! Has enough attention been paid to the last paragraph of that letter from Baron von Neurath which the Prime Minister read out in the House of Commons? There are two ways of reading it and one way it looks very like a threat. "In this situation," wrote the German Foreign Secretary after giving the Nazi version of the state of insecurity in Austria, "dangerous consequences could only come into play if an attempt should be made by any third party, in contradiction to the peaceful intentions and legitimate aims of the Reich, to exercise on the development of the situation in Austria an influence inconsistent with the right of the German people to self-determination."

Dangerous consequences to whom—to the third party? But the Germans in any event can spare us their threats. Like a dog that has been trodden on (only the dog knows when it was an accident) we jump all round them to show how forgiving we are. Just after the rape of Austria, after our Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax had taken the German Ambassador to task in the matter, the two men were photographed together "each smiling benignly upon the other." . . . And at this very moment, at a time when the machinations of the Astors—the pro-German group who have controlling interests in the *Observer* and the *Times*—have been pilloried in other newspapers and especially in a cartoon by the unshakeable Low, the Prime Minister has set the seal of his approval on this group by hastening off to

spend the week-end with them at the Astors' home at Cliveden on the Thames.

Defenders of the Prime Minister, of the mental attitude which clings to the policy of Non-Intervention, are leading us on and on to our destruction. *Nothing* it seems, not the agony of Barcelona, not the heroic situation of Czecho-Slovakia, not the threat to the British Empire itself, can shake them out of their lethargy. Any one who has ever canvassed in an election can recognise the type. They are the optimum expression of the kind of voter who never thinks for himself, at bottom has no convictions, but has an instinct only to be on the winning side. They think they are evincing an open mind when they take their tone from whatever appears to be the fashion—and all the time, of course, they are merely unconsciously seeing to it that whatever sun is in the ascendant, they will get some warmth from it. That is the attitude towards Fascism in this country today. Every day we hear of some notable defection. Lady Astor is reported as the latest Jew-hater making attacks on the Jews at a meeting of the Conservative Foreign Affairs Committee and at a private dinner of the English Speaking Union. Mr. Beverley Nichols, sometime Liberal, sometime pacifist, who wrote a book exposing the armaments racket, entitled *Cry Havoc*, is publishing a book this week attacking the League of Nations, calling for fair play for the British Union of Fascists (though for the present he denies he is one of their supporters), and extolling the leader of the British Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley, as "one of the three most dynamic personalities in the Empire today." Apropos of Mr. Nichols, it might be added, two things should be noted. In the first place he is a member of the so-called Oxford Group, which cannot be too often shown up for what it is, a Fascist mass orgiastic religion. And then with regard to his plea for fair play for the Fascists. Such appeals should always be resisted. As the Elizabethans are said to have discovered long ago—Be tolerant of all but the Intolerant!

The trouble is of course that today's fashion suits the class in power so flatteringly that it needs a superman to disabuse them. Indeed they are so sure of themselves, so powerfully aided by the Beaverbrook press, with its millions of daily circulation, which lines up behind them every unthinking little man who wants to be persuaded that we can keep out of Europe, that they imagine that the Opposition is as likely to come in with them

as to provide an alternative Government. May their disabusement come sooner than they think. Perhaps the victory of General Franco, which they have so powerfully encouraged, will at last open their eyes to the bill they have let us all in for. But for the moment the Government is shutting its eyes. It is useless for the Spanish Government to continue to send us proof after proof of the arrival from Germany and Italy of more men, more guns, more aeroplanes. Mr. Chamberlain either has other information or repeats his parrot talk that Germany and Italy are not the only interveners. They are so deliberately blind that they affect not to see what is obvious to a twelve year old who looks at a map of the Mediterranean. That granted France and Russia are intervening on one side and granted Germany and Italy are intervening on the other, it still remains that we cannot afford to be indifferent. For France and Russia, if they are intervening, are intervening on the side that will keep the Mediterranean open. Whereas Germany and Italy, on the other hand, can have no other hand, can have no other object in intervening but this—to gain strategic control of the Mediterranean and so emasculate Great Britain before taking her on in hopeless combat.

But our ruling class insist on closing their eyes to all this. In the early days of the Spanish Civil War, when it seemed that Madrid would fall, the Spanish Government got cold feet and began to flee. The situation was saved by the Communists and other Leftist groups who have held Madrid together ever since. This our ruling class cannot stomach. Rather throw away the gateway to our Empire than give succour to "communists"! Surely we shall not lose our gateway but fraternise rather with our opposite numbers, the ruling classes, the Fascists, in Germany and Italy. . . . But they have overlooked one thing. It isn't only the remaining democracies, America, France and the Scandinavian countries, who despise us for trying to "buy peace from the Danes." The "Danes" in this case despise us most of all and more than ever as we hasten to cover up and deny their lawlessness.

It is very important to get this right. The salient points in the present situation all boil down to this. Mr. Chamberlain's Government is sympathetic to the authoritarian Governments of Germany and Italy. (They are much more up their street than are the variations on a Popular Front which are going on in Paris. And they hope that their sympathy will be met half way. Vain illusion!

For what is the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis if it is not an axis directed against France and England? But our Government go on in the same inept way, keeping mum in face of one victory after another for the enemies of England—victories in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Spain, in Austria. Even when, as a result of pressure from the League of Nations Union or from Mr. Winston Churchill, they depart from their complete mumness, they stop short of making themselves plain beyond a peradventure. And the only result is that they please nobody. They have made an enemy of Japan without saving China. They made an enemy of Italy without saving Abyssinia. They have not saved Austria, and if they are still in power (which Heaven forbid) they will not save Czecho-Slovakia—but they have given Germany a pretty good hint that they are anticipating the possibility of being drawn into war in an ensuing Franco-German conflict. And so Germany will go on getting ready to fight us.... What clumsy tactics! It merely means that in the end we shall confront an invincible Germany, confront her without a single ally except France who cannot help being in the same boat with us. It makes you think of King Lear! (Do you call me fool? *All thy other titles thou hast given away.* That thou wast born with.)

Why are we so over-anxious for the good opinion of Germany and Italy, good opinion on their terms, and so wantonly careless of the opinion of the world at large—the only opinion worth having. France has ceased to conceal her impatience with us. The other day M. Blum's old newspaper, the *Populaire*, blew the gaff about Non-Intervention. "It is perhaps a unique case in history," it commented, "for a great country to announce in advance that she will do nothing to prevent events which she would like, above all, to avoid. But England is intervening constantly in all questions which crop up on the Continent of Europe. She intervenes by her silence, by her granting of blank cheques, and by the atmosphere of impunity which she creates round the worst misdeeds of international gangsters." She intervenes by her silence... Can anyone doubt the truth of that?

Italy at any rate was quick to take up the challenge. And the Rome newspaper *Il Tevere* at once came out with the most insolent warning to France. "If France intervenes, it is most certain that a big mess will occur.... If France seizes this occasion for a coup, let her be ready to face other coups.

If France moves a finger over the frontier there will be a general movement."

It is eloquent of the mentality prevailing in Fascist countries that on the same day as this Italian newspaper was growling at France, and prophesying the deluge should she intervene in Spain and the Mediterranean, the official Order of the Day, issued in Rome, was concerned entirely with a tribute to the Italian legionaries fighting in Spain. Quite blatantly the Fascists demonstrate that there is one law for themselves and another for France and England when it comes to altering the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. And these are the people whose favour we are courting, to whose increasing violations of Non-Intervention we persist in turning a blind eye. (Why do we trouble to cover up their guilt? They glory in it. And show their contempt for us in doing so. It isn't the enemies of Mussolini in this country who make Mr. Chamberlain's task a difficult one. It is the utterances of Mussolini himself.)

If France thinks we are selling Europe to the Dictators, allowing an atmosphere of impunity to surround their misdeeds, it is nothing to what our American cousins think about it. Perhaps it is one of the penalties for refusing to be honest with ourselves, refusing to take up the fight which is really our fight (since we are one of the greatest democracies) that we are losing the ability to see ourselves as others see us. How often do we hear people in this country, who will not take up the burden of the League of Nations and its Collective Security, blame America for staying out of the League? It never occurs to them that if we had put our best efforts into trying to make a success of the League, into trying to make it an instrument both of collective security and of peaceful change, America might have felt more attracted to it. Why should America fight our battles for us when we are too lazy to fight them ourselves? This angle, which is to be commended to League defeatists, is amusingly suggested in the title of a book which recently appeared in America: *England expects that every American will do his Duty.*

One could digress along these lines but perhaps just one other thing should be said. When Mr. Chamberlain pours cold water on the idea of collective security, when faint-hearts regretfully agree with him, let them not forget that the idea of collective security has been going downhill ever since this present Government came into power. It is *they* who

started the chute and made the world safe for the Dictators. When Sir John Simon washed his hands of far-off China it was bad enough. But when Mr. Neville Chamberlain began his fateful work of shutting up the British Empire behind a tariff wall, he more than anyone or anything else destroyed the whole psychological back-ground for collective security or for any kind of collective action. Self-sufficiency and collective security—how can the two grow together?

But to return to Europe and to what is going to happen. Is there any hope at all for us? Not any if the present Government and present counsels prevail. There are a few men in Parliament who understand the way things are going. But for the present at any rate it seems that there is little hope of their combining and putting themselves forward as an alternative Government. A week ago it was canvassed as a likelihood. Prominent people in the Labour Party expressed themselves willing to join with the Liberals, and with any others who shared their views on foreign policy, in a new Popular Front. But alas, for the time being, this is out of the question because the Trade Union element in the Labour Party have rejected it. All the same there remains one man whose speeches have caught the popular imagination—which have even influenced the present Government as appears from Mr. Chamberlain's latest retreat from his retreat from the League ideal!—and that man is Mr. Winston Churchill. He above all, with his genius for history and especially military history can assess the state of affairs and of peoples in Europe. And perhaps he may yet find a way of getting Europe out of the mess.

People these days have allowed themselves to get confused by the competing ideas of Fascism and Communism. It is an inadequate way to look at men, to see only their labels. Mr. Churchill sees them as different countries—and as countries which can maintain their identities when given their place and their use in a general system of collective security. For instance, with regard to Austria, Germany pretends that this is an "internal" affair which concerns only the German Reich. And the isolationists of course would have it thought so also. But, as Mr. Churchill pointed out in his

speech in the House on 14th March, the fact is that mastery of Vienna gives to Nazi Germany military and economic control of the whole of the communications of South-Eastern Europe, by road, by river, and by rail. As a result "a wedge has been driven into the heart of what is called the Little Entente (Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia), this group of countries which have as much right to live in Europe unmolested as any of us have the right to live unmolested in our native land." And "it is not too much to say that Nazi Germany, in its present mood, if matters are left as they are, is in a position to dominate the whole of South-East Europe. Over an area inhabited perhaps by 200,000,000 people, Nazidom and all that it involves is moving on to absolute control."

(So that is what we are up against. No wonder the Dictators think we are pusillanimous to seek friendship on *their* terms. Dictators do not make friends: they make use of people.)

Mr. Churchill would go all out for a thorough-going defensive alliance with France. He would have France and England concert action to preserve the independence of Czecho-Slovakia. The Nazification of the Danube States is a danger of capital magnitude to the British Empire. To prevent this France and Britain should set themselves to unite the States of South-East Europe. To unite in their own interests Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece. All of these have powerful armies and immense resources. Together they would form an immense resisting power. All of these wish for nothing but to be allowed to dwell in peace with one another.

Are we going to leave them to their doom? Is Mr. Churchill a voice crying in the wilderness and is there no one in the Government with the courage and energy to initiate this positive programme of peace? If we shrink from it, if we allow the Nazi system to extend and envelop this vast area of Europe, can we doubt that it will one day turn on us? In that day mortal catastrophe will overtake the British nation and Empire—friendless we shall go to our doom, because while there was yet time we did nothing to save our friends in Europe.

29th March, 1938.

ESCAPE

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE Haripura Congress was over. The wonder-city of bamboo that had risen on the banks of the Tapi was looking deserted. Only a day or two before its streets had been full of an animated jostling crowd, grave and gay, talking, discussing, laughing, and feeling that they were taking part in the shaping of India's destiny. But those scores of thousands had suddenly departed for their distant homes and a sense of emptiness hung in the still air. Even the dust storm had abated. Having a little leisure for the first time since I came, I wandered by the Tapi bank and, in the darkness of the approaching night, went up to the edge of the flowing water. I felt a little sad when I thought that this magnificent city and camp, that had risen over the fields and waste lands, would vanish soon, leaving hardly a trace behind. Only the memory would endure.

But the sadness passed, and the desire that I had long nursed, the wish to go away to some far-off place, became strong and possessed me. It was not physical tiredness, but a weariness of the mind which hungered for change and refreshment. Political life was an exhausting business and I had had enough of it for a while. Long habit and routine held me fast but distaste for this daily round grew, and while I answered questions and spoke as amiably as I could to comrades and friends, my mind was elsewhere. It was wandering over the mountains of the north with their deep valleys and snowy peaks, and precipices and gentle slopes covered by pine-trees and deodars. It panted for escape from the troubles and problems that encompassed us, for peace and quiet and the gentle sigh of the wind.

At last I was going to have my way, to pander to my secret and long-cherished desire. How could I trouble myself with ministries coming or going, or the melting pot of international affairs, when the door of escape lay open before me?

I hastened north to my city of Allahabad and found to my dismay that some trouble was brewing. I grew irritated and angry with myself. Was I going to be thwarted and prevented from going to the mountains because fools and bigots wanted to create communal

trouble? I reasoned with myself and said that nothing much could happen, the situation would improve and there were plenty of sensible people about. So I argued with and deluded myself, possessed by the desire to go away and escape. Like a coward I crept away when my work lay in Allahabad.

But soon I had forgotten Allahabad and its troubles and even the problems of India receded into some corner of my brain. The intoxication of the mountain air filled me as we climbed up the winding road to Almora in the Kumaun Hills. From Almora we went further up to Khali, riding on sturdy hill ponies for the last part of our journey.

I was in Khali where I had longed to go for the past two years, and it was pleasant to be there. The sun was setting and there was a glow on the hill sides and a hush in the valleys. My eyes searched for Nanda Devi and her companion peaks of the snowy range, but they were hidden by light clouds.

Day succeeded day and I drank deep of the mountain air and took my fill of the sight of the snows and the valleys. How beautiful and full of peace they were, and the world's ills seemed far away and unreal. Towards the west and the south-east deep valleys, two or three thousand feet below us, curved away into the distance. Towards the north towered Nanda Devi and her white-clad companions. Fierce precipices, almost straight cut, sometimes led to the depths below, but more often the curves of the hill sides were soft and rounded, like a woman's breast. Or they would be cut up in terraces where green fields witnessed to the industry of man.

In the early morning I lay bare-bodied in the open and the gentle-eyed sun of the mountains took me into his warm embrace. The cold wind from the snows made me shiver a little, but the sun would come to my rescue and fill me with warmth and well-being.

Sometimes I would lie under the pine-trees and listen to the voice of the wandering wind, whispering many strange things into my ears, and lulling my senses, and cooling the fever in my brain. Finding me unguarded and open to attack, it would cunningly point out the folly of

men's ways in the world below, their unceasing strife, their passions and hatred, their bigotry in the name of religion, the corruption of their politics, the degradation of their ideals. Was it worthwhile going back to them and wasting one's life's effort in dealings with them? Here there was peace and quiet and well-being, and for companions we had the snows and the mountains and the hill-sides covered with a multitude and a variety of trees and flowers, and the singing of birds. So whispered the wind, softly and cunningly, and in the enchantment of the spring day. I allowed her to whisper.

It was early spring still in the mountains though down below summer was already peeping in. On the hill-sides the rhododendron flowers made bright red patches which could be seen from afar. The fruit trees were full of bloom, and millions of tiny leaves were on the point of coming out to cover with their fresh and tender and green beauty the nakedness of many of the trees.

Four miles from Khali, fifteen hundred feet higher up, lay Binsar. We went there and saw a sight which we can never forget. Stretched out in front of us was a six-hundred mile stretch of the Himalayan snowy range, from the mountains of Tibet to those of Nepal, and in the centre towered Nanda Devi. There was Badri Nath and Kedarnath and many another famous place in that wide expanse, and just across them lay Kailas and Manasarovar. What a magnificent sight that was, and I gazed at it spell-bound, awe-stricken with the majesty of it. And I grew a little angry with myself when I thought that I had missed this overwhelming beauty, in a corner of my own province, all these long years, though I had wandered all over India and visited many distant countries. How many people in India had seen it or even heard of it? How many of the tens of thousands who visit annually the cheap and tawdry hill-stations in search of jazz and bridge?

So the days passed and contentment grew in my mind, but also a fear that my brief holiday would soon end. Sometimes a huge bundle of letters and newspapers would come and I viewed them with distaste. The post office was ten miles away and I was half inclined to let my mail rest there, but old habit was too strong and

the possibility of finding a letter from some dear one far away made me open the door to these unwelcome intruders from outside.

Suddenly there came a rude shock. Hitler was marching into Austria and I heard the tramp of barbarian feet over the pleasant gardens of Vienna. Was this the prelude to that world catastrophe which had hung over us for so long? Was this war? I forgot Khali and the snows and the mountains and my body became taut and my mind tense. What was I doing here, in a remote corner of the mountains, when the world was on the brink and evil triumphed and had to be countered and checked? Yet what could I do?

Another shock came—communal riots in Allahabad, many heads broken and a few persons killed. A few men dead or alive did not matter much, but what was this disgusting madness and folly that degraded our people from time to time?

There was no peace for me then even in Khali, no escape. How could I escape from the thoughts that tormented my mind, how could I run away from my trembling heart? I realised that we had to face the world's passions and endure the world's anguish, dreaming sometimes, it may be, of the world's deliverance. Was this dream just a phantasy of the dreamer's mind or was it something more? Will it ever take shape?

For a few days more I stayed on in Khali, but a vague disquiet filled my mind. Slowly a measure of peace returned to me as I gazed at those white mountains, calm and inscrutable and untouched by human folly. They would remain there whatever man did, and even if the present generation committed suicide or went to oblivion by some slower process, the spring would still come to the hill-sides, and the wind will rustle through the pine-trees, and the birds will sing.

But meanwhile there was no escape whatever of good or ill the future might hold. There was no escape except to some extent in action. No Khali could smother the mind or drug the heart into forgetfulness. And so to Khali I bade good-bye, sixteen days after I had come there, and wistfully I took my last long look at the white peaks of the north and imprinted their noble outline on the canvas of my mind.

April 7, 1938.

INDIAN ART IN TIBET—TUCCI AS EXPLORER AND MYSTIC

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. POL. (Rome)

ON THE 14th January, 1938, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci made certain statements in the course of a lecture delivered at the Royal Academy of Italy in Rome on his last scientific expedition in Tibet (June to October, 1937), which are destined to acquire far-reaching importance not only for Tibetan studies but also for researches on Indian history in regard to a period



Fig. I

Fresco representing the image of a goddess in the chapels of Mangnang

about which Tibetan documents resurrected by Tucci are eloquent. He said that during his last expedition in the land of the Lamas, he had come across a huge quantity of manuscripts and inscriptions which would throw a flood of light on certain periods of Indian history—particularly

the 13th and 14th centuries. Interpretations of these manuscripts which are now in the library of the Middle and Far East Institute at Rome will be published in due course in the monumental work of Prof. Tucci, the *Indo-Tibetica*, of which the first four volumes have already been published by the Royal Academy.

By far the most important announcement, from the point of view of Indian culture, that Prof. Tucci made on this occasion refers to his finding from records preserved in the monasteries of Ghianzè and Eastern Tibet evidences of the fact that Tibetan art is merely a special province of Indian art—a fact that was revealed to him by the relics in the monasteries of Western Tibet several years ago. The infiltration of Indian art into Western Tibet was associated by Tucci with the enlightened liberality of the Kings of Guge who invited from India the most illustrious masters of their time that transplanted into Tibet the doctrines and practices of Mahayana. Tucci has very definitely illustrated, as we shall see later on in this article, that it was not only the inspiration of Indian art that was responsible for the beautiful frescoes adorning the walls, though now in ruins, of Western Tibetan monasteries, but Indian artists themselves migrated into that country and settled there. As early as 1935, Tucci wrote :

“The sources of information speak not only of pundits and doctors invited to the court of the kings of Guge or having taken refuge there, in a period which marks the decline of fortune for Buddhism in India, but also of artists, especially from Kashmir, who introduced there the Indian traditions. One had to seek in the valleys of the Himalayas the confirmation of this information, preserved in manuscripts as literary tradition and connect together the links of the chain of thought which, stretching from Mille, united India and Tibet.”¹

Prof. Tucci has explained this emigration of Indian artists to Tibet partly also as a means of their escaping from Moslem iconoclasticism in India. Thus, he declared :

“The Mussalman torment which was in its full swing at this time, the hostility of new sects, the rebirth of the orthodox schools, already gave signs of the decline of Buddhism on the plain of Hindusthan. The monks and saints, the painters and sculptors, from the convents and universities, burnt, sacked and menaced by the

1. Tucci and Ghersi : *Secrets of Tibet* (London, 1935), p. ix.



Fig. 8. Tucci examining inscriptions on rocks with a Lama in Ghianze

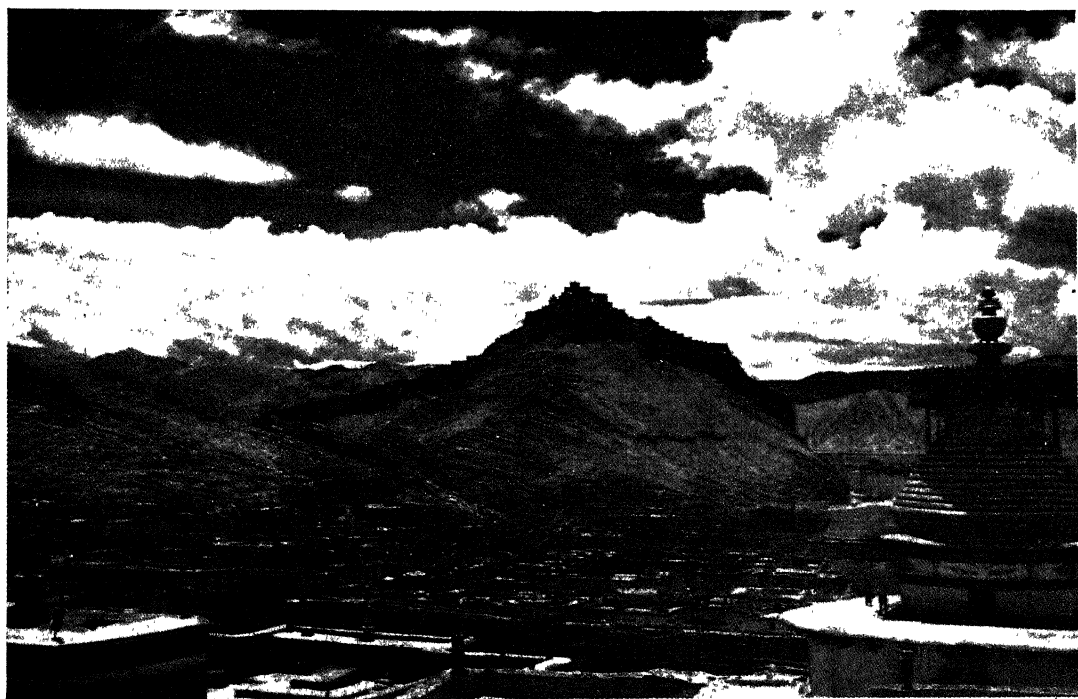


Fig. 9. Panoramic view of Ghianze



Fig. 7. A goddess in the Kumbum at Chianze
The inscription at the foot of the fresco bears the name of *Salya Muze* who, according to Tucci, may either be the founder of the monastery or the artist who painted the fresco

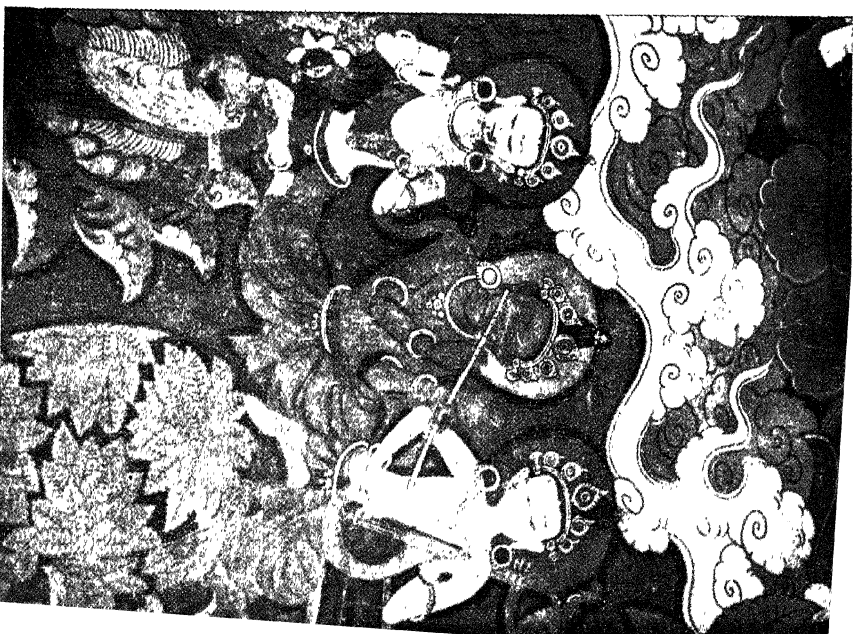


Fig. 11. Goddesses at Chianze
Fresco of the 15th century

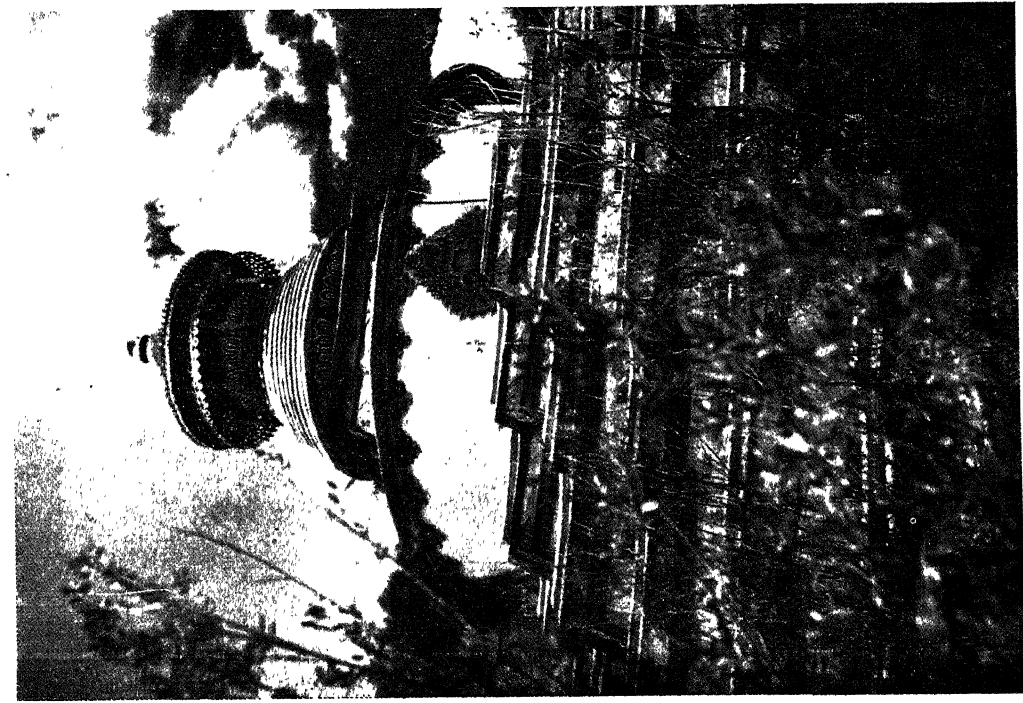


Fig. 13. The Kumbum or the Great Stupa of Chianze

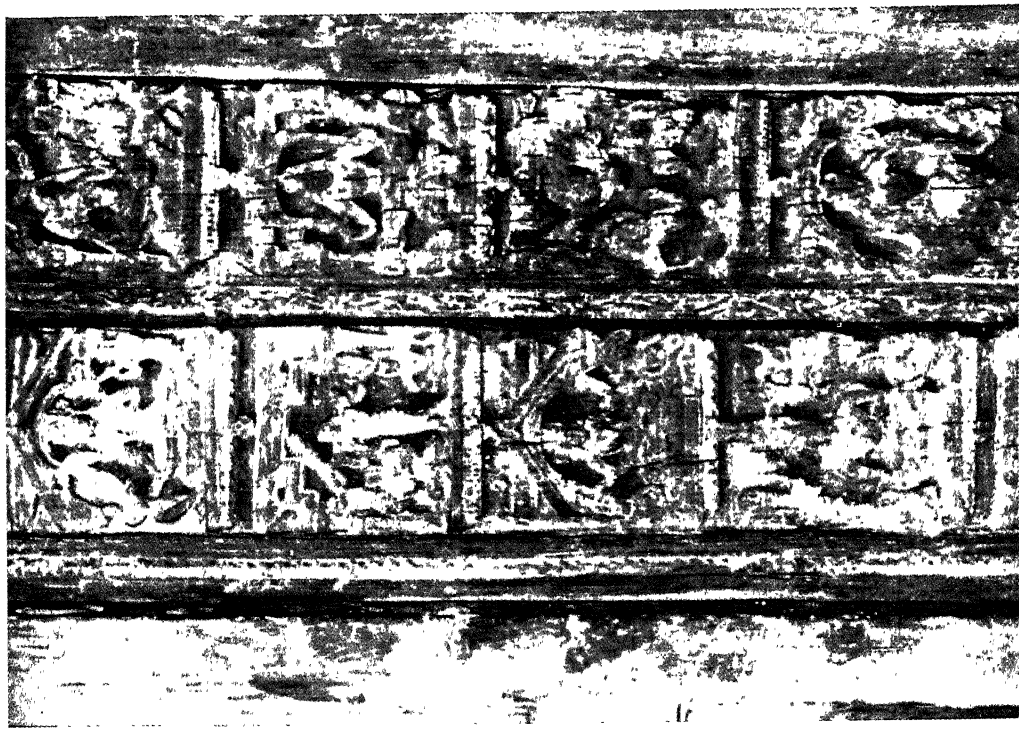


Fig. 6. Sculptured wooden doors: Toling

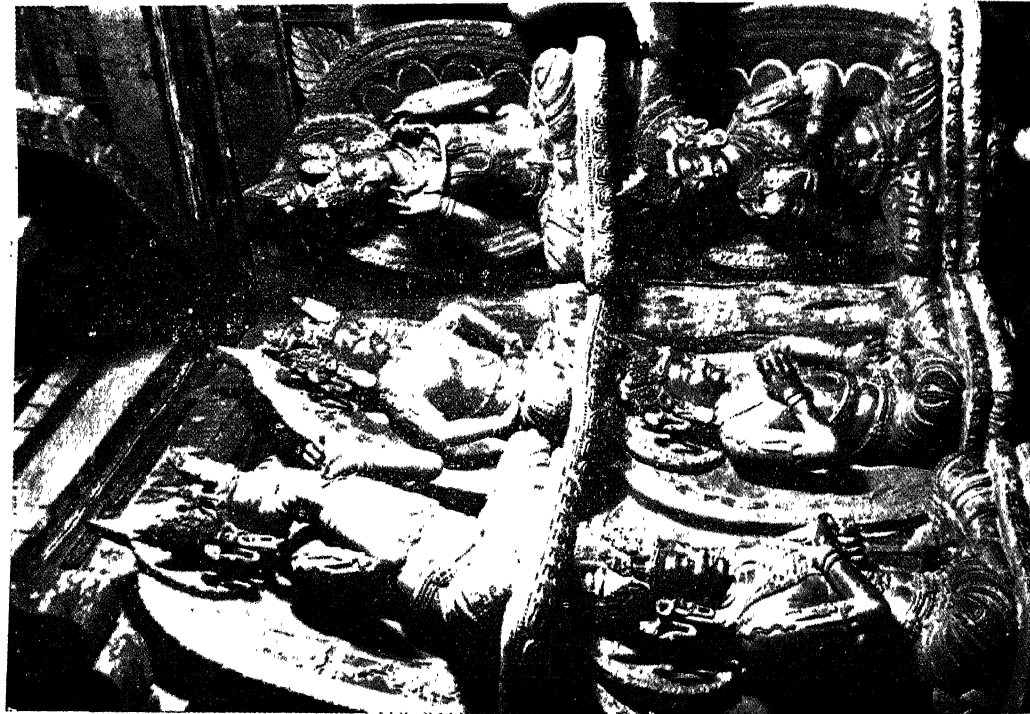


Fig. 10. The Cycle of Vairocana, Chianze

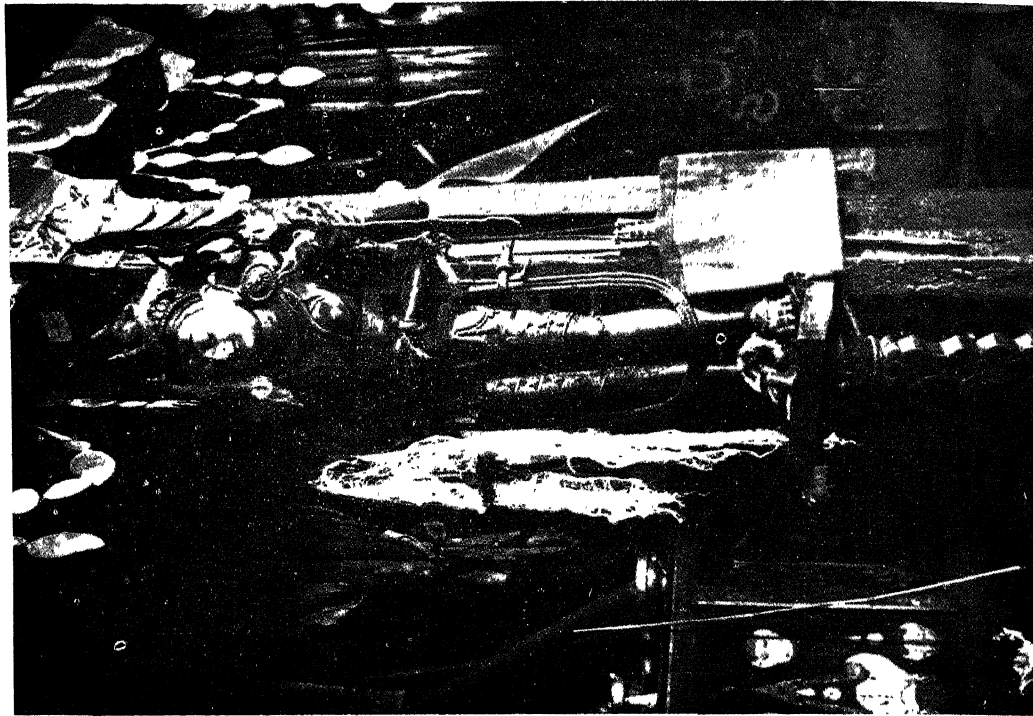


Fig. 12. A bronze statue of the 14th century, Chianze

Mussalmans, were gradually drawn into the Himalayan valleys, and were rescued by the munificent piety of the kings of Guge. Here on this immense desolation (speaking of today) reigned an unusual fervour of life, cities and temples, monasteries and markets. The artistic genius of India left there its admirable traces which the course of time and carelessness of man are going to obliterate."²

This he wrote about Mangnang which he visited during his 1935 expedition. But already before that time, when he visited Toling he was drawn to this conclusion, an evidence of which will be found in the following observation :

"It is not improbable that some of the illuminated sheets, which may very well rival ours of the Renaissance, are the work of Indian artists, refugees whom Muhammadan persecution drove forth from the profaned Indian universities towards this land where Buddhism was prospering with renewed fervour."³

It is neither within the limits of the scope of this article nor those of my competence on the subject to make an attempt at determining to what extent Tucci's expeditions and researches have contributed to the reconstruction of the political and religious history of Tibet, particularly on account of the fact that this rewriting of Tibetan history is still in the process of completion. Complexities may arise from the enormous amount of materials that have been brought home by Tucci which may require a lifetime to read and arrange so that he may leave a perfectly chronological history of Tibet beginning from the early Bon-po times. But competent authorities recognize that Tucci has already enlarged the field of Tibetan research and has contributed immensely to the stimulation of that vast interest which exists today among Indologists and Buddhistic scholars. Tucci has begun where Francke stopped, has avoided those pitfalls over which Sven Hedin stumbled, has carried to their destination those treks that had been given up by Young and Wessels in despair, although he acknowledges his debt to each one of them.

"One cannot deny to Francke the credit for having directed the attention of scholars to many aspects, hitherto ignored, of Tibetan history and archæology; he was an enthusiastic and tireless worker to whom we owe works which will remain, for a long time, fundamental. But unfortunately he was deficient in that intimate comprehension of *realia*, without which it is difficult to understand fully the significance of Tibetan literature and art; he had neither the means nor the time to acquire that Buddhist culture and that profound and direct knowledge of India and its civilization without which it becomes difficult to understand and assess many of the cultural and historical manifestations of Tibet."⁴

Be that as it may, what belongs absolutely to the originality of Tucci's research and interpretation is the establishment of a marked relation between Indian art and Tibetan art. He claims this remarkable discovery in one of his recent books, and says :

"Thus for the first time, the world of scholars will hear about some of these temples lost in the Himalayan



Fig. II
Fresco representing the image of a goddess in the
chapels of Mangnang

valleys in which were transplanted in all their glory of light and colour the artistic traditions of the Northern Indian school of painting. No one, so far as I know, has yet spoken of Mangnang which for its frescoes of the eleventh century can stand comparison with the chapels of Ajanta and Ellora."⁵

A glance at the first four figures reproduced here which were discovered by Tucci in the chapels of Mangnang in Western Tibet would convince anybody of his theory. I cannot do better than quote Prof. Tucci's own remarks in connection with these frescoes which are very illuminating as to the dependency of Tibetan art on Indian. He writes :

5. Giuseppe Tucci : *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milan, 1937). P. xiv.

2. Cf. M. Moulik : *New Light on Indian Civilization in the Researches of Tucci* (Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 19, 1936).

3. Tucci and Ghersi : *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 161.

4. *Ibid.* p. viii.

"At present there are in lower Mangnang two chapels, but neither has a name. The name, if there was any, is now lost. I could enter without difficulty into the chapels and then I was amazed at seeing that the walls were completely covered with the most splendid frescoes. These frescoes have no relation whatever with the usual Tibetan paintings. They betray the same artistic inspiration and the same pictorial method as evidenced by the ancient Indian paintings: the design, the chiaroscuro, the type itself of the figures portrayed is quite Indian. It is clear that we are confronted in this case with specimens of Indian frescoes of the 10th and 11th centuries which are related with those of Ajanta and Ellora. Of course, I do not state that there is any relation of direct dependency between the frescoes of those places and the frescoes of Mangnang, but that even these must be considered as the offshoot of those Indian pictorial traditions of which Ajanta and Ellora were up till now considered as the unique specimens surviving. Of course we know nothing of Kashmirian schools of art, but there is hardly any doubt that this place which was so famous as a center of learning was also a very important center of art. This fact is in a certain way evidenced

the literary evidence to be found in the biography of Rin c'en bzan po is supported by the archaeological discoveries which I made in Western Tibet and which unmistakably point to a very strong artistic influence of Kashmir upon the beginning of the art of Guge. Up to now this influence could only be traced upon the wood carvings of some temples like those of Tabo, Toling, Tsaparang, which are certainly due to these Kashmirian artists. The temple of Mangnang is certainly another document of this cultural relation between Kashmir and Western Tibet. It is a pity that we have not been able to take coloured photos of the extant frescoes, but this much can be said that these figures are painted in that dark brown which is so peculiar to the old specimens of Indian mural paintings . . . Of course we do not find here the same huge groups and crowds of people as in the big Ajanta caves. There was no space for this, the chapel being rather small. Moreover the subjects are quite different; at Mangnang there is no attempt at representing the stories of the Jatakas. Through these Jatakas an echo, as it were, of life could enliven the paintings and make us have a glimpse of royal palaces, dances and wars; but here in Mangnang the atmosphere is exclusively mystical. Those who built the chapels were specially interested in Mantrayana esotericism; we are therefore confronted with symbols of mystic experiences rather than with aspects of reality. Either we find independent figures of deities protected and encircled by the halo or complete group of gods which are meant to represent *mandalas*, viz., graphic expressions of certain truths to be properly understood and experienced."

Commenting on the frescoes reproduced here.

Tucci goes on to say :

"From the artistic point of view I cannot fail to emphasise the great significance of some frescoes representing images of goddesses (figs. 1-2) which are perhaps the best specimens of Mangnang paintings. Of course the artists followed their Indian traditions; the new atmosphere in which they happened to work does not influence them in any way. The hairdress, ornaments, earrings are quite Indian and have their counterpart in the extant Indian paintings. The comparison of figures 1-2 with figure 3 shows that the paintings are not at all by the same hand: there is in fact hardly any doubt that the fig. 3 is in design and grace far below the other frescoes reproduced in figs. 1-2. *Even in the chapel of Mangnang there was therefore more than one Indian artist and they were of different capacities.* (italics mine). Not less important and beautiful are the figures of flying goddesses on the corners on the either side of the central wall (fig. 4). I may refer, for instance, to Ajanta Cave nr. ii (ii. Tab. x.) where there are couples of flying deities which lack the softness and grace of our frescoes."

This is so far as frescoes are concerned. Tucci discovered in Mangnang by sheer venture and good luck a very rare object of Indian craftsmanship, since there were only two of these ivory images that he saw in entire Tibet. The temples in Mangnang are completely empty, neither images nor objects of worship were found in them. In addition, the fury of the Dogra



Fig. III
Another Fresco figure

by the imposing remains of the old Kashmirian temples and by the Kashmirian sculptures which escaped destruction, and also by the literary traditions. In fact there could have been no reason for Rin c'en bzan po to go to Kashmir to bring from there back to his native country about 32 artists had not been that place a great center of art. I have shown in *Indo-Tibetica* that

6. Giuseppe Tucci: *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples*, in "Artibus Asiae," Vol. VII (Leipzig, 1937). Pages 191-204.

7. *Ibid.* Pp. 199-200.

were passed over them. Thus it is almost a miracle that such a rare object survived all these vicissitudes till today. This ivory image (fig. 5) is ascribed to Indian workmanship by Tucci for the reasons given in his words below :

"It is in a slight *tribhanga* pose. Unfortunately it is damaged : both hands are missing and therefore even the symbols which they held. The diadem which most probably covered the head of the image as one can perceive from the fittings still visible, is also missing. Traces of colours on the body, the hair and the eyes are quite evident. There is hardly any doubt that we are confronted with an image of Avalokitesvara though the fact that the symbols are missing prevents us from a better determination. Probably it is Padmapani Lokeshvara. In this case the right hand should be in the *abhaya-mudra* and the left should hold the stalk of a lotus. Anyhow it is certain that the workmanship is Indian: as one can judge not only from the agility of the figure, but also from the arrangement of the *dhoti*. The *dhoti* does not cover completely the legs but rather goes round them being longer on the right than on the left; the undulation of the border is clearly marked as very often it is done in the Pala images. I refer, for instance, to those discovered in Kurkihar."⁸

Objects of Indian art as discovered in Tibet are profusely illustrated in Tucci's works. Mention might be made, for example, of the *terra-cotta* of Tsaparang which Tucci considers as a fine specimen of Indian art of the post-Gupta period.⁹ A specimen of Kashmiri wood carving found on the door-panels of a Toling monastery is also reproduced here (fig. 6. *See Plates*).

The 1937 expedition of Tucci in Eastern Tibet has revealed to him further evidences of the part that Indians played not only in the development of Western Tibetan art but also in that of Eastern Tibetan art. Tucci has got hold of many manuscripts and documented evidences of this fact in the monasteries of Ghianzè, which show that it was not only the Kashmiri painters that filtered into the kingdom of Guge but also Central Indian artists and even Bengali painters crossed into Tibet probably through Nepal and enriched the medieval artistic traditions of Tibet. The photographs taken by Prof. Tucci's companion, Fosco Maraini, during the last expedition are not yet available, nor are the manuscripts exhausted of their contents, voluminous as they are. Nevertheless I have been able to get hold of several photographs of Ghianzè for which I am indebted to Mr. Maraini. One of them (fig. 7. *See Plates*), a fresco depicting a worshipping goddess and adorning the walls of the *Kumbum* (great *stupa*) at Ghianzè contains

an inscription which reveals the name of one Sakya Muni, which is not a Tibetan name at all. Prof. Tucci is of opinion that Sakya Muni was either the founder of the monastery or was the painter of the fresco. In any case, he hopes to throw further light on this particular theme when he will have examined all the manuscripts relating to Ghianzè. Thus, in respect of Tucci's



Fig. IV

The figure of a flying goddess in the Mangnang Chapel

researches the sphere of Indian influence on and participation in the development of the Buddhist art of Tibet is growing larger, and what one day was merely a logical speculation for this Italian scholar is today borne out and illustrated by historical facts based on documents, literary and artistic.

But Tucci is not merely an explorer. He is a poet and a mystic. Tucci was early attracted by that great humanistic tradition of Indian civilization which conquered entire Asia and gave rise to what we call today "Greater India". He devoted years of patient industry to the study of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy, visiting the great centres of learning in India as a humble

8. *Ibid.* Pp. 202.

9. G. Tucci : *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome, 1936). Vol. III. Part II. P. 74.

student, and he has been able to penetrate deeply into the mysteries of Indian philosophical thought, not by means of logic and rationalistic processes alone but by means of that excess of sensibility and intuition which distinguish the mystic from the scholar. Long before he had set his foot upon the soil of Tibet it was suggested to him that the great heritage of Buddhist

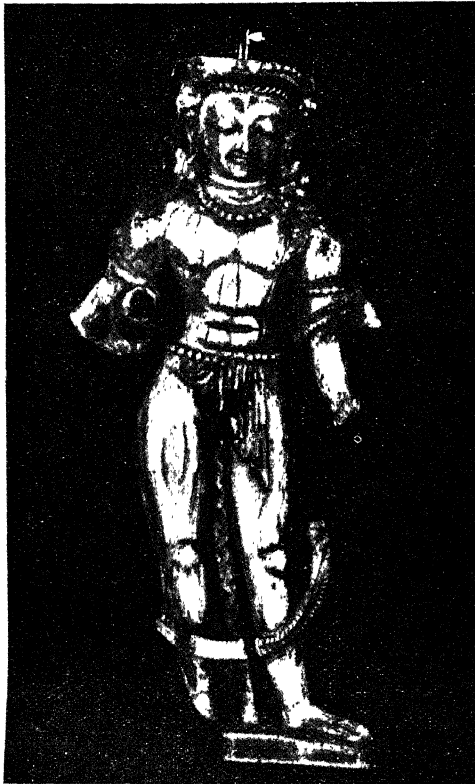


Fig. V
An ivory image found in Tibet

thought must have left its ineffaceable marks on the history of Tibetan mysticism and religious art. He saw in the diverse systems of Indian metaphysics an all-pervading unity. In a recent article, Prof. Tucci wrote :

"If India is a unity, this unity does not consist in uniformity, but in synthesis, in continuous development and transformation."¹⁰

In a review of his latest book, *Santi e Briganti* (op. cit.), it was mentioned that it was remarkable that being a Christian he knelt down before Mount Kailas in its eternal snow and peace, the abode of Siva. When it was brought to his notice, he protested that he was not a Christian in the ordinary sense of the term, and on being asked by me to what particular religion his spiritual convictions are more akin, Prof. Tucci unhesitatingly declared "Buddhism". Anybody who has seen his house at Rome will understand the significance of this statement. It is an entire monastery by itself. Images of gods and goddesses, those of Radha and Krishna as well as those of Tantric esoterism, votive lamps burning day and night at their altars, and incense redolent of distant monasteries across the seas, and the smell of ancient and worm-eaten manuscripts lying about on his table, perhaps prepare for Tucci that atmosphere which is essential for meditation. On me his Rome residence has made the impression that it has been conceived as a means of escape from the usual environments of a metropolitan city, to relieve the anguish and desperation which the restlessness of modern European life imposes on a good citizen. In moments of leisure, he stretches himself in the suggestive atmosphere of his monastic home, generally lighted by dim votive lamps, and listens to *Kirtan* and *Bhairabi* smoothly played on a gramophone. Tucci has an all-embracing spirit uncorrupted by politics and his spiritual experience is permeated by that great comprehension which is the essence of humanism. The unity of the universe which alone gives a meaning to cosmic reality is a realizable vision before his intimate consciousness where the I and the not-I are merged into one. Love of India which was the passion of his youthful days continues to be the most influential background of his spiritual experience. For Tucci it is a thing of the spirit, above politics and above self-interest. I have often heard him say to his friends, though apparently in jest, that if re-birth is possible he would undoubtedly be born in India in his next life.

10. G. Tucci : "L'Umanesimo Indiano" in *Asiatica*. Vol. III, No. 6. Page 418.

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

THE CLAIM OF BENGALI

A Literary Symposium at the "Rabi Basar"

By PROF. KHAGENDRA N. SEN, M.A., *Member of the "Rabi Basar"*

PROLOGUE

IF THE subject-matter of the symposium shocks anyone, it only points to a hypnotism of the mind induced by constant propaganda, supported by considerable financial resources, in favour of Hindi as the National Language of India. The object of the symposium, conducted by a representative literary association of Bengal—the *Rabi Basar*—has been to break this hypnotism and to argue the rightful claim of Bengali.

In this connection, it would not be amiss if we sought briefly to introduce the *Rabi Basar* to those readers of *The Modern Review* who may not have heard of it. Briefly speaking, the *Rabi Basar* is an association of some notables in the field of Bengali literature and its culture. Its membership is limited to fifty only. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is its *Adhinayaka* and Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur, Editor of the *Bharatvarsa*, its President. The late Sarat Chandra Chatterjee was a member of the Association, while its present members include Sriyuts Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *The Modern Review and Prabasi*, Upendra Nath Ganguli, Editor, *Vichitra*, Jogendra Nath Gupta, Editor, *Sishu Bharati*, Principal S. N. Maitra, M.A. (Cantab), I.E.S. (Retd.), Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitra, Head of the Department of Indian Vernaculars, University of Calcutta, and other distinguished votaries of the Bengali literature. S. J. Narendra Nath Basu, ex-Editor, *Bansari*, is the Secretary.

If we were allowed to anticipate the discussions, the results of which are summarized in this article, the point of view of one of the participants in the symposium might here be noted lest a sense of realism might desert us when discussing this extremely interesting and engrossing issue. It is that neither does the conception of a State nor that of a nation require a unity in language. Canada, the Union of South Africa, Switzerland, . . . do not have one national language. Besides, since it does not appear that the British people are particularly keen to leave us to a purely indigenous form of

Swaraj and since the naming of a particular language of India as her national language would not mean that the remaining 224 languages of India should at once cease to be written or spoken, the question of a national language is inevitably attended with the more serious problem of *trilingualism*, which it would require a stout heart to face.

The symposium organized by the *Rabi Basar*, in a series of meetings, resulted in a vigorous plea for Bengali as the national language of India. Though the arguments were all directed in that behalf, the Association finally adopted the following resolutions, *viz.*,

1. That the *Rabi Basar* records a strong protest against the attempts by the Indian National Congress and by the Hindi-speaking communities to make Hindi the national language of India and requests the sympathy and active assistance of all Bengali-speaking communities in India and outside, whether Hindus, Mussalmans or Christians, in resisting the move.

2. That till Hindi or any other provincial language fully and completely attains the status deserving of a national language and is understood at least by an appreciable number of the educated men and women of the world outside India, English should continue to be the common medium for expression throughout India.

3. That the discussions at the Congress sessions should be conducted in the English language or in the principal language spoken in the province where the session is held.

The resolutions were moved by S. J. Upendra Nath Ganguli.

There were two main trends of argument followed by the speakers who participated in the symposium. One was that the claims of Hindi were not superior to those of Bengali to be treated as the national language of India, though by persistent propaganda and publicity, that was the impression that was created in the minds of the public; while on the contrary

the reverse was the case. Both Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan and S. J. Jogendra Nath Gupta pointed to the effects of the Hindi Prachar propaganda and lack of the same to push the claims of Bengali. One speaker, S. J. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, put it down to the inferiority complex of the Bengali community.

Another line of argument on which the symposium concluded, as the second and third resolutions suggested, was that it was time neither for Hindi nor for Bengali to be accepted as the national language of India. As a working arrangement, English should continue to be the common language of India until either Hindi or any other language becomes sufficiently important to justify its claim to be treated as the national language of India.

The symposium revealed the following specific reasons why the claim of Hindi to be treated as the national language of India cannot be allowed :—

S. J. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* :

Both on account of the respective numbers of those who used or understood the two languages as well as from the point of view of literary excellence and expressiveness, Bengali has a claim superior to that of Hindi. Bengali is spoken by 8 crores of people while the claim that Hindi is spoken by 11 crores is *without justification*. Many a patois and dialect have been dubbed Hindi. The same latitude should be extended to Bengali. If that is done, it will be found that Bengali-speaking peoples are more numerous than Hindi-speaking peoples. The "Hindi" spoken in Bihar and the "Hindi" spoken in Rajputana are quite different. As for South India, if Hindi can be intelligible to them, Bengali can be no less so. He referred also to the move to introduce "Hindusthani" in the place of Hindi to placate Muslim opposition. "Hindusthani" is a cross between Hindi and Urdu. It is a new idea, but it has got powerful sponsors, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and even Sriji Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji! This patronage of a non-descript language that has no literature of its own and has no adequate power of expression is something very strange. In this connection, Sriji Sarkar referred to Dr. C. R. Reddy's remarks, which are given below :

"They say that it is this 'in-betweens' (between Hindi and Urdu) called 'Hindusthani' that they will make compulsory so as to obviate Muslim opposition. I wonder if this 'Hindusthani' which is neither Hindi nor Urdu, has a literature of its own, or if it is that happiest

of all human developments, a language without literature, like "Tulu," which causes youngsters no trouble, as it has no books to inflict on them.

"Bengali has a far more highly developed literature, throbbing with the modern spirit and great aspirations, than 'Hindi.' And perhaps next to Bengali is Marathi. Why should these be placed at a serious disadvantage for Hindi?"

The national language of a country is not a matter of compulsion, it has never been so. The claim of that language to be considered as the national language is highest which can be spoken, written and read easily. The Bengali alphabet is more convenient to learn than Hindi, —it has only one script, while Hindi (or Hindusthani) has at least three different scripts, including Nagari. Hindi grammar is also more difficult than Bengali. Actually, what we call Hindi is not a single well-defined language.

Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, Chief Editor of "Bangiya Mahakosha" or *The Encyclopædia Bengalis* :

Pandit Vidyabhushan recognized that both Hindi and Bengali could lay claim to the status of a national language, but a comparative estimate of the merits of the two languages pointed to the greater usefulness of Bengali. Moreover, Bengali is more akin to Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi and Eastern Hindi than what is called Hindi. So far as the facility of learning a language is concerned, those communities of South India who now understand neither Hindi nor Bengali would learn Bengali quicker than Hindi. Further, it must be noted that the Bengali language has more words of Sanskrit origin than any other language, while in the construction of sentences, Bengali has a similarity with that of the languages spoken in the Northern, Western and Eastern India. As for the claims of Hindi from the point of view of its numerical following, it was pointed out that the languages spoken, say, in Darbhanga, Delhi, Lucknow, Bareilly, Meerut and Agra were far removed from what was commonly supposed to be Hindi. Hindi is absolutely strange to Hyderabad and to communities speaking the Dravidian languages.

S. J. Upendra Nath Ganguli :

S. J. Ganguli referred to the classification of Bengali as second to Western Hindi in the Census Report of 1931 and pointed out that Western Hindi was not a homogeneous group but consisted of several divisions with linguistic differences as well as differences in script. The Census Report did not discuss the question of script. If Bengali with its allied languages were

compared with Hindi with its allied languages. the claim of Bengali would be found to be a superior one. It was also pointed out that while Bengali had only one script, Hindusthani was written in two or three scripts. If the literary excellence of any language were any criterion, Bengali stood foremost among all the languages of India. It would also be inadvisable to replace the English language by Hindi (or by any other language), as it would mean a severance of our contact with Western culture, a retrogression instead of progress. S. J. Ganguli also exposed the hollowness of the claim that the recognition of Hindi as the national language of India would make for the unity of the Indian people. It was wrong to say that Hindi-speaking peoples were very widely distributed throughout India, for in Assam, Orissa, Bombay, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan, Madras, Baroda, Cochin, Hyderabad, North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, Kashmir, Mysore, Rajputana, Gujarat, Travancore and several other Provinces, Hindi was either not understood or spoken as a subsidiary tongue.

S. J. Sailendrakrishna Law, of *The Modern Review* editorial staff :

Neither the racial homogeneity of the population nor identity of language is regarded as an essential mark of Statehood. Even if India had been independent, the heterogeneity of her population or of her languages need not have prevented the evolution of a common nationhood. What is wanted is unity on the psychological plane. The cry for a common language is thus a misleading cry. There is also ambiguity behind this movement for making Hindi the national language of India. Is Hindi intended to be the State language or the language of the common people? In this connection the speaker, emphasizing the claim of Bengali, spoke of the cultural unity of ancient India. Sanskrit, which was the language of culture, was the State language, while common people talked in different forms of Prakrit. Language and literature are indissolubly bound together. Modern Bengali, which has, more than any other Indian language, inherited the treasures of Sanskrit, has a litera-

ture which is undeniably the greatest in India. In any case, we in Bengal have to learn Bengali and we cannot avoid learning English. The movement in favour of Hindi would impose a third language on us. This effort at the introduction of *trilingualism* is a move without precedent. But why bother at all about a national language when the nation is still far from independence? It is like putting the cart before the horse. Any way, a language that has attained a high level of literary excellence can very well stand the strain of being the national language of India.

With this, the symposium concluded. It has been found possible to give only an abbreviated (in some cases, let me add, unduly abbreviated) version of the main speeches only, leaving out the discussions that were provoked by the speeches. The discussions reached a high level. Considerations of space have also prevented the incorporation of the statistical materials on which some of the speeches were based.

EPILOGUE

It is through the courtesy of the Editor of *The Modern Review* that we have been able to present the view of a small but reputed body of litterateurs to the rest of India on a matter of deep cultural significance. The publicity thus secured is a little belated; but as the adage goes, better late than never. Bengal has often in the past fought shy of even legitimate publicity, and has not unoften paid dearly for it. In this particular case, the *Rabi Basar* considers it important that Bengal's point of view should not go unrepresented and we are sure that in this view the intelligentsia of Bengal would fully stand by us. It is interesting to note that the Bengal Hindu Sabha has also recently urged the claim of Bengali. Opposition has been voiced in Madras also. It is a pity that the question of a national language should be treated as a political question to be solved by politicians on political grounds. There could be no greater danger than the artificial superimposition of a culture. There should be a halt to this agitation for a national language.



—AND BUDDHA SMILED

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

I sought and found an aged tree
To sit beneath and meditate
And delve beyond the mystic veils
Surrounding birth and life and fate.
Then Buddha-wise I searched within
My secret introspective mind
To contemplate the spiral planes
Reincarnations . . . trends in kind.
I dropped a strand of consciousness
Into subconscious depths as well;
Though straining every faculty
To trace it as it slowly fell.
I never knew that hours could seem
So timeless . . . turning on and on,
Like opalescent looms of thought
That idled in the cosmic dawn.
Somewhere I lost perspectives clear;
My transient mind refused to pause
With one idea long enough
To comprehend effect and cause.

Then, too, there were diversions small,
The mottled Paisley of the leaves
That moved and dappled over me
In oriental filigrees
I marked the rank and file of ants . . .
And ants . . . like coolies in the sun
Climb up the crenelated hills
Of ancient earth. I watched them run
And marvelled where nature's labored plan
Endowing, with such strange results,
Ants with an overwhelming urge
To toil . . . while men considered cults.
My occidental restlessness
Would not permit me seven years
Nor days, to sit and contemplate.
I found myself assailed by fears
That never could I fathom depths
Of thought, if I were so beguiled . . .
So easily misled by ants . . .
And sensed that Buddha knew . . .
and smiled.



"Kashmir Crafts : A poster by J. Patrick Foulds
The artist is seen standing

PREMATURE RETIREMENT OF THE INDIAN SERVICES

By BOOL CHAND, M.A.

IN an article on Bureaucracy Professor Harold J. Laski states that:

'The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions, and a refusal to embark upon experiment. In extreme cases the members of a bureaucracy may become more or less a hereditary caste manipulating government to their own advantage.'¹

Such manipulation of government to their own advantage seems to have become a basic characteristic of the British bureaucracy in India. An example of how institutions arise in India, lose their original meaning and purpose in the course of their working, and end ultimately by becoming so many additions to the long list of 'traditional' privileges and rights of the bureaucracy, may be found in the recent developments of the principle of premature retirement of the Indian Services.

II

The principle of premature retirement is not one of the 'ancient' privileges of the Civil Service. Its genesis may be traced to a recommendation of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1918:

'The Committee think that every precaution should be taken to secure to the public servants the career in life to which they looked forward when they were recruited, and they have introduced fresh provisions in this clause (i.e., 96B) to that end. If friction occurs, a readjustment of persons or places may often get over the difficulty, and the Governor must always regard it as one of his most important duties to establish a complete understanding between his Ministers and the officers through whom they will have to work. But if there are members of the Service whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them, then the Committee think it would be only fair to those officers that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere if it is in the power of His Majesty's Government to do so, or, in the last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State in Council may consider suitable to their period of service.'²

It need hardly be stressed that the purpose of the Joint Committee was not to add to the rights and privileges of the Civil Service. On the contrary, the recommendation of the

Joint Committee seems, by implication, to point out the extreme absurdity of the existing claims of British officers in India and as it were, to hint that since India had now started on the road to responsible government, it was time that this absurdity were once for all rectified. The manifest object of the recommendation was to get rid of those useless civil servants who might feel 'unable to serve the Government of India with advantage to the state, by reason of the introduction of the reformed constitution,'³ and whose continuance in office could do nothing but harm to the chances of the success of the new constitution.

It was in this spirit that the Secretary of State in Council formulated the scheme for premature retirement which was issued (as *Cmd. 1727*) in the year 1922. Under this scheme All-India Officers selected for appointment before 1st January, 1920, and not permanently employed under the Government of India, were allowed to retire before they had completed the normal full service, on a pension proportionate to their length of service. It was assumed that those who entered service after 1st January, 1920, had informed themselves of the nature of the constitutional change which had taken place and its probable effect upon their work and prospects. The permanent employees of the Government of India were excluded from the benefits of the scheme, because 'the Central Government was still an official government, responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament, and there had been no such alteration in the conditions of service of officers employed under it as would justify a relaxation of the rules governing retirement and pension.'⁴

The terms embodied in the Orders were rather unduly liberal. The pension available to the prematurely retiring officers was computed on the basis that the maximum pension of £1,000 was obtainable after 21 years' active service,⁵ so that the officers were allowed as pension such proportion of £1,000 a year as the

3. *Cmd. 1727*, p. 3.

4. *Cmd. 1727*, p. 3.

5. The maximum pension of £1,000 is really for certain special appointments 'carrying additional pensions.' All prematurely retiring officers were given the advantage of these special posts.

1. *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, III, p. 70.

2. Report of the Joint Select Committee, 1918 (H. C., 203), pp. 11-12.

period of their service bore to 21 years. And in addition, the retiring officers were allowed to secure all the benefits of Civil Service Family Pensions Scheme etc. fully if they would continue to make contributions upto the age of 54 according to the scheduled rates, or proportionately to their period of service if they should choose to stop future contributions at once. It was no wonder that 'by 1922, 200 All-India officers had retired under these special terms, and by 1924 the number had risen to 345'.⁶

In view, however, of the very nature and necessity of their inception, these Orders had definitely stipulated two conditions: (i) that all applications for permission to retire prematurely in consequence of the reforms must reach the Local Government before the 31st March, 1924, 'by which date officers will have had ample opportunity to appreciate the effects of the recent constitutional changes and to arrive at a considered decision'⁷, and (ii) that any officers who did not apply before that date would not be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional developments that may subsequently take place. These two conditions were in reality of the very essence and purpose of the new scheme. But bureaucrats cannot be expected to take any such limitations upon their 'privileges' in spirit of resignation. True to their tradition of 'manipulating government to their own advantage', they set about to secure a modification of these conditions, till by means of gradual and steady changes in the rules they have succeeded in transforming what was meant to be a limitation upon their choice into a far-reaching and valuable addition to their already abundant store of privileges.

How they have managed to do so, it is the purpose of this essay to analyse.

III

The first step in the process was taken in 1923. On 15th June of that year, there had been appointed the Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India⁸, to enquire among other things into 'the organization and general conditions of service, financial or otherwise, of those Services'.⁹ To this Commission, 'numerous representations'¹⁰ were made by British officers of the Indian Services, complaining

against the *harshness* of the rules governing the grant of proportionate retiring pensions. The modifications asked for were: (i) that compensation for loss of career should be given in addition to proportionate pension in cases other than of compulsory retirement.

(ii) that the privileges of retirement on proportionate pension should be extended to members of the Central Services.

(iii) that the right to retire on proportionate pension should be extended indefinitely.

The Commission rejected the first demand, because 'in its view the present rules governing the grant of proportionate pensions were sufficiently generous already'.¹¹ The second demand, which was urged upon it 'with great insistence',¹¹ it found more difficult to wholly reject. Although it was 'unable to support'¹¹ the extension of the privilege to members of the Central Services, it nevertheless recommended that any British officers who were employed in the reserved field should be free to retire on a proportionate pension, if at any time the department in which they were employed should be transferred to the control of Ministers responsible to the legislature, the option to retire remaining open for one year from the date of such transfer. This recommendation had the result nullifying the effect of the rules of 1922, which had definitely provided that after 31st March, 1924, no officer would be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional development that may subsequently take place. In another way also, the Commission destroyed the whole effect of the Orders of 1922, for it completely accepted the third demand of the Services that the right to retire on proportionate pension be extended indefinitely, and recommended that in the case of all future British recruits to the All-India Services this rule should be made and a clause inserted in their contracts to that effect.

IV

The activities of British bureaucrats, however, do not seem to have been solely confined to making representations to the Royal Commission on Civil Services in India. Their influence was presumably working all this time in another direction also, and here comparatively freer from the gaze of the Indian public, and therefore perhaps with surer chances of success. Indeed, the effect did become visible in this-

6. Simon Commission Report, Vol. I (Cmd. 3568), p. 267.

7. Cmd. 1727, p. 3.

8. Under the chairmanship of Viscount Lee of Fareham.

9. Terms of Reference, Cmd. 2128, p. 2.

10. Cmd. 2128, p. 43.

11. Cmd. 2128, p. 44.

quarter even before the publication of the Report of Lee Commission.¹² The Report of the Lee Commission was presented on 27th March, 1924; but exactly two months and eleven days before the Secretary of State in Council had already issued detailed rules for premature retirement, with 'amplifications and clarifications.'¹³ These rules were 'in the main a reproduction in the form of statutory rules of existing orders';¹³ but the time limit specified in the original Orders of 1922 as to the last date for applications was cleverly omitted in these detailed rules. Equally well was the other condition ignored that officers who failed to avail of the concession of premature retirement now would lose all such right in consequence of any future constitutional development.

About these rules of 1924, the Simon Commission said thus:

'In 1924, when the Lee Commission reported, the concession of premature retirement extended only to All-India officers who had entered the service before 1920, and it was to continue in force until the action proposed to be taken on the Report of the Statutory Commission was known. The position then would necessarily be reviewed.'¹⁴

How the time-limit of four years had suddenly got extended to ten and odd years (for the Statutory Commission was to be appointed only ten years after the operation of the Government of India Act, 1919), one fails to understand and better had not seek to enquire, for the methods of bureaucracy are not always simple and straightforward.

These rules of 1924 were further amended in minor details on the 12th of May and 5th of August, 1925, and were then reprinted in an amended form. From this reprint even the ineffective sentence that these rules were in the main a reproduction of existing orders had vanished. That sentence had been a mere meaningless tautology even when it was first used in the rules of 1924, as the interpretation later put on those rules by the Simon Commission shows; its disappearance from the rules of 1925 served to pave the ground for further changes in the terms governing premature retirement, for now it was possible to invoke the authority of the 1925 rules in the future.

V

It may not be entirely irrelevant to refer to the recommendations of the discredited

Simon Commission in relation to the principle of premature retirement, for these recommendations form the real basis of the recent legislation on the subject. The Simon Commission said:

'Under the present rules, whatever right an officer has to retire prematurely may lapse twelve months after action has been taken upon our Report. If no extension is given, we are apprehensive that a considerable number of able and experienced officers will retire while they can, rather than take the risk of continuing their service under the new conditions without any right of pension until they have completed the full term of service. This would be disastrous not only to administration at the moment but to recruitment for the future; for it is certain that premature retirements would seriously affect the willingness of young men to join the service. We recommend, therefore, that retirement on proportionate pension should remain open without limit of time to any officer who might under the present rules have so retired upon the coming into force of the constitutional changes which we have proposed.'¹⁵

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1933, took its cue from these recommendations of the Simon Commission. After enumerating the various general rights and safeguards, like protection against dismissal or reduction, indemnity for past acts etc., common to all members of the Public Services, the Report of the Joint Committee goes on to mention a 'special right' of the officers appointed by the Secretary of State to 'such compensation for the loss of any existing right as the Secretary of State may consider just and equitable.'¹⁶ Among these existing rights, the Joint Committee includes the right to premature retirement on proportionate pension,¹⁷ although when exactly this right came to 'exist' and on exactly what grounds, it becomes on analysis a little difficult to understand.

These existing service rights of officers appointed by the Secretary of State, the Report goes on to point out, proceed from two sources, some of them being conferred by the Government of India Act itself, and others 'embodied in statutory rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.'¹⁸ Normally, that distinction in the source of origin would cause a fundamental technical difference in the validity and force of the two types of service rights; for while the rights which are conferred by the Government of India Act could be modified and abolished only by an amending Act of Parliament, those conferred by the

12. *Cmd.* 2128.

13. Statutory Rules and Orders, No. 61 of 1924.

14. Simon Commission Report, Vol. I (*Cmd.* 3568), p. 273.

15. Report, Vol. II (*Cmd.* 3569), p. 291-2.

16. Report of the J. P. C., H. C. 5 (Vol. 1 Part I), p. 176.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

Secretary of State in Council could be taken away or modified by that authority without any reference to Parliament at all. Yet, in practice, the force of that distinction has been greatly diminished by the suggestion of the Joint Committee that:

'The whole body of service rights, from whatever source derived, may properly be regarded as forming a single code, which the members of the All-India services now serving may equitably claim should not be varied (at least without a right of compensation) to their disadvantage.'¹⁸

VI

In pursuance of these recommendations of the Joint Committee, the Secretary of State with the concurrence of his Advisers has recently issued new Orders to regulate premature retirement on proportionate pensions.¹⁹ These rules cut new ground altogether. Firstly, cancelling all previous rules regarding premature retirement, these Orders lay down that the right of premature retirement shall accrue to all officers of All-India Services selected or appointed before the 1st of April, 1937, and to all officers of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police to be selected or appointed thereafter, whose domicile at the time of such selection or appointment is non-Asiatic. Secondly, these Orders render any declaration, to the effect that retirement on proportionate pension is sought on account of the introduction of reformed constitution, unnecessary and needless.

These new Orders, thus, have changed the whole view and meaning of the institution of premature retirement. Premature retirement was initiated as a temporary measure to meet temporary exigencies. The principle had been on the whole coolly received by the Indian public (even though it meant a wholly unjustifiable burden upon the Indian exchequer), because it was clearly meant to be operative only for three or four years in order to get rid of unwilling and therefore undesirable British officers. On the pretence of a continuous series of short leases, the right of premature retirement was kept operative throughout the period of last eighteen years. And now it has been imposed upon India, in a new form, as a permanent right of non-Asiatic members of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police, to be perpetually operative in the future, and to be modified or abolished only in barter for 'such compensation as the Secretary of State may

consider just and equitable.' Is there any more sordid example of manipulation by the ruling bureaucracy of the institutions of law and government to its own advantage?

VII

For look at it from whatever point of view one might, the principle of premature retirement fails to appear even of the slightest and remotest advantage to the country wherein it is designed to operate. Its benefits accrue completely to British bureaucracy: its consequences for India—political, financial, and administrative—are wholly unsavoury.

The political necessity for the institution of premature retirement, as admitted by the Simon Commission, consists in the British Government's desire to attract more British recruits for the Indian services. Whatever might be the validity of such desire to the British Government—for, the provision of well-paid jobs for British young men in India does in a very real sense help to lessen the competition for higher jobs at home, and contributes incidentally to the strengthening of British grip over India—, from India's point of view, any attempt to popularise recruitment for the Indian services in England by artificial baits and indirect increase of emoluments cannot but be highly unwelcome a venture, for its effect can merely be to impede the progress of the Indianisation of Indian services and Indianisation of the tone of Indian government generally.

From the economic standpoint, the consequences of the free operation of the principle of premature retirement might well be disastrous to India. Already the amount of annual payments to England by India is enormous; the operation of the principle of premature retirement can result only in adding to it greatly. Under the Orders now in force, it should be possible for an officer of the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Police to retire after the service of ten and a half years, that is to say, at the age of 32 or 33 years, and claim from India a lifelong pension of £500 a year, with a large number of other highly valuable benefits. Speaking theoretically, would not the existence of such possibility lead to a growingly large number of British civilians seeking premature retirement from a country, service in which is at best *distasteful* to them, in order to look for a less hazardous, even if comparatively less remunerative, job at home? In effect, then, under the scheme of premature retirement, the role of the Indian tax-payer would be merely to maintain, throughout their long life, an army

18. Report of the J. S. C., H. C. 5 (Vol. 1 Part I), p. 176.

19. Statutory Rules and Orders, No. 481 of 1937.

of British young men, who may have chosen in the earlier part of their life to take a short holiday of ten years or so in India.

Looked at from the administrative point of view, the first few years of service in an administrative position are hardly different from a holiday; or at best but a period of training. So that the result of the operation of the principle of premature retirement would really be this, that the British young man would

learn his job at India's expense, and as soon as he has learnt it, he would return home or go to some other part of the British Empire or the world, where he would utilise his training and knowledge, and still continue to live largely upon India's head.

Is it not desirable that a principle or an institution, which is capable of producing such harmful results, should be brought to an end at once?

TRIBAL POPULATION AND CHRISTIANITY

A Plea for Organised Mission Work Among the Tribal People by the Hindus

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, *Lucknow University*

CHRISTIANITY in the United Provinces has suffered a set back as will appear from the figures of percentage variation since 1901. From 1891 to 1901, the percentage increase in the number of Christians in these Provinces was +75, in the decade 1901-1911, it was +13 and in 1921 to 31, +2. While during the decade 1921-1931, the Muslims increased by +10.8, the Hindus by +5.7 (from a decrease of -4.2 in the last decade) and the Aryas by +54.7. Evidently this decrease in the ranks of Christianity is to be traced not to a defect in enumeration as Christians show a higher literacy and are more organised than other communities, but to a defection. The Census Superintendent of the U. P. explains this defection as due to the fact that many who returned themselves as Indian Christians were imperfectly converted. They were found in small groups in towns and the larger villages and the permanence of their conversion was not assured. Missionary efforts for economic and other reasons were very much restricted, so that many of the borderline converts have gone back to Hinduism, orthodox or reformed. The sweepers and Chamars who in the Meerut district returned themselves as Indian Christians in 1921, returned themselves as Aryas in 1931. But the most important cause of this decline, I should think, is the comparative difficulty of providing economic assistance by the missionaries, and thus groups which embraced Christianity from secular rather than spiritual benefits, retraced their steps and are swelling the ranks of the Aryas.

The total number of Indian Christians in

the Province of Bihar and Orissa (the two have separated and have formed independent units), enumerated at the Census of 1931 is about 403,700. Of this number, 261,776 or 65% are found in one single district, *viz.*, Ranchi. 96% of the Indian Christians in the Province are to be traced in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The primitive tribes furnish the most fruitful source for Christian missionaries. The Oraons, the Mundas, the Kharias and the Sonthals have between them contributed 88% of Christians in the Province. In areas where the tribal people are dominant, there has been little defection in number, but in those areas where they live in association with other communities, who are numerically much stronger than themselves, they have either identified themselves with the Hindus or have adopted Christianity. The Sonthals who live mostly in the Sonthal Pergannahs show an increase from 670,535 in 1901 to 754,804 in 1931. The increase in the number of those who follow tribal religions is from 589,590 in 1901 to 744,418 in 1931. The Christian Sonthals show an increase from 7,064 in 1901 to 9,963 in 1931. The Hindu Sonthals record a decrease from 73,881 in 1901 to 423 in 1931. This shows that where the Sonthals are dominant, even the Hinduised Sonthals take a pride in their tribal culture today, but in areas where they are in a minority, they have either accepted Christianity or listed themselves in the ranks of Hinduism. Similarly the Hos who live in a compact area and enjoy a protective form of administration have not provided a fruitful field for Christianity while the

Mundas, the Kharias and the Oraons of the Ranchi district have made the largest contribution to Christianity.

Before the British rule was consolidated in Chota Nagpur, the Mundas and cognate tribes appear to have lived by hunting, by Jhum cultivation, and by the collection of jungle produce. They used to clear a patch of land, by felling the forest trees and setting fire to them and when the field was burnt down, they planted seeds in the ground with the help of the digging stick. It is a wasteful method of agriculture no doubt but the virgin forests of the Chota Nagpur Plateau allowed such expansion for a time.

Soon after the British Government came on the scene, Hindu farmers began to immigrate into the asylum of the Mundas in large numbers. As S. C. Roy puts it:

"With foreigners from Bengal and Bihar unacquainted with the customs, the land tenures and the languages of the people, in all the subordinate government posts, and with alien landlords, the Mundas had indeed a very trying time of it."¹

Signs of unrest among the aboriginal population all over Chota Nagpur proper was abundantly in evidence. Now and again, serious riots broke out. There was an insurrection in Tamar which was not quelled until Lieutenant Cooper made an expedition against the insurgents and reduced them.²

For a time the Government helped the cause of the landlords, as it meant increased revenue from them. Everywhere the Zemindars have been giving grants to the new-comers Hindus, Sikhs and Mussalmans, who were fast ousting the original holders of the soil. The oppressive conduct of the new Jagirdars led to great hardship to the Mundas and Oraons and they deserted their villages to escape the turbulence of the landlords. The insurrection of 1831 was only "the bursting of a fire that had long been smouldering." In the words of Mr. Blunt, who was at the time (1832) a member of the Governor-General's Council, the insurrection originated in the dispossession of the Mankis and Mundas of a number of important Pergannahs, from their hereditary lands and leadership of the people, countenanced, if not instigated, by some influential person or persons in the area. The quelling of the insurrection ushered in a new epoch in the administration of the country and Chota Nagpur was constituted as a Non-Regulation Province. The change in administration, however, did not

mend the situation. The fight between the Hindus and the aborigines of Chota Nagpur took another form. With the help of the law courts and the police who were recruited from Bihar, the Hindus again became masters of the field, and considerable oppression and hardship were meted out to the aborigines. In spite of the best efforts of the administration things did not improve much and the advent of the missionary in Chota Nagpur was hailed by the aboriginal people as an accession of strength to their cause. Towards the end of the 19th century the denudation of the forests and the reckless husbandry of them as customary among the primitive tribes led to stringent forest laws with reservation and protection of considerable part of the forest in Chota Nagpur, and thus the Mundas were faced by famine. The little land they had was incapable of supporting the pressure of population, nor did they prove skilful farmers like the Hindus. Besides, much of their country by this time passed into the hands of the Hindu owners.

The Christian missionaries came on the scene, promised to assist the Mundas, in their fight against the Hindu landlords,

"They helped them with loans which were to be transmuted into gifts in case of conversion, while some of them through a misguided zeal even held out hopes of new grants of land to the famishing people."³

The Mundas felt a great relief and saw in Christian culture an escape from imminent danger. This led to a large scale conversion of the Mundas into Christianity and a tightening of reins by the alien landlords. For a time the converts were persecuted and became martyrs. This gave a filip to the movement for conversion with the result that the number of converts began to increase by thousands. The economic benefits to the converts, the arrangement for their education, and grants for their families, and the consequent improvement of their standard of living, helped to consolidate the position of Christianity among the aboriginal elements.

As S. C. Roy wrote in his monograph on the Mundas:

"From the very commencement of their work in Chota Nagpur, the Catholic Fathers perceived that unless effective means were devised to improve the material condition of the converts, religion will have little hold on their minds."

The Catholic Mission Industrial School was opened at Ranchi in the year 1894, with a view to the amelioration of the economic condition of the Christian converts of the Mission.

1. *The Mundas and their Country* by S. C. Roy.
2. Dalton: *Ethnology of Bengal*.

3. *Mundas and their Country* by S. C. Roy.

The school was intended to turn out carpenters and masons. This school was discontinued after some time and another large industrial school was started at Khunti which lies in the heart of Munda country. A large Tile factory was opened by the Rev. Father Hoffman in the year 1908, which now trains a number of Mundas and Oraon boys and young men in the manufacture of roofing and flooring tiles with cement and sand. The Chota Nagpur Catholic Co-operative Credit Society was registered under Act X of 1904 on the 2nd December, 1909. It is a large centralised society embracing the whole Roman Catholic population of Ranchi and formed with the object of enabling the members of the Mission to constitute themselves into a system of federated and autonomous societies with the central institution. This society which was organised on the Reiffeisen system, has done wonderful service for the aboriginal converts. Thus the success of Christianity in Chota Nagpur is to be traced to the splendidly organised educational and benevolent institutions of the Catholic Mission, while the self-sacrificing zeal with which the missionaries have worked and the picturesque forms and ceremonies connected with Catholic worship have naturally appealed to the aboriginal mind and the fruits of such organized activities are to be seen in the following figures :⁴

| Tribe | Year | Actual Strength | Number per Mille | | |
|--------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------|-----------|
| | | | Hindu | Tribal | Christian |
| Ho | 1911 | 420,179 | 143 | 854 | 3 |
| | 1921 | 441,424 | 112 | 884 | 3 |
| | 1931 | 5,31,158 | 248 | 748 | 4 |
| Kharia | 1911 | 133,657 | 283 | 505 | 212 |
| | 1921 | 124,531 | 364 | 362 | 274 |
| | 1931 | 146,037 | 353 | 211 | 436 |
| Khond | 1911 | 302,829 | 443 | 552 | — |
| | 1921 | 287,355 | 453 | 547 | — |
| | 1931 | 315,709 | 531 | 469 | — |
| Munda | 1911 | 490,948 | 181 | 655 | 164 |
| | 1921 | 460,319 | 274 | 522 | 204 |
| | 1931 | 549,764 | 298 | 459 | 243 |
| Oraon | 1911 | 587,411 | 89 | 719 | 192 |
| | 1921 | 566,383 | 170 | 619 | 211 |
| | 1931 | 637,111 | 349 | 423 | 228 |

Though with Christianity has come economic advantages, an appreciation of the rights of the tribal people as original clearers of the soil, an appreciation of the benefits of a higher

standard of living, and many other temporal benefits, yet conversion to Christianity has not solved the social problems of the converts. Conversion to Christianity has not eradicated the primitive habits of thought and action. Christianity has helped only to supplement the tribal pantheon without seriously challenging or dispossessing their indigenous gods and spirits. Nor has Christianity succeeded in eliminating the caste system in India. As Risley put it, caste is in the air and Islam and Christianity even are not free from it. The social distance in India between the higher and lower groups has led to conversion to the Sikh faith, to Islam or to Christianity,

"But even after conversion the social stigma attached to the untouchables or depressed groups has not altogether disappeared."⁵

The southern Indian Christians distinguish between the castes of the converts in the seating accommodation in Churches.

The following extracts from the *Statesman* of the 30th December, 1936 will explain this :

"The difference between Catholic Harijans and caste Catholics over the matter of seating accommodation in St. Mary's Cathedral, Kumbakonam, reached a climax on Christmas Day when, it is reported the front door of the Church was closed and two other side gates opened for the admission of caste Christians and Harijans separately.

"Some Harijans while attempting to effect an entrance through the caste door, were, it is stated, ill-treated by rowdies hired for the occasion. Those who managed to enter were not allowed to worship. The caste Catholics stood in front and obstructed the view of the altar.

"The Harijans convened a mass meeting yesterday and condemned the attitude of the Indian Bishop who it was alleged, had been siding with the caste Catholics. The meeting also took exception to the Bishop's conduct in forcing Harijan women attending Church Services along with caste women to confine themselves to the segregated portion of the Church. A resolution was passed requesting the Bishop to accord equal treatment, failing which another conference would be convened to settle their future relationship with the Catholic Church."

The Mazhbi Sikhs are looked down upon by the Sikhs who are not Mazhbi while the dislike of the exterior castes remain even when they turn Muslim.⁶

In the matter of cultural progress also, the aboriginal converts do not show a very high standard compared to their erstwhile brethren. Child marriage exists among the Christians of Bihar and Orissa. Between the ages of 5 to 10, 47 per thousand Christian girls are married or widowed, the figures of girl wives among the tribal population in the same

5. *Census Report of India*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, 1931.

6. *Census Report of India*, Vol. I, Part 1, 1933.

4. *The Census Report of Bihar and Orissa*, 1931.

age period being 97, while that for Hindus are 290 and Muslims 342. Late marriage is customary among the tribal population, compared with 564 among Christians (the figures for Hindus being 909 and Muslims 937), so that in the matter of postponement of marriage, the Christian converts do not show a wide divergence from tribal practices. The number of unmarried per thousand males among the tribal population between the ages of 25 to 30, is 136, while the figure among the Christians is 110. The figures for women are 62 and 70 respectively. Whereas there are 63 unmarried girls between the ages of 15 and 20 among Muslims, there are 91 among Hindus, 436 among Christians and 313 tribal.

The religious life of Christian converts does not appear to be fundamentally different from that of the aboriginal tribes. Primitive tribes are by nature singularly tenacious of purpose and cling to old traditions. Even where the tribes have been assimilated into the ranks of Hinduism, tribal deities have only been supplemented by others introduced from the popular Hindu pantheon. When a Munda lies in the district hospital and undergoes a systematic treatment for illness, his wife and mother offer prayers and sacrifices to the tribal deities at home, so that medicine and propitiation together bring about the desired cure. When epidemics sweep away the aborigines and the tribal deity presiding over such calamities, is propitiated by the village medicinemen by offerings of hen, pig and goat, the tribal officers receive adequate support and assistance from the Christian converts as well as Hinduised members of the tribes concerned.

The conception of a mysterious power, *viz.*, "bonga" is at the basis of primitive religious life in Chota Nagpur and this power is believed to give effectiveness to all beings and things.⁷ This power conception is also a feature of the religious beliefs of the Christian converts and Christ is given the role of a power, a seer, a healer and a preacher just as Singbonga or

Marangburu of the Munda-speaking tribes. A very reputed authority on primitive culture of this area has shown how animistic habits of thought have not been eradicated by Christianity and the basic ideas and fundamental beliefs of the Christian converts and the followers of tribal religion are largely similar.

Whether Christianity has succeeded in transforming the mental and moral life of its converts is an open question, but it is undeniable that the material advancement brought about by the Missions has more than compensated any lapse in this respect. If Hinduism wants to reclaim the aboriginal tribes, it will only be possible by a liberal scheme of economic uplift. The lines of activities introduced by the Christian Missions will have to be adopted to offer material assistance to the backward communities and for this purpose, I propose the following scheme which may be adjusted to suit local conditions.

(1) A Central Institute for organizing Mission work in different areas should be inaugurated.

(2) This Institute should train missionaries or few centres under its direction should be established. The young missionaries must be prepared to sacrifice their comforts but they will be maintained by the Central Organization on a scale of subsistence allowance.

(3) The training of the missionaries should include a study of the languages of the area where the missionary will be required to work, and a course on cultural anthropology which will enable him to understand and interpret the cultural life of the people, a course in general economics including co-operation and a thorough grasp of the eternal tenets of the Hindu faith. They should be above sectarianism.

(4) Collecting funds and providing for industrial and technical training of the backward communities and assisting them in their struggle for economic existence.

(5) Introducing reforms among the backward communities and reducing the social distance between the different social groups.

(6) Removing disabilities by education and persuasion.

(7) Organization of sports, recreation, fairs and festivities and to encourage the people to give up habits prejudicial to their family, such as the habit of drink, etc., and to adopt practices from neighbouring groups which are beneficial and have been proved to be so.

(8) Above all the missionaries will be required to work with self-sacrificing zeal, to devote heart and soul to the work entrusted to them. They should conform as far as practicable to simple and ascetic habits of life.

⁷ *A Tribe in Transition*—Longmans Green & Co., 1937.



WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MONEY?

By RICHARD B. GREGG

I

MONEY has so many functions that you cannot be sure just what will happen when you use it. Its manifold abilities are as if we were somehow to assemble a piece of gold, a quart measure, a push cart, a refrigerator, a national flag, and a barometer, blend and mix them all into one thing able to perform all or any of the functions of those different articles, and give this thing a name, X, without any marks to distinguish the separate functions. Nor have we any way to control which one of these functions will act on any given occasion. I start to use it as a quart measure but find that its properties as a refrigerator are interfering with the measuring I want to do. Or, I start to trade it as a piece of gold, but the emotions roused in my customer by its being a flag spoil the result I had expected and incidentally stop the action of the barometer. Or, the push cart runs away with the refrigerator and leaves me empty handed and lamenting. What is the matter with money?

Let us see what different things money does. It is complex and performs many kinds of actions, the economists tell us. They say that money is

- (1) a medium of exchange;
- (2) a measure of value, usually for the purpose of exchange;
- (3) a means of transferring value from place to place;
- (4) a store of value, *i.e.*, a means of transferring value from one time to a later time;
- (5) a symbol of credit (trust); and
- (6) a standard for estimating the present value of a future act or obligation, though this function may be only a variant of the measure-of-value function.

Thus it has what for shortness' sake we may call an exchange function, a measure function, a transfer function, a storage function, a symbol function, and an estimating function.

This tool, money, with its many uses, is not like any of the multi-functioned machines such as some of the complex metal-working lathes,

or the grain combine which reaps, thrashes, winnows and puts the wheat into sacks. In such machines the different operations are always performed in the same order or are at least completely controllable, and the result is uniform. This is not the case with money.

Doing so many things, money has many meanings. That is to say, a dollar, regarded as a word in the language of economics, is ambiguous. I may intend to use it only as a medium of exchange, but the man to whom I hand it may take it primarily as a store of value, and proceed to hoard it. Or, he may use it in any of the possible permutations and combinations of its functions, of which by algebraic rule there are a great many. Hence, people cannot tell surely what a given use of money will do. The confused and differing opinions of bankers and economists is one example of this uncertainty. If in talking you used words which each had five or six different meanings, you could be sure of only one thing, that your auditors would misunderstand you and be confused. So the use of money confuses men's minds and emotions and motives. In dealing with thoughts and emotions, even more than when dealing with things, it is important to be clear. This confusion in the money tool creates greater difficulties than would a many-functioned purely material tool. This confusion makes the abuse of money easy, and its control difficult. In regard to the social problems of money the common man is bewildered and helpless.

The wisest historians tell us that man learns very, very slowly or perhaps not at all from his past history. Yet he has made great advances. The advances have come when he has invented a new tool, or a new discipline, or discovered and stated a law of Nature or of spirit, or when he has made improvements in any of these tools, disciplines or statements. Many of his tools are material, such as the wheel or the telephone, enabling him to use more effectively the external forces of Nature. Some of the tools are intangible, such as intellectual concepts; or partly intangible and partly tangible, such as symbols, enabling him to use more effectively his inner forces of mind and

emotion. Indeed, disciplines and statements of the laws of Nature or of spirit are also in the nature of tools. So we may say that man has progressed by inventing tools, external or internal.

Money is one of these tools, in its modern forms partly tangible and partly intangible. Its immense importance we all know. I believe that an improvement in this tool and symbol would enable the human race to take a great step forward.

Money is a commonplace of our environment. Being an artificial thing it is not used instinctively and unconsciously as we breathe air, but always consciously and for deliberate purposes. Yet such thought as we give to it is rather mechanical, exterior and descriptive. We talk about what we do or should do with it, overlooking usually what it may be doing with us. We have learned that physical environment influences man; we can appreciate how intangible forces of history and customs have shaped men, especially those of other nations than our own. We ourselves have been moulded by the tools we use, but it is not so easy to realize clearly in what way and to what extent. We tend to forget that any means which we constantly use not only determines the character of the end actually achieved but also modifies our character in the process. Money is such a tool, such a means, and such an element of our environment. How have we adapted ourselves to it? Has its effect upon us been wholly desirable? If not, can we, as in other well-known instances, alter this part of our environment to our advantage?

To understand this effect of money let us examine in more detail the different things it does.

AS A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

Solely as a medium of exchange, money has been an immense boon to man. It has given him freedom to a degree that probably none of his other inventions have done. Without it he was chained to certain areas and very narrowly circumscribed in what he could eat, wear, possess, do, and learn. Before money was invented life was appallingly monotonous, meagre and oppressive. This function in itself seems to be wholly beneficial, with no drawbacks.¹

1. See *Money Power and Human Life* by Fred Henderson, John Day Co., New York and London, 1933.
Move the Goods (pamphlet) by Stuart Chase, *Ibid.*, 1934.

The Story of Money by Norman Angell, F. A. Stokes Co., New York, 1929, also London.

AS A MEASURE OF VALUE

When we come, however, to the function of measuring value, though that, too, is immensely important and useful, we begin to meet trouble. It is well known that in relation to the things which it will buy, money is a very unstable unit. In 1919 a dollar bought, on the average, only half as much goods as it bought in 1913. By 1927 it had again changed so as to buy about 70% of what it bought in 1913. Smaller ups and downs are going on every day. We refer to this phenomenon as change of prices or fluctuations in the cost of living, but it is just as true to say that the change takes place in the dollar. A loaf of bread has as much physiological value to me now as it had a year ago, but I pay 11 cents for it now as compared with only 10 cents a year ago. If my dollar is a measure of value it ought to stay steady all the time, just as a yardstick or a pound weight does, and measure me out the same quantity of the thing it is designed to measure. In reality it is as if I were using a rubber yardstick, 36 inches long yesterday, 30 inches long today, 41 inches long next week. If shops use false weights and measures, the shopkeepers are heavily fined or put in prison; but the variations in the measure of the value of what we constantly buy and sell do not bring punishment to anyone except the poor old citizens themselves. For purposes of exchange, variations in the value of money are equivalent to variations in every standard of weight and measure. The hardships and injustices thus caused have at present no redress.

Money is intended to measure values, that is to say, what people desire, and people's desires change from time to time. But in regard to quantities of personally consumable goods people's desires usually change gradually, —much more slowly than variations in prices.

Could carpenters build decent houses if their foot rules varied in length from day to day? Could engineers build safe bridges or dams if their measuring chains were elastic? Could scientists or mechanics get valid and lasting results if they used variable units of measurement? Then how can we expect to have a secure and satisfactory economic structure while we use so erratic a unit of value as money? This difficulty is not something that anybody can escape, for this zig-zag measure of value is at the same time our only medium of exchange, so we all have to use it nearly every day and often many times a day.

There is another aspect of this measure function of money. Exchange of goods is an

important characteristic of our civilization. Science has strongly impressed upon us the uses and benefits of measurement, and has taught us how to measure a great many things which formerly were unmeasurable,—e.g., electricity, the distance of stars, the velocity of light. We combine our ideas of exchange and of measurement and we think that almost everything can be measured, and even measured in terms of money. But it is not so. You cannot measure the beauty of the statue of the Buddha at Sarnath with a yardstick; there is no means of measuring goodness or wisdom or personality. All you can do is to appreciate such things. True, people pay large sums for works of art, and assert that they "are worth" so-and-so many thousand rupees but that is not a true measure. Nor can you even accurately measure personal service or work. Certain qualities cannot be expressed in terms of quantity, and certain intangibles cannot adequately or accurately be expressed by tangibles. To apply a money measurement to such things is at best only a rough metaphor.

AS A STORE OF VALUE

When we come to money as a store of value we find another set of difficulties as well as a great advantage. This storage function resulted from the historical origin of money. The first kind of money was not metallic coins or stamped pieces of paper, but cattle or ornaments such as cowrie shells. Later, iron, copper, silver and gold were used as money. In each case the thing chosen had value in men's eyes and was a commodity of trade. Hence for many centuries money has been itself a commodity. We all trade with it, exchanging it for the other things we want. All commodities have their price, of course. The thing exchanged for money, when money is sold, has to be other commodities, though the values of the other commodities are *measured* in money unit terms. Ever since bartering or exchange in kind was abandoned, all prices have been in terms of money.

The money commodity is rented more than any other form of personal property. This rental of money we call loaning or borrowing. The rent price of money is called interest. Those who specialize in the storing and renting of money are called bankers.

Since money is a tangible store of value and hence a commodity, its price, like that of all commodities, fluctuates somewhat according to supply and demand. Probably this cannot be wholly prevented. Fluctuations in the price

of money are the same as fluctuations in the standard measure of value. If we could separate the storage function from the measure and exchange functions, we could greatly reduce these fluctuations in the price of money and prevent immense losses and hardships.

While money is highly useful as a tangible, measurable store of value, nevertheless we need some sort of restraint laid upon it, so that it would not be regarded as the ultimate, absolute value. The state of the arts and sciences constitutes a big slice of real economic value and security for both the individual and community. Yet prior to the arts and sciences and aside from them, a constant and regularly active mutual trust and its manifestation in many forms are the source of economic value and security. This trust in turn rests upon a strong common purpose, and interest and liking of people for one another, and non-violent modes of solving conflict. Such conditions are summarized in the word *peace*. These conditions consist of a combination of inner attitudes and outer activities consistent with the inner feelings. But a money economy makes security depend on individual selfish acquisitiveness instead of on trust. Trust grows when men serve first and foremost the community and the common purpose. There has sometimes been an element of service and community purpose in the making of private fortunes, but it has not often been predominant. Money splits up community security and plays upon men's fears,—fears of the future and of each other's motives, fears that compel them to compete with one another to a harmful degree. Money has worked on us so long that it is now hampering the further development of science, art and technology.²

Since exchange plays a great part in our life, and since money combines the three functions of exchange, measure and storage, we tend to think of money not only as a symbol or a store of value but as itself the supreme value. This idea that money is the supreme value developed into that ancient delusion called Mercantilism, the idea that money is the only real wealth. This in turn is probably responsible for our harmful tariffs, the common reluctance to import as much or more than we export, the fear of "an adverse balance of trade."

In former days economic security depended much more upon the mutual support afforded by the institutions of family, community, clan,

2. See *The Frustration of Science* by Sir Daniel Hall and others, Allen & Unwin, London, 1935.

tribe, caste, or church. Those institutions constituted the store of social and economic value for the individual as well as for society as a whole. Religion supplied the deeper moral and spiritual values. Now that all those institutions have weakened, we have tried to fill the need for a store of value by means of money. It is quite likely, however, that the actual process was the other way around,—that the use of money for this purpose did not come about because the old securities and values had decayed, but that the use of money was one of the important causes of the breakdown of those institutional forms of security and value.

Nowadays we have to possess and use money in order to exist. Since it is the store of value and seems to be the one sure means to economic security and to the survival of human life, people rank it above all other prizes. For example, people will risk their health in order to make money because money will buy the services of doctors, nurses and hospitals. Again, men will sometimes commit crimes and breaches of trust in order to win money. With money they can acquire prestige, high social position and always the services of skilled lawyers. It has even been suggested that sometimes police, district attorneys, or juries can be purchased and judges influenced by the power and prestige of money. So the attainment of money wealth seems to some worth the risk of honour and character. Money seems the supreme value. In a civilization based on exchange, money is the primary means to power.

As Simmel³ pointed out money makes possible great secrecy. By means of it one can hide vast wealth in very small space. This secrecy of money disguises many of its harmful aspects.

Because money is a store of value it becomes a symbol with emotional content. For purely rational purposes, this emotional content is a disadvantage and confuses thought, just as it would confuse science if the terminology of science were poetic and emotional.

MONEY AS A TOOL

About this stage in the discussion some critic might say, "You are making an absurd mistake. You are ascribing all sorts of moral evils to money. Since money is a tool, it can be and is, like other tools, used for both good and evil purposes. The wrong lies not in the inanimate tool, but in the motives of those who use it. You should not criticise the tool, but the evils for which the tool is sometimes used."

To such an argument I would reply that money, because it is a store of value, is a very special kind of tool, not wholly outside men's minds and desires. It is so dependent on understanding and convention that it is partly intangible, partly almost living. Economic values are closely intertwined with physical existence and with the higher ranges of human life, and so become moral as well as economic values. The function of storage of values is inherently moral. Exchange, saving, credit, economic power and security are moral as well as economic affairs. Although the a-morality of Nature may be maintained as a logical proposition, man's tools and symbols cannot be wholly divested of moral quality and moral effect, because they are his own creation and used for his purposes. They partake of his nature.

The economic and moral realms, like any other two levels of reality, are not wholly separate. For intellectual convenience we distinguish between them, just as we distinguish between the front and back of a man's head, but they are not wholly unrelated. Life recognizes connections and wholes which intellectual analysis may for certain purposes want to keep distinct. The connections between morality and economics may be so subtle that they are not always immediately apparent. Nevertheless, the different levels are organically connected, and the connections do operate in the long run, and often fairly soon. Money as a part of our environment and as a part of our thoughts does affect our moral relationships. And because money in its present forms has inherent defects, bad moral results of its use are inevitable. If a defective semi-automatic telegraph machine transmitted words different from those which were intended, misunderstandings and confusion at the receiving end must result.

AS TRANSFERER OF VALUE

The ability of money to transfer value from place to place, together with the fact that money is a symbol for trust has made possible the extension of trade, modern industry, modern agriculture and modern mining into almost all parts of the world. Money has increased the external energies of mankind. Money is largely responsible for the immense growth of cities and of urban population over rural population, also for the development of the modern business corporation. It is one of the chief means and perhaps one of the chief causes of the modern wages system. In that system the owners of

3. In his *Philosophie des Geldes*.

capital, for their pecuniary profit, have organized into factories, transport systems, etc. the wage-earners, who are legally free but economically bound. Together with machinery, money has created the so-called triumph of European civilization.

The power of money reaches farther than daily personal contact and common understanding of men can do. Hence finance is definitely irresponsible. For example, the managing director of a Malayan rubber plantation, living in London, may be the kindest of men. Yet because he cannot know the daily events and circumstances of the lives of the Chinese workers on that plantation he can hardly avoid doing them grave injustice by his executive orders.

We know how much trouble it makes for a man to put him in a position of responsibility and yet not give him powers commensurate with his responsibilities. Very soon he gets severely criticised for something which happens within his jurisdiction, but as he is powerless to correct the situation, he resents the injustice done him. Responsibility without corresponding power results in moral wrong. So does power without corresponding responsibility. Money sooner or later always creates a situation of partly irresponsible power.

AS A SYMBOL OF TRUST

Money, especially in its modern paper forms, has become a symbol of credit, that is to say, of human trust, belief and faith. In the course of centuries of the use of symbols their meaning seems often to wear away, leaving only the shell devoid of almost all its original significance. When the meaning is lost, people think and act as if the concrete symbol were more important than the intangible reality which the symbol originally represented. For example, with some Christian church members that has happened to the symbol of the cross. They act as if a cross placed on a building sanctifies that building, forgetting that holiness is a quality built on far different and intangible factors. When a symbol has lost its significance, a means has become an end.

That has happened to money. Nowadays a young man begins life with the thought that he must earn money. If he were wiser he would try always to conduct himself so as to earn people's trust,—trust in his industry, honesty, and skill. He could be sure that having earned the reality—trust—, the symbol of that reality would automatically and inevitably express itself to him. Usually that expression would be in the form of money, but it

might be also in the form of opportunities for work, offers of other positions, etc. Usually, that expression would be fairly direct and prompt, but it might find full expression only years later, or come in roundabout form as a favour to a relative or a friend. I may be watching some boys at play and see one of them do a fine and honorable thing. May be ten years afterward I shall express the trust which his act created in me by recommending him for a job somewhere. Sometimes trust springs into being instantly, but more often it is a plant of slow growth.

If I keep a shop and cheat a customer, I may get his money on that one occasion, but I lose his trust. That means the loss of all his future trade and perhaps that of some of his friends, which would be likely to amount to much more than what I won by the single dishonest transaction. The intangible reality of trust is more important than the concrete symbol of money.

People have made prolonged and careful study of all the details of accounting and finance, and practise them with utmost scrupulousness. Consider such items as allowances for interest, depreciation, obsolescence, repairs, insurance of all sorts, vouchers, receipts, day books, ledgers, profit and loss statements, balancing of accounts, etc. If people were as careful and eager about the details and fineness of creating human feelings of trust and belief as they are about the manipulation of financial symbols, what a happy world we might build!

All these contrasts between the symbol of trust and trust itself do not mean that an honest man can absolve himself from all responsibility and go ahead using money and thinking about it in the same old way. His trustworthiness does not put an end to the defects of money and their moral consequences. Nor does simply trying to be a trustee of one's money for the general welfare take care of many of the difficulties. We must do something more than that about it.

Money can express only a small part of either the quality or extent of human faith and trust. Trust is a sensitive, subtle affair,—a living thing. No man can state in money the quality of his trust in his wife or the extent of his faith in his son. You can of course bet a certain sum that Jones will accomplish a certain project, but that is no accurate or adequate expression of your belief in him. And when people try to express trust or recognition of human service entirely by means of money, the money gravely injures the trust. Like an

axe it cuts the trust from its roots; like a flood it washes away the finer feelings underlying the trust, which give it quality and sustain its existence. This fact is one of the sources of the bitterness among employees which so often distills out of the wage relationship. To express only in terms of money the values of human work and service often humiliates and insults, even though most of us have grown calloused to the affront. And the attempt to express all kinds of trust in terms of money saps the energy of other sorts of trust and wastes them.

SOME RESULTS OF MINGLING OF FUNCTIONS

Out of the association in money of the functions of a symbol of trust, a store of value, and a measure of value comes a quaint bit of incongruity. In no other instance do I store up a great quantity of symbols in order to gain a great amount of the intangible reality which the symbol is supposed to represent, nor do I accumulate many measuring instruments in order to get a great quantity of the thing to be measured. For instance, I do not amass great numbers of national flags in an effort to increase my patriotism; nor do I pile up myriads of crucifixes in a yearning to become holy; nor, again, do I accumulate a great many weighing scales in order to get much weight. Yet that is the sort of thing we do with dollars.

Because the symbol for trust is also a store of value, a financial loan as an expression of trust is also a debt to be paid by the person to whom the trust was expressed. And so the modern expansion of credit is also an expansion of debt. The expansion of credit is not all just pleasure and profit, but gives rise to many troubles and some doubts. Since the functions of store of value and symbol of trust are mingled, there is almost inevitable confusion between wealth and debt, a confusion most useful to the bankers.⁴

Since money was a store of value before modern forms of credit developed, that function is stronger and more persistent and more widely felt than its function of being a symbol of trust. And so when confidence breaks down and we have an economic depression, people begin in a panic to hoard money and retrench and postpone new ventures. That withdraws money from circulation and slows down the circulation

of the remainder. Soon there is so little money in circulation that millions of people are idle, and presently they are on the brink of starvation. They did not stop for a vacation. They wanted to work. Their work was useful, some of it necessary to society. Yet it must stop. If the medium of exchange were separate from the store of value, this grave evil of unemployment need not happen, or at least it would be far less.

The combination of money as an interest-bearing commodity and money as a symbol of credit has made other vast difficulties, dramatically illustrated during the last twenty years. In so-called "good" times men's industrial and commercial enthusiasm runs high and they readily borrow to start and operate great enterprises. Or governments in time of war, when men's patriotism is strong, borrow vast sums. Then comes the depression and there is no wherewithal to pay interest on the large debts. So private businesses go bankrupt and undergo what they call "reorganizations"; while governments declare a moratorium or compound with their creditors or flatly repudiate their debts. Or they devalue their currencies in order to lighten the burden of debt and interest payments. There has been so much of that in the last twenty years that now almost all interest payments have been scaled down to a half or a third of what was formerly customary. Even the rate of interest is considerably lowered. This means that capitalism, founded on the sanctity of contracts, is weakening partly because people cannot live up to their contracts to pay money; and they cannot live up to their money contracts partly because of the institution of interest. Here again is an instance of trouble because of the mixture of functions of money. A suitable reform of money might save much of the superstructure of society.

HOW MONEY MAKES BANKERS POWERFUL

I have mentioned bankers as being storers and renters of the money commodity. Because money is much more than a necessary commodity, and because they have become so skilful in operating this symbol, bankers are much more than its lessors and storage warehouse keepers. Being in a position of great power, they announce whether they do or do not believe in a certain enterprise. If they believe in it they issue to its promoters the symbols of their belief. Thus bankers create money and manipulate it. This creation and issue of credit money is indeed the chief business of bankers. As inventors and nurses of the newer forms of

4. See *Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt* by Frederick Soddy, Allen & Unwin, London, 1926.

Money Versus Man, London, and E. P. Dutton, New York, 1933.

Money, Power and Human Life by Fred Henderson, John Day, New York, 1933, also London.

money they have arbitrarily established some of the rules of its operation. But not all these rules were made by the bankers. Most of the modes of operation of symbols grow inevitably and necessarily out of the inner nature of the symbols or the assumptions upon which they are based. In algebra there are a few basic assumptions or rules about x , y , and z , and the whole body of algebra grows inevitably out of the logic of those initial assumptions or characteristics of the symbols. And in checkers or chess there are certain initial rules as to how the pieces shall move and as to the purpose of the game. All the complex game follows automatically. So it is with money. I believe that a number of so-called "economic laws" are merely the result of the particular logic of this set of symbols and counters called money. But the multiplicity of functions of money makes the basic assumptions very complex, so the resulting "economic laws" are not only very limited statements of probability but also are often mutually contradictory and confused in operation.

One of the inherent characteristics of man, a characteristic which separates him from all other animals, is his use of symbols. He has used symbols from pre-historic times. Gestures, dances, pictures, signs, words, numbers, flags, emblems, dress, architecture,—all are symbols as well as having other functions. Without symbols of some sort, probably man could not think or at least his thinking could be only rudimentary, his emotions would be scanty, and his actions but few and simple. Symbols are our chief and probably earliest intellectual and emotional tools. The psychologists tell us that symbols are stimulators and carriers of energy. The use of national flags in war time is a vivid example. Or you may say that symbols are not merely understood. They are believed in. And so, because belief always results in action or influences it, symbols cause action. Symbols also organize unawares our feeling, thinking and action. We readily perceive that machines and material tools organize our action and establish many of our habits. Symbols, as emotional and intellectual tools, act in the same way, though more subtly. We cannot do without symbols, but to use them safely and make progress we should frequently examine and criticize them, and occasionally correct and revise.

As a symbol money stimulates and carries energy. See how creative financial credit has been. And as an organizer of certain forms of thought, sentiment and action, money has played a special formative part in the develop-

ment of industrial production, commerce, transport, communications and of government itself. It has strongly influenced men's minds and inner attitudes, even their appearance. In an illustrated supplement of a *Sunday New York Times* the photographs of about a dozen Japanese business-men and financiers showed expressions not typically Japanese at all, but just like the expressions on the faces of a dozen American or British men of the same occupation.

Because of the immense importance of symbols in the conscious and unconscious life of man, it is clear that those who are skilled in the manipulation of our symbols control our thinking, emotions, sentiments, our actions, our whole lives. Of this we are not clearly and vividly aware, and so those who thus control are not usually held responsible. Money is our prime economic symbol, and those who have superior skill in its manipulation control our lives and all our institutions. A sign of the power of money is the grandeur of bank buildings and offices. They are as ornate for this age as the cathedrals were in the middle ages. Money is one of the most powerful social controls in modern western civilization, ranking with private property in land and organized State violence in the form of armies and police. It might be argued that money has perverted the whole principle and operation of private property, and has been an important cause of evil results from machinery. Because of the stimulating and habit-forming power of conscious daily use, money is perhaps now the most powerful of these social controls. But unless a powerful social control is intrinsically accurate and unambiguous, and ethical in its very operation, its continued use will gravely injure and perhaps destroy society.

Perhaps one reason why our economic-social system is so tough and tenacious, despite the immense shocks and dislocations of wars, depressions and revolutions, is that man has to use symbols and to have some medium of exchange.

Many economic authorities state that we have solved the main problems of production, and that the great task now is to solve the problems of distribution. Money as the common medium of exchange plays a big part here, and a correction of its defects would be of great assistance.

MONEY HARMS ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

Because money is both an impersonal tool and a necessary medium of exchange, it has

caused our economic relationships to become impersonal. We trade with people of whom we may not approve morally, or of whom we are perfectly ignorant, or to whom we are personally wholly indifferent. This fact, together with the great scale of modern industry, has deprived the relation of employer and employee of most of its human element. The relationship has in great measure become mechanical and impersonal. Adding to that fact the driving power and speed of modern machinery, the time-table scheduling of productive processes and transportation, plus the pressure for money profits, we find we have created an industrial discipline as severe and rigid as that of the army. The employee must obey order strictly and be quick about it or he loses his job. He feels himself to be, and in fact is, only a cog in the vast machine. He is only a means to an end. That fact is a humiliation and insult to his personality. Some are too callous to feel it, but the rise of labour unions is evidence of the depth and strength of employees' resentment. Money must bear its due share of responsibility for this feeling and the ensuing conflicts.

Inasmuch as money, because of its mingling of functions, has come to be regarded by most people as the supreme value, we must not be surprised that employers under pressure of keen competition set money above human values. We must not even resent it. If we rig our economic system so that, in order to keep going, a business has to show a profit on the books in terms of our present kind of money, inevitably employers will in time of stress cut wages rather than profits. They *must* do so, and can hardly be blamed for it. Some few employers, by exceptional efficiency and unusual wisdom, can postpone this step, but not permanently. In the long run, if we retain our present form and mingled functions of money, this sort of exploitation probably cannot be prevented by governmental or socialistic controls of any sort. By those means exploitation may

be delayed a few years, but the intrinsic character of money, acting upon human nature, *must* work out in spite of exterior restrictions. Since the Soviet Republic has not altered the internal structure and functions of money, we shall, in course of time, I believe, see these results come there also. The use of this kind of money tool determines the eventual nature of the economic system.

MAN IS GOVERNED BY IDEAS

Man lives by truth as he sees it. He always has done so and always will. His sentiments and even his emotions are always coloured or moulded by a thought element. He is the only animal whose action is controlled by thought, whose nervous system is so organized that discriminative movement is initiated not from the lower nerve ganglions, nor from even the thalamus or striatum, but from the cortex, the forebrain, the part of the brain where thinking is done. Because of this anatomical fact, man is governed by his ideas and necessarily seeks the truth. When he makes big intellectual mistakes, the result in conduct is gravely harmful. The violence and disillusionment of the present day is probably due to the gaps and misconceptions of Darwinism and earlier physics.⁵ Because of the usual time lag, the great majority of people have not absorbed the implications of recent biology, paleontology and physics, and so the concepts of Darwinism still prevail. Misconceived Darwinism justified war. So even the terrors of war and breakdown of civilization show that man follows the truth as he sees it.

We are following our vision of the truth, and we have created money, an intellectual tool necessary to our present mode of existence, but it is inadequate, inaccurate, ambiguous, and false. It has betrayed us.

(To be concluded.)

5. See Gerald Heard: *The Third Morality*—Cassell, London, and Morrow, New York, 1937.



DEMOCRACY AND PUBLIC OPINION

BY RAI BAHADUR BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI

MR. H. G. WELLS in his dissertation on the failure of democracy has come to the conclusion that democracy can only function and function efficiently if it is worked by intellectual people animated by the sole motive of service and pure zeal for public welfare. For a democracy to function we need dedicated souls. It has not been possible for many States and social organisms to evolve such a type. Much of the discredit which democracy has had to shoulder originates in the perversity of the agents employed. The true type can only be evolved, however, by educated public sense and watchful public opinion with strenuous efforts to raise standards in private as well as in public life. Though it can hardly be questioned that democracy is the best system that raises the spiritual and the intellectual stature of the people, unfortunately it is a fact that in most of the States a group arises which exploits the general helplessness of the people and in the name of democracy satisfies personal ambition. It is either the individual or the caucus that monopolises power, monopolises the Press, advertises itself before the public and uses the machinery for personal aggrandisement. India has voted for democracy and rightly so. But it has to be perpetually on its guard if it is to see that democracy functions really for the good of all and not for the personal aggrandisement of one or a few. Unfortunately many things seem to be contributing here to corrupt the public *morale* and set up in public life a very low standard of morality. If democracy is not to be a fraud, if political evolution is not to be a make-believe, it is time that public sense should be organised to work against the corruption of public *morale* and the weakening of the standard of public morality.

It is unfortunately the experience of history that if principles are permitted to be lowered and corruption be permitted to creep in, it is a tremendous task to raise the standard again. The cancer infects the tissues. It is difficult to eradicate. The disease of moral tissues is still more dangerous—it infects the very air we breathe. Here as elsewhere prevention is better than cure. There are portents that we see all about. It is time that public sense should be

roused against these insidious tendencies and carry on a relentless, uncompromising fight with all that tends to lower the standard of public morality and graft in public institutions.

In every country the danger exists. If however, its growth is to be thwarted, the country must develop within it the power to fight against the growth of immoral or non-democratic tendencies in public life. It can hardly be denied that in the course of 50 years the standard of public morality in this country has gone down. Civic and political powers on the other hand have increased. It is useless for me to trace the causes or analyse the reasons, but I note the fact and I trust the public will agree with me that it is a fact. As noted, the tendency exists in every country. Self-interest is inherent in human nature. This self-interest does function and it is functioning. When Lord Birkenhead in his rectoral speech said that "the motive of self-interest was, is and must be always the main-spring of human action," he invited attacks from various platforms. But in the interest of truth, it must be stated that, though the statement was not wholly true, yet it was largely true. Social organism bent upon evolution must accept the contention that self-interest plays a great part in human affairs, but attempts must continue to be made to sublimate this self-interest and harness it to better and better purposes till it loses itself in greater and still greater self. It seems to me that it is high-time that public opinion in this country should be on its guard, organise itself and be ruthless in its campaign against all these tendencies discussed above.

Public life has its idealistic as well as its realistic side. It is easy to form ideals. It is difficult to practise them in the real or in the concrete forms. It is essential, therefore, to standardise certain principles of business and make them into rules of conduct so far as particular institutions of the public are concerned. In a recent visit to England I interested myself in looking into the Metropolitan Borough Council election that was going on at the time. The Labour Party, which today in the main represents the democratic attitude more than most others, carried the polls. After the election

was over the London Labour Party drew up a Memorandum for the guidance of the Metropolitan Borough Council Labour Parties and individual Aldermen and Councillors. Through the goodness of the Labour Party I was favoured with a copy of the memorandum. I quote that here to show the principles which the Party seems to be insisting upon. Party organisations are being formed in this country. They need to know that other people bent on the betterment of their institutions to make them function for the greatest good and for the greatest number, are evolving sets of principles they must adhere to in the discharge of their public duties.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE GUIDANCE OF METROPOLITAN
BOROUGH COUNCIL LABOUR PARTIES AND INDIVIDUAL
LABOUR ALDERMEN AND COUNCILLORS

FOLLOWING the precedent of 1934, the Executive Committee of the London Labour Party consider it desirable to circulate guidance to Labour members of Metropolitan Borough Councils as soon as practicable after the elections of November 1. In doing so, it desires to extend its hearty congratulations to all those members of the Party who will participate in the administration of the Powers and duties of the Metropolitan Boroughs. Part of the advice we tender will only be applicable to Boroughs with a Labour majority.

BUSINESS OF THE FIRST PARTY MEETING

Immediate steps will no doubt be taken by the acting Chief Whip or Leader of the Borough Council Labour Party to convene a meeting of Labour Borough Councillors. The Business of this meeting will, we imagine, be on the lines of the following Agenda.

1. ELECTION OF PARTY OFFICERS :

- (a) Chairman and Leaders;
- (b) Chief Whip;
- (c) Junior Whips (if any) according to the size of the Party.

2. ELECTION OF POLICY COMMITTEE (IF ANY)

It is a matter for consideration, partly influenced by the size of the Party on the Council, whether a Policy Committee should be appointed, the function of which would be to initiate, work out, and advise the Party as to the policy to be pursued on the Council, and to consider references from the Party on the Council. If the Party has a majority, the Committee would probably consist of the Chairman of Committees, together with Party Officers; if the Party is in a minority, perhaps the most convenient thing would be for it to be constituted by the Labour members of the General Purposes Committee, who would be subject to election by the Party; or for the Party to elect the Policy Committee as such. In any case, the officers of the Party on the Council should be included in its membership.

3. LABOUR REPRESENTATION ON COMMITTEES AND, IF IN
A MAJORITY, DECISIONS AS TO CHAIRMEN AND
VICE-CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES

There is much to be said for decisions as to Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of committees being arrived at by the Party on the recommendation of the Officers or the Policy Committee rather than by the Party proceeding at once to what might be the accidental results of

nomination in the ordinary way. In any case, care should be taken not to appoint as Chairmen or Vice-Chairmen of committees, members who have interests or associations which might appear to influence them wrongly in carrying out their public duties.

4. TO CONSIDER AS TO THE DATE AND TIME OF
REGULAR PARTY MEETINGS

These should take place at a generally convenient time between the issue of the Council Agenda and the meeting of the Council. It is important that such meetings should be regularly held so that all members can have a voice in considering the business of the Council, otherwise it may be difficult for discipline to be enforced. Ordinarily, members of the Party should abide by Party decisions but where matters of conscience are involved (for example, temperance, religion, etc.), or where the Council is acting in a quasi-judicial capacity, the Party should consider allowing members to abstain from voting, or decide that the Whips should be taken off.

Members should not take individual action in the Council outside Party decisions without consulting the Party or one or more of its officers.

5. DECISIONS AS TO MAYOR AND DEPUTY MAYOR
(IF ANY) AND ALDERMEN

If the Party is in a majority, these matters will have to be considered; and even if it is in a minority it will no doubt seek to obtain a proportion of the Aldermen in relation to its elected strength on the Council. Wherever possible, it is desirable to establish the tradition that in ordinary circumstances there should be a proportionate relationship between the strength of the groups of elected Councillors and the total number of Borough Aldermen.

The aim of the Party should be to secure the services of the most appropriate people as Mayor, Deputy Mayor, or Aldermen, so that the duties may be well discharged, and so that Aldermen may be a source of additional strength, in ability as well as numbers, to the Party on the Council. The effectiveness of the work of the Party and the best possible service to the public are the big considerations to have in mind.

GRIEVANCES OF STAFF AND EMPLOYEES

It is wise to agree upon and to observe a strict rule that, except in the case of Chief Officers and other special cases, grievances on the part of staff and employees and general conditions of labour shall only be dealt with on the representation of the appropriate national or London District official of the Trade Union or other representative organization concerned, or such other machinery as exists with the concurrence of the responsible Trade Union organizations, which representation should ordinarily be addressed to the appropriate Chief Officer of the Council. Individuals making complaints to members of the Council should accordingly be referred to this decision, or to the relevant Standing Orders of the Council. Any other policy encourages back-sairs action and weakens the status of the trade unions.

With regard to general labour conditions it will be found that there are in existence Joint Industrial Councils and other forms of negotiating machinery between the local authorities and the trade unions. It is desirable for this machinery to be used.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Every endeavour should be made to see that the procedure of the Council and its committees in dealing with the appointment and promotion of staff and employees should be calculated to serve the public

interest and promote the efficiency of the Council's administration.

The Party should agree, and members should be required most strictly to abide by the decision, that persons making an application to members of the Council for employment should be informed that their application must be addressed to the appropriate Chief Officer of the Council, and that it is contrary to good policy for members of the Council to intervene to secure appointments for individuals. Should any members disregard this rule, they would be imperilling the good name of the Labour Party, and would be deserving of the strictest censure and even the withdrawal of the Whip.

Should applicants make efforts, when the Council or any committee is considering applications for office or employment, to secure a preference by approaching Councillors, they should be disqualified, and any indirect influence by friends sternly discouraged. No consideration, other than the suitability of candidates for posts, should influence appointments.

It is strongly recommended that the Party Leader and the Chief Whip should meet the Chief Officers and impress upon them that, in these and other matters, members have been asked to act accordingly, and that any Chief or other officer who considers representations from members, other than official discussions at Council or committee meetings, in favour of the appointment or promotion of particular persons, will be guilty of action disloyal to the Council and to the citizens, and will be dealt with accordingly. The answer of Chief or other officers to such representations from members should be that they cannot receive or consider them, and that if the member wishes to complain he can raise the matter at the appropriate committee of the Council.

The appointment of relatives of members of the Council to positions under the Council, even though justified on merits in particular cases, is open to grave misunderstanding. In the case of large authorities, where entry to the service is by competitive examination and appointments are adequately safeguarded from political or personal influence, the objection may not hold within proper limits. Otherwise, there is much to be said for the adoption of an appropriate standing order on the matter. Following is text of a standing order enforced at Deptford for some years, which we are advised has worked satisfactorily in that Borough:

"No person who has been a member of the Council shall be eligible for any office in the gift or under the appointment of the Council until three Calendar months after such person shall have ceased to be a member. No father, son, or daughter, of any member of the Council shall be eligible for any office or situation in the gift or appointment of the Council, or for entering into any contract with or doing any kind of work directly or indirectly for the Council."

If such a Standing Order be adopted, it is very doubtful whether the three months so mentioned is sufficient. It should also be laid down that canvassing for any appointment should be a disqualification.

In all these matters it is essential that a Labour Council's administration shall not only be above-board, but shall be fully recognized as such by the public at large.

RELATIONS WITH OFFICERS AND STAFF

The relationship of members of the Council with officers (including Chief Officers) staff and employees, in connection with the Council's business should be one of mutual respect, but not of personal intimacy. Every municipal officer has his defined executive respon-

sibilities; members of the Council have theirs and they are collectively (not individually) supreme in the control of the Council. For these respective responsibilities there should be mutual respect, but the relationship should be on a strictly business footing. Members should not accept from or give to officers, staff and employees of the Council, hospitality or favours. The place for decisions as to the Council's business is the Town Hall.

RELATIONS WITH CONTRACTORS

Members should be particularly careful to be absolutely independent of any contractors who have or may have business with the Council. They should be kept beyond arm's length, and the officers should be expected to maintain a similarly correct relationship with contractors.

MEMBERS "INTERESTED" IN COUNCIL BUSINESS

In so far as members of a Borough Council have a personal (e.g., pecuniary) interest in matters dealt with by the Council or its committees it is desirable that they should declare their interest to the committee concerned or the Town Clerk, and should not participate in the proceedings of the Council or its committees on such matters.

It is undesirable for members of the Council in their private or professional capacities to act in any matter in opposition to the Council, and in any case the Town Clerk should be notified by the member concerned if he or she is so involved.

GENERALLY

The London Labour Party Executive desires to state that the foregoing advice is issued with a sincere desire to help the new Borough Council Labour Parties to commence their duties in the best possible circumstances. The Labour Movement generally has earned honourable respect for the rectitude of its public work; that tradition must be scrupulously maintained. If errors have occurred in the past, or wrong things have been done under preceding Tory Councils, a clean start must at once be made to keep things right for the future.

The Executive Committee could in no case defend improper practices or influences in public administration; indeed, if wrong practices were proved, it would not feel able to refrain from joining in exposure and public condemnation, and it reserves the right to take whatever action it may deem appropriate.

The Executive desires to add, that the machinery of the London Labour Party is always available for the collective consideration of the problems of the Borough Council Labour Parties, and that the office or Executive is at all times willing to give advice or counsel to members or Parties in any problem that may arise. Indeed it is desirable for consultation to take place on policy which is particularly difficult or of exceptional importance.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee of the London Labour Party.

HAROLD CLAY,
Chairman.
ALFRED SALTEN,
Treasurer.
HERBERT MORRISON,
Secretary.

I would draw the particular attention of people interested in civic affairs to the principles laid down under the head of

grievances of staff and employees, appointments and promotion, relations with officers and staff, relations with contractors and people interested in Council business. Each one of these points has come in for public discussion in this country. It is right and proper that we should see how others seem to look at these points. Institutions in this country are unfortunately drifting into the hands of groups of individuals and caucuses by whom in the name of democracy most autocratic and ruthless powers are being exercised. People anxious to do service are rigidly kept out. The caucus would not admit either its powers being shared by others or its proceedings being analysed by disinterested people. There is always something hidden in the cupboard. It is time that public organisations should be exposed to the public gaze by being made to work in the open, and they

should function for the greatest good and for the greatest number. I would submit again and submit with respect that if nefarious practices are permitted to take root it will be all up with democracy, however much we may shout its name or dangle its form to deceive the people. The constituents of the institutions, the electors in the main, can bring about changes, if they will. It is to their own interests that they should. Vested interests will all be up against reform. They die but to live again. Courage, honesty, unflinching devotion to public causes must, however, win their way. Democratic Institutions on modern lines are in their infancy in India today. They need zealous watch, if they are not to die before they grow or get diseased before they advance. Public opinion and public sense need to be organised and stirred.

ADVANTAGES OF TUBE-WELL IRRIGATION WHERE FACILITIES OF FLOW-IRRIGATION ARE NOT AVAILABLE

BY BIDHU BHUSAN GHOSH, B.E., C.E. (Cal.), A.M.I.E.T. (London)

1. GENERAL OUTLOOK OF INDIA'S ECONOMIC LIFE
AMONGST the civilized countries of the world India has the highest percentage of people dependent on agriculture. The outstanding peculiarity of Indian economic life is that 75% of her total population obtain their livelihood from agriculture and allied occupations. She is predominantly an agricultural country rich in soil, mineral products, forests and various other natural resources, with 89% of her population as rural.

The economics of a country dependent to so great an extent as India on agriculture mean dependence on rains; and if the rains fail there is widespread distress, involving the majority of the people. At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms the sole occupation of the masses of the population. The reason behind this is that though the agriculture forms the mainstay of the Indians, yet it is in India that we find agriculture in its worst state of development,

suffering from serious drawbacks. Illiteracy of the agriculturists, want of scientific knowledge and latest development in machineries suited for agriculture, extreme dependence in the vagaries of nature, especially on rainfall, uneconomic holding in the nature of sub-division and fragmentation of land and necessarily not susceptible of large-scale operations—all these (to mention only a few of many factors) characterize Indian agriculture which is antiquarian in its methods and undeveloped in many respects. Rainfall however, is the chief factor which accounts for the success or failure of crops every year.

Speaking of Indian peasants it has been said that out of every three year that passes, one is uncertain, another is characterized by excessive rainfall resulting in flood with all its shocking incidents, and the other suffering from drought. Indian peasants are oftentimes rendered helpless victims to the onslaughts of famine and flood and these natural calamities both resulting from the uncertainties of rainfall raise a heavy toll on human lives.

2. FACTORS DETERMINING THE VALUE AND USE OF IRRIGATION

The main factor determining the value and use of Irrigation in any part of India, whether from a purely productive or famine protective point of view, are the rainfall, the soil and the class of crops suited to the soil, climate and other local conditions. The rainfall may be abundant and assured as to render irrigation superfluous and even injurious, or though ordinarily sufficient it may be so liable to periodical failure or unreasonable incidence as to call for irrigation as protective against its uncertainties; or it may in all years be so scanty as to make cultivation impossible without artificial waterings.

3. DIFFERENT TYPES OF IRRIGATION AND THEIR LIMITS OF EXTENT

Irrigation, briefly speaking, means artificial waterings through some constructions. These are called "Works of Irrigation" or briefly "Irrigation Works." The term includes works of many varieties and magnitudes, ranging from the crude contrivance which enables the cultivator by swinging a basket to raise water from a pond to the huge embankments of earth or masonry holding behind it a lake or river of many square miles; or from the small temporary wells, a mere hole in the ground lined with brushwood, to the great canal which carrying for some hundreds of miles a volume of water equal to that of large-sized river, delivers it into a network of smaller channels for the irrigation of over a million acres.

The irrigation works of India may be divided into three main classes: (i) canals (ii) tank and (iii) wells.

The main conditions imposing a limit to the extent of irrigation by the first two classes are:

- (1) The geographical and seasonal distribution of rainfall.
- (2) The physical configuration of the country.
- (3) The difficulty of holding up water stored in years of abundant rainfall as a provision against a year of drought.
- (4) The large number of different states and territories into which the country is divided and subdivided.

In its geographical distribution rainfall displays a diversity which is said to be without parallel in any other country in the world. Leaving mere questions of distance and cost out of consideration, the general contour levels of the country will frequently offer an insuperable obstacle to the transfer of water from

regions of copious and assured rainfall to those where it is scanty and capricious. The seasonal character of rainfall also prevents its economical storage and use.

The general conformation of the surface adds still further difficulty and cost of storage. On the flat surface of the alluvial plains of Northern India, storage on any considerable scale is almost impossible. If we allow for evaporation and percolation, it involves generally the submission of an area at least as large as that which would receive benefit from the water.

There are no means of predicting a year of drought, and any attempt to hold up over water, even from one year to the next, would entail the loss of an enormous proportion of the supply by 'evaporation' and 'percolation.'

The numberless territorial divisions of the country and the manner in which various states and territories are intermingled have also been a material obstacle in the past to the development of irrigation. The only suitable site for storage work may lie in a territory whose people would not only derive no benefit but might even be put to considerable loss and inconvenience by the construction of the work; or the full utilization of an available supply may only be possible by the co-operation of two or more states which are unwilling to combine.

All these factors have urged the irrigation engineers to welcome and take recourse to the last one i.e., well irrigation, as the most efficient means for irrigation.

4. ADVANTAGES AND PROGRESS OF IRRIGATION FROM SUB-SOIL WATER BY MEANS OF TUBE-WELLS

The extraction of water from the sub-soil for irrigation is not of course a new departure. In the early records of the peoples of India dating back to many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, there are frequent references to this practice of Irrigation. Wells have been in use from time immemorial and most of the almost innumerable wells which are found in Southern India have been in existence for many generations; two, in the Chingleput district of Madras, which still irrigate a considerable area are referred to in the inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries.

The great importance of wells as sources of irrigation may be gathered from the fact that they supply water to more than 25% of the total irrigated area and to nearly one-half of the total area irrigated by private works;

and their immense value in years of drought, from the fact that in the famine year of 1896-97, the area under well irrigation rose at once by nearly two-and-a-half million acres, while that under tanks fell by nearly one-and-a-half million. And again in 1899-1900, notwithstanding that in many parts the well supply had begun to fail owing to succession of dry years, well irrigation rose by more than a million acres, while from tanks diminished. Some of the most interesting statistical facts relating to well irrigation are summarised in the table given below :

| Province | Number of wells used for Irrigation | | | Gross area irrigated in a normal year in acres | | % of gross cropped area under well-irrigation |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--|------------------|---|
| | Permanent | Temporary | Total | Total | Average Per well | |
| Punjab | 275,000 | 74,000 | 349,000 | 3,750,000 | 10·7 | 13 |
| United Provinces | 500,000 | 830,000 | 1,330,000 | 5,731,000 | 4·3 | 14 |
| Madras | 626 280 | — | 626 280 | 2,000,000 | 3·2 | 5 |
| Bombay | 254,000 | — | 254,000 | 650,000 | 2·6 | 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ |
| Central Provinces | 14,000 | 42,000 | 56,000 | 77,000 | 1·4 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |

The above figures relating to the distribution of well irrigation are exceedingly striking. Out of a total of 13 million acres irrigated from wells in British Territory, no less than 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions are found in the two Northern Provinces. In the Central Provinces there is next to no well irrigation. South of this there are some 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ million acres, of which roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ are in Madras and $\frac{1}{4}$ in Bombay. This distribution of well irrigation is of course, far from accidental. The most favourable conditions are found in the alluvial plains of Northern India, the sub-soil of which contains an inexhaustible supply of water.

In the Punjab, where the great bulk of irrigation is carried on from permanent wells, the area irrigated by a well averages as much as 11 acres while in some districts double that area is watered from a single well. There are individual wells which water as much as 50 acres. In the United Provinces also large areas are watered from permanent wells.

With regard to Bengal, although the statistical information is partial and meagre, it has been ascertained that, except in the west of Bihar there is little or no well irrigation. Eastern Bengal is a vast sheet of unending rice crops, and despite the teeming population,

there is no need for intensive cultivation or for irrigation of any kind.

In the rice districts of Bihar the crops are subject to failure occasionally extremely widespread and severe. Wells, nevertheless, were formerly little appreciated.

Owing to the great utility of well irrigation the Agricultural Engineering Sections of Provincial Departments of Agriculture have for the last decade chiefly been occupied with this branch of agricultural engineering—mainly with the better utilization of underground water supplies and the improvements of 'lift irriga-

tion.' The enormous scope of such work is obvious from the fact that of the 50 million acres or so irrigated annually in British India, only about 25 million acres is irrigated from canals, the remainder being watered from wells, tanks and other sources; moreover, the area under irrigated cultivation is only about one-fifth of the total area sown.

There are however several comparative advantages of irrigation from tube-wells to that from ordinary masonry wells and these have led the Agricultural and Irrigation Engineers to adopt the former means of irrigation as an improvement of the latter.

An ordinary masonry well cannot be sunk to a very great depth and if so done, it will entail a heavy expenditure. Moreover, whereas an ordinary masonry well will usually only yield from 2,000 to 4,000 gallons of water per hour, as much as 71,000 gallons per hour have been obtained from a tube-well.

The reasons for this are as follows :

(a) The sub-soil is not one homogeneous mass but is composed of layers of materials such as alternating strata of sand and clay with occasional beds of *kanker*, and while they effectively prevent the vertical flow of

water through the sand they have little effect upon the horizontal flow.

The bottom of a masonry well can only be presented to one stratum of sand, whereas a tube-well penetrating more deeply into the ground, passes through and taps several water-yielding strata.

(b) The velocity of inflow depends on the Infiltration Head. This can be made much greater in a tube-well because, in a tube-well, a perforated screen is provided to prevent the displacement of the surrounding sand, and the critical velocity of inflow and consequently the yield can be increased.

In an ordinary masonry well no such mechanical device is provided, and, if the volume of water drawn off is such as to cause an excessive Infiltration Head, the critical velocity of inflow will be exceeded, with the result that the sand will boil or blow in with the water, causing cavitation, with consequent danger to the structure of the well.

The maximum Infiltration Head for an ordinary well, is coarse sand 7 to 8 feet, normal sand 6 feet, fine sand still less. An Infiltration Head of 26 feet, has been applied to a tube-well without harmful results.

The advantages of irrigation from tube-wells as compared with the ordinary method of irrigation from canals are that an area could be developed in accordance with the demand, that there is no large initial outlay, that the capital outlay per cusec of water used for irrigation is less than under weir control system and that water is available as and when required. The cultivator has to pay on volumetric basis.

Thus the better utilization of the smaller local sources of irrigation by the improvement of wells i.e., by the construction of more efficient types of tube-wells and the improvements of water-lifting appliances for wells and tanks, has occupied the attention of agricultural and irrigation engineers in most provinces and the utility has been considerably increased by the subartesian bores and the installation of power pumps of standardized pattern and the latest departure consists in the fact that it is being undertaken by means of electrically operated tube-wells on a large scale.

As is natural, most progress in the better use of underground water supplies has been made in the Indo-Gangetic plain.

The largest scheme of this nature is the Ganges Hydroelectric Scheme in the United Provinces. That scheme would command an area of 1,300 square miles of agricultural

country and would supply electric power at cheap rates primarily for irrigation and agricultural purposes.

In the United Provinces where strainer tube-wells construction has been in progress on a large scale for a number of years and where over 200 large tube-wells suitable for power pumping plant and over 200 small ones had been installed for private individuals up to the year 1929 the position has since been carefully reviewed and a considerable reorganization of the agricultural engineering sections undertaken. In addition to the preparation of the detailed projects which include estimates of running charges as well as of capital cost, actual tests of each strainer are now undertaken before the pumping plant is selected. These tests include the accurate measurement of discharge of the tube and of the depression in water level during pumping, so that suitable pumping machinery may be selected which will utilize the water-supply fully but will not permit of an undue depression of the water level and would endanger the future stability of the well. From these tests a schedule of running charges is prepared so that the owner is in a position to know what his water will cost him per acre and to plan his agricultural operations accordingly.

The results of tests on 60 of the 71 tube-wells which were completed and tested during the year 1928-29 and of the more detailed tests and schedules of running charges for 21 of the larger installations show that the best discharge obtained was 35,640 gallons per hour excluding three quite small installations, running costs (including 15% on capital for interest and depreciation and based on a working year of 1,800 hours) ranged from 12 annas to about Rs. 2-8 per acre-inch of water. These figures clearly bring out the fact that even when the lift is not small such installations are profitable when an extensive system of agriculture, including valuable crops like sugarcane and tobacco, etc., are adopted. Of the 71 tube-wells referred to above, 44 were of small size for use with bullock power, the installation cost varying from Rs. 39 to Rs. 884 and the discharges from 400 to 3,700 gallons per hour. Many of these were very profitable to their owners.

During the recent years the system of tube-well irrigation naturally received more considerable attention in most provinces and several Indian States.

The use of large tube-wells, of 10" and 12" diameter for irrigation purposes is practically

confined to the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa and in these provinces considerable advances have been made in the better utilization of underground water-supplies.

In the United Provinces, 223 tube-wells were installed in the year 1932, in 35 of which strainers of 5" to 10" diameter were fitted and in 188 strainers of 3½" diameter. In 1933, 327 projects were completed comprising 47 tube-wells of 5" to 10" diameter and 280 tubes of the smaller size. Two 10" tube-wells installed in the Moradabad district by the Department of Agriculture, United Provinces, were handed over to the Irrigation Department for use in the determination of the economics of tube-well-fed canals.

In the Punjab, 519 tube-wells of various sizes, fitted with stone-ware and composite strainers were installed in 1928-29 and 276 in the year 1932. The special advantages of the stone-ware strainer are that its cost is only half of that of the next cheapest type on the market, and it is immune from electro-chemical deposits of the silica, which by choking up the interstices has rendered many metallic strainers ineffective in certain areas. The usual size of stone-ware strainer is 3½" diameter and it is mainly used for wells to be worked by Persian Wheels or other forms of bullock power water-lift.

In addition to the above numbers two 12" tube-wells were installed in 1932 which were fitted with the cadmium-plated slotted strainers designed by the agricultural engineers; from the latter yields of 2.1 cusec and 2.13 cusec respectively under working head of 10' to 12' were obtained. In the year 1933, 173 tube-wells of 5" and under were installed in the Punjab.

In Bihar and Orissa, there has been a marked improvement in recent years in the demand for tube-wells. In the year 1932, 29 projects consisting of ten tube-wells of 5" to 10" diameter were completed. In the following year, 43 installations consisting of 8 tube-wells of 5" to 12" diameter were undertaken. In the majority of these tube-wells the "Sabour" type of strainer designed to suit the local conditions were used. In 1932 the most successful tube gave an yield of 933 gallons per minute from 88 feet of 12" "Sabour" strainer. In the following year, an yield of 1,000 gallons per minute with a pumping depression of under 10 feet were obtained from a 12" tube-well.

The number of large-sized tube-wells increases in the demand for smaller installations, especially in the hydro-electric grid areas of the United Provinces and those parts of the Punjab

where the advent of cheap electricity has increased the demand for electrified installations for irrigation purposes.

In the autumn of 1933, the United Provinces Government decided to appoint the Ganges Hydro-electric Enquiry Committee to renew the "Hydel" projects and *inter alia* to advise what action should be taken to meet heavy demands for power for rural development, both in the grid area proper and adjoining areas, which had sprung up during 1931-33. One of the results of the Committee's work was the introduction of a project, which will be carried out by the Hydro-electric branch of the Irrigation Department and was expected to be completed in 1938; this includes the construction of 1,353 state-owned tube-wells at a cost of about 105 lakhs to command 1,400,000 acres and irrigate annually about 350,000 acres of wheat and 150,000 acres of sugarcane. An interesting part of these operations is that substitution to the extent of 300 cusecs of canal water by tube-well water in Meerut district and the utilization of the water so released in the arid parts of Muttra and Agra districts where, for geological reasons, tube-wells cannot be successfully constructed.

To facilitate the successful construction of tube-wells in most provinces the Agricultural Department is maintaining a staff for the improvement of wells by boring. In the United Provinces, the number of borings made in the year 1932 was 1,499 and in the following year 1,714, the percentage of successful borings being seventy-one (71%).

In the Punjab 163 borings were made in the year 1932 and 236 in the following year. In Bihar and Orissa, 218 borings were sunk in 1932 of which 192 were successful, whilst in the year 1933, 157 borings were made of which 118 were successful.

There has been very recently heavy demand for borings from the tract lying between Chota Nagpur plateau and the alluvial tracts of Shahabad, Gaya and Bhagalpur, where rock is usually met with.

In Madras 524 successful borings were made during the year 1932, of which 13 were yielding Artesian supplies discharging from 25 to 250 gallons per minute to an average height of 15 feet above ground-level. In the following year 652 successful borings were undertaken. An Artesian yield of 2,500 gallons per minute to a height of 9½ feet in the South Arcot district was obtained, whereas from another boring an yield of 1,250 gallons per minute at 7½ feet above ground-level was obtained.

The more recent figures conclusively prove the increasing demand for water from tube-wells and the number of projects completed in 1934 in the United Provinces was 330 and in the following year the number was 458 consisting of 204 tube-wells of 5" and over in diameter and 254 of 3½" diameter.

The preponderance of 5" and 6" tube-wells was particularly noted, and appears to be due to the fact that such sizes are being commonly adopted in the hydro-electric grid area. In 1934, there was further development of tube-wells in the electric-grid system where the Irrigation Department, in close co-operation with the Agricultural Department, have started a five-year scheme of tube-well construction.

In the Punjab 118 tube-wells of 5" and under in diameter were installed during the year 1934. In the following year (1935) the number of projects rose to 169; and the number of tube-wells installed in Bihar in 1934 was 123 and in the following year the number rose to 127.

The number of borings also shows a steady increase and 3,565 borings were done in the year 1935 in the different provinces against 2,404 in 1932 and the percentage of success was nearly seventy-two.

In Bengal sugarcane has established its value as a substitute money crop for jute. It is estimated that improved varieties of sugarcane are now grown on an area of 1½ lakhs of acres. A survey of sugarcane cultivation has shown that compact areas can be found in various parts of the districts of Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Malda in the Rajshahi Division; Faridpur, Dacca and Mymensingh in the Dacca Division; Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad and 24-Paraganas in the Presidency Division and Burdwan in the Burdwan Division where the local supply of cane is sufficient for the establishment of up-to-date sugar factories.

5. CONCLUSION

So the question of tube-well irrigation is by no means a less important problem in this province to increase the yield and cultivated area of the crop; and it is pleasing to note that the appointment of an Agricultural Engineer has enabled the study of irrigation questions to be taken up in this connection, and several tube-well constructions have been undertaken recently.

So long, I have confined my attention to the necessity, suitability and progress of irrigation from tube-wells, but we shall be failing in our scientific observation of the problem if we

ignore the difficulties limiting the extension of tube-well irrigation in India.

The estimated volume of water expended on irrigation from wells is at about one billion cubic feet or more than 1½% of that portion of the rainfall which penetrates the soil. As far as supply is concerned, this percentage might no doubt be more than quadrupled; but the quantity of water in the sub-soil can no more be taken as a measure of the possibilities of well irrigation, as the volume of surface flow passing into the sea can be taken as a measure of the possibilities of flow irrigation. And the principal distinctive limitations to the extension of tube-well irrigation consist in the amount and quality of the sub-soil supply, the depth at which it is found below the surface, the conditions of soil and sub-soil favouring or impeding construction and raising of water.

In the alluvial tracts of Northern India, down to the line of the Jumna river, the sub-soil supply of good water is practically inexhaustible and its depth generally favour construction. It is difficult, therefore, here to place any limit to the eventual extension except the requirements of cultivation. There are again some places (e.g., South of the Jumna) where the water lies deeper, and is less abundant; it is also more liable to exhaustion in times of drought; rock has to be penetrated and the expense both of construction and lifting is greater.

Tube-well irrigation in those places will not pay except for a valuable crop. Here extension of irrigation from tube-wells must be exceedingly gradual, and only increase *pari passu* with the development of the general resources of the people. But while this extension cannot be rapid it can and doubtless will continue long. At the same time, there will always remain extensive tracts, such as the black soil plains and stony uplands of the Deccan tract and the crystalline areas where tube-wells or wells of any kind are impossible or will never pay; and which will be protected from famine by means of irrigation, no better than at present, notwithstanding the utmost development which may be effected in the multiplication of tube-wells.

Nevertheless, of the problems of vital importance to India today, not the least important is that of the food for her rapidly increasing population. The present rate of increase of that population is a fact of profound significance, and it is obviously one of the issues which is likely to prove to be of the greatest

importance to the future governments of this country. A recent report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, states that the population of India is expected to increase to 400 millions in 1941, and that it is increasing at the rate of about 4 millions per year. The report states further that only about three-fourths of an acre per head of population in British India is under cultivation for food purposes, and that it is impossible to provide a sufficiency of food even for the present population of India. The investigations which are being carried on by the Departments concerned with the Agricultural Research will doubtless result in increased productivity of the land. But if our food resources are to keep

pace with the increase in population, means must be found of bringing large tracts of country, still unproductive, under fruitful cultivation, and there is no way in which this can so effectively be done as extending facilities for irrigation. And it is needless to emphasize the importance of a development which results in the economic use of water and which is of benefit to Government and the cultivator alike: so it may not be oversanguine to look forward to a period when the area under tube-well irrigation throughout India will have increased several times. And with full regard to the difficulties, we must still admit that Irrigation from tube-wells holds out a prospective future of our national life.

DIHBUDDHISM CAUSE INDIA'S DOWNFALL ?

By V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., M.B.B.S., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)

IN his speech at the Maharashtra Hindu Dharma Parishad, referred to in the Notes in the January issue of *The Modern Review*, Dr. Moonje is reported to have said that the cult of non-violence spread by Buddhism was the chief cause of India's downfall and that the caste system has justified itself by resisting the proselytising pressure of Islam.

In the first place, let us see if the doctrines preached by Lord Buddha were responsible for the downfall of India. History tells us that the most glorious periods in medieval India were those of the Imperial Mauryas and the Imperial Guptas, when India attained the highest peak of glory and culture. Both these dynasties flourished after Lord Buddha had preached his doctrines in India, and they had been accepted by a large majority of the people. India spread her culture over a large part of the then known world during these periods.

It is wrong to assume that want of physical courage and bravery brought on by the cult of non-violence taught by Buddhism was responsible for the conquest of India by the foreigners. We know from History that the Arabs who conquered practically the whole of the then known world had to ignominiously retreat from the mainland of India, on account of the resistance offered by the Rajputs under the famous Bappa Rawal, and had to remain

satisfied with only the small frontier province of Sindh. Thus the Indians kept back the world conquering Arabs from penetrating into the interior of the country for over three centuries till personal jealousies, treachery, superstition and artificial divisions created by the caste system brought on the downfall of the Hindus and made them slaves of foreign conquerors.

Was not the treachery of Raja Jaichand of Kanauj responsible for the defeat of Prithwiraj Chauhan at the hands of Shahabuddin Ghori? Col. Tod says that when the Turks invaded Afghanistan then ruled by the Hindu dynasty of Shahis, they managed to "pollute" the springs of water belonging to the Hindu army by the blood of the sacred kine, and thus the Hindus were made to surrender to the foreign Mahomedans through sheer starvation. Could blind superstition go any further?

Buddhism never invented the word "Kalapani," making crossing the ocean taboo to the Indians. Attock was declared to be the furthest limit of Hindu India long after Buddhism ceased to exist in India as a living religion. As a result of these silly restrictions India got isolated from the rest of the world, the outlook of the people became narrowed, and the fine Rajput and Jat clans like the Awans, Ghakkads, Janjuas and others from

Afghanistan and the Western Punjab easily accepted Islam, having completely lost contact with the Aryan culture of the Indian mainland. Were the doctrines preached by Lord Buddha responsible for this degeneration?

One is surprised that a leader of the Hindu revival movement, like Dr. Moonje, is found to defend the caste system. If one goes carefully through the history of India it can be easily proved that it is the caste system that was and is responsible for the downfall of India in general and the Hindus in particular. How did the Arabs under Mahomed Kasim conquer Sindh? History tells us that the traitor, Moka Basaya, helped the Arabs against his sovereign the Dahir King of Sindh. The Rajput rulers of Sindh used to look down upon the Jats, and were imposing all sorts of humiliating restrictions about dress, etc., on this brave class, which made them enemies of their own country and created traitors like Moka Basaya among them, who helped the foreigners to conquer Sindh.

After the influence of Buddhism declined in India, many of the people reverted to Pauranic Hinduism, and formed themselves into different castes. People with material power in their hands called themselves higher castes; and relegated the others with no power or influence, into inferior castes. Thus so many castes like Vratya Kshatriyas, Loukik Brahmins and other so-called inferior castes were created who being denied cultural contact with the more fortunate classes were treated practically as untouchables. Thus when the hospitable religion of Islam came into India these castes gladly accepted that religion, thus gaining social status. This state of affairs we are told is responsible for the Islamization of Eastern Bengal. If the rigid rules of caste system had not come in the way of the holy Priests of Puri, in allowing Kalachand to marry the Nawab's daughter, the Hindus of Bengal would have been saved from the atrocities of Kalapahar and perhaps Bengal would not have become a Moslem majority province as it is today.

If one studies carefully the social problems in India it will be found that the rigid caste system is to a large extent responsible for the existence of the so-called depressed classes in the Hindu society. Many of the depressed classes assert that their ancestors were originally high-caste people, and were socially degraded and declared as untouchables by being ostracised from their high-caste because of their breaking certain caste rules. Thus we are told that the Tamil Pariah poet-saint Nanda's great-grandfather was a Brahmin who was made an out-

caste because he had tasted some forbidden food to keep his body and soul together during a severe famine. I know the case of an intelligent young scavenger, who, when asked about his family history, told me that his grand-father, who was a high-caste Lingayet, had to leave his home in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, during a severe famine and come down to a coastal town. Being refused any help from any Hindu caste, he had to join the ranks of the depressed classes. Thus so many cases could be quoted of numerically small and isolated Hindu castes, who have to join the fraternity of the depressed classes or enter another religion as no other Hindu caste would fraternize with them, on account of rigid caste rules.

The Marathas would most probably have been in possession of the imperial throne of Delhi today, but for the internecine dissensions and caste jealousies, which brought on the fall of the Maratha Empire. The following is an extract from the old records of the East India Company :

"In May, 1772, William Hornby, Governor of Bombay, wrote again to Sir John Colebrooke without touching personal matters. Commenting on political affairs, he remarked "The Maratha chiefs in general begin to be incensed against the usurped government of the Brahmins, so there is a distant prospect of the decline of their empire, from their own dissensions. If a defensive treaty can be concluded with Futtesing on advantageous terms for the Company I shall use my utmost to effect it. The intervention of lucky and unlucky day has prevented my being able to settle with him, while he has been here."

Half of the population of Malabar would not have become Moplah Mahomedans, as is the case at present, if the Hindu Zamorin three centuries ago had not converted his Hindu subjects to Islam, so that they might be able to serve in his navy, as the rigid caste rules prevented the Hindus from taking to sea-faring life. Even at present in the newly formed Royal Indian Navy, the British Government is not recruiting the brave Hindu sea-faring classes, like Bhandaris and Gabits, from the Bombay sea-coast because of the rigid caste rules these classes observe as regards food, etc.

I am sure it will be a pleasant surprise for Dr. Moonje to be told that it can be proved from the records of the Indian army and its magnificent achievements, during the last world war, that the class of Indians who in some form or other follow the doctrines of Lord Buddha—including that of "Ahimsa," and regard him as one of the ten divine incarnations (after all it cannot be denied that the modern Hinduism is to a large extent a modified form of Mahayana

Buddhism), proved themselves in some respects to be more martial than the particular class of Indians who follow the martial doctrines of the Prophet of Arabia.

This can be proved from the following statistics:—

In the first place the Hindus form about two-thirds of the total number in the Indian army of the present day. The proportion being :

| | Infantry | Cavalry |
|--------------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Hindus (including Sikhs and Gurkhas) | 66.954 | 61.92 |
| Mahomedans | 29.974 | 38.08 |
| Burmans | 3.072 | — |

During the last world war certain regiments were specially selected for conspicuous gallantry on the battle-field and the title 'Royal' was conferred on them. The regiments according to religion are as follows:—

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Royal 6th Jats | Wholly Hindu |
| Royal 32nd Pioneers | Wholly Sikh |
| Royal 39th Garhwal Rifles | Wholly Hindu |
| Royal 41st Dogras | Wholly Hindu |
| Royal 59th Sindh Rifles | Half Hindu and half Mahomedan |
| Royal (?) Punjabis | Half Hindu and half Mahomedan |

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Royal 117th Mahrattas | Three-fourth Hindu and one-fourth Mahomedan |
| Royal 129th Baluchis | Half Hindu and half Mahomedan |
| Royal 2/5th Gurkhas | Wholly Hindu |
| Royal 1/9th Gurkhas | Wholly Hindu |
| Royal 20th Deccan Horse | Half Hindu and half Mahomedan |
| Royal Bombay Sappers & Miners | Three-fourth-Hindu and one-fourth Mahomedan |

Here also it is found that the regiments in the Indian army that were specially marked out for valour on the field of battle were more Hindu than Mahomedan. Thus no greater proofs are necessary to assert that the teachings of Lord Buddha have not in the least destroyed the martial qualities of Indians, and that the downfall of India is not due to the doctrines preached by the Enlightened One, whom the great Sankaracharyya described as यो गनो चक्रवर्ती "the emperor among Yogis."

However the great Hindu leader is appealing for the establishment of the Vedic Dharma, the motto of which is इमं वाक्यम्—"Make the whole world Arya," an ideal which, if followed, would leave no room for caste, creed or colour.

RATIONALIZATION OF THE STUDY OF ARABIC

By MD. MUJIBUL HUQ, M.A.

ARABIC is the only surviving scion of the Semitic family of languages. Other languages of this family have all died their natural death and have bequeathed to their only surviving sister the lands over which they once held their sway. Now, as all know, this transformation of Arabic, from the obscure and crude state of nature in which it had been, into a living force, and her sweeping conquest of some of the sites of oldest civilisation of mankind and her subsequent geographical extension which places her in the fore-rank in the polity of languages of the civilised world, both in consideration of her immensity of wealth and geographical extension, is due to the vigour and stamina imparted to it by Islam.

Arabic has long been the spoken language and vehicle of literature of a large part of the globe's surface. In western Asia from the frontiers of Persia to the shores of the

Mediterranean, from the frontiers of modern Turkey down to the strait of Babel Mandeb, Arabic is enjoying an unchallenged supremacy. In Africa almost the entire part lying to the north of the equator, uses Arabic as its only spoken and literary language with, of course, dialects varying from place to place. In Europe too Spain till today bears the marks of this language in some of her geographical names though distorted at present almost beyond recognition.

Naturally this geographical extent coupled with political predominance of the Arabs brought Arabic literature in close contact with some potent world currents of thought which resulted in the growth of some centres of light and learning which in course of time after the huge catastrophe of Mongolian invasion shifted their venues and grew dim but never died out altogether. It continued to drag on its modest

existence till in the beginning of the last century when it entered into the expanding orbit of European supremacy.

Now, this vast field rich in its ancient wealth and with a brilliant future could not but lure the intellectual free-booters of Europe into a close search for its huge treasure accumulated throughout an age of progress and prosperity covered under the dust of centuries, with fervour and zeal unparalleled in any history. Europe has done that, impelled no less by political necessity and ambition than by intellectual hunger. Indian Muslims, since they came to be called by that name, have done the same but from an entirely different point of view and with a different motive altogether. They have studied classical Arabic language and literature with a view to the fuller understanding of the Quran and its religion and acquiring thereby high merits in the hope of divine recompense on the day of judgment. It is needless to say that all through this phase of study only the branches akin and helpful to Quranic exegesis have exclusively engrossed their entire range of vision and no other aspect of the literature had any appeal to them. It was purely a religious study and consequently it came to be restricted to only the narrow circle of professional and quasi-professional Ulemas—though we may speak of its drawing, even in rare cases, the attention of scholars from other faiths. On the whole, the fact that literature of a people is the reflection of its life and aspirations received little or no attention.

Its introduction, however, as a course of studies for the highest academic degrees in our Universities was expected to give a wholesome turn to the drift of affairs. But one finds to one's disappointment that the primitive outlook is practically unchanged. The courses have been formed on the model prescribed for Indian classics which have long been dead. And consequently, to all intents and purposes Arabic has come to be regarded and treated as a dead language. It has received from Indian Muslims the reverence due to the relics of a hoary past but never the respect and love due to the throbbing present and a brilliant future. But on serious reflection it appears that the course is hardly worth the time and money spent on it and one is sometimes led to doubt the wisdom and justification of its very inclusion in the curricula of Universities. Its embodiment therein pre-supposes that either of the two objects *viz.*: providing a considerably comprehensive course of religious instruction for advanced scholars as many of the foreign

Universities have been doing or a sufficiently extensive study of Arabic language and literature, has been kept in view. Even a most casual observer will readily admit the futility of the first position. It is idle to think that the religious aspirations of the Indian Muslims would have anything to do with the meagre religious instruction, if at all, provided by the courses in question while they have in no small number thoroughly specialized scholars to look up to for dependable instruction and guidance. Again, the fact that in some Universities a separate course of religious studies in fulfilment of Muslim demand for such, is being adopted proves beyond doubt the shallowness of the first position. Here, incidentally though, a question suggests itself about the logic and appropriateness of conferring of unqualified arts degrees on the completion of the courses referred to—in spite of its bearing an unmistakably theological stamp and character, and a suggestion offers itself that these degrees may be more aptly and reasonably substituted by degrees of divinity which will give a truer connotation of the thing and relieve the misnomer. Now, as the discussion of the first object leads to a negative conclusion we must turn to the only alternative for a positive one.

We have therefore to see how far the present courses of study in vogue tends to the realization of the objective. It may not be quite irrelevant here to remind ourselves that no history in its true perspective can be divided into water-tight compartments far less the history of the mind of a people without breaking the chain which binds the unintelligible integral units into an intelligible whole. Literature in its wider sense is the history of a people's mind acting and re-acting upon its environment—moral and physical. This view of the fundamental aspect of literature has altogether been lost sight of in the treatment of Arabic literature in our country.

The entire make-up of the syllabus reflects this mistaken outlook. Text books selected for the B.A. & M.A. courses mostly represent the canon-bound classical phase of the language and literature. Post-classical literature and language with their unmistakably distinct characteristics have been scantily represented. Modern literature as such has been altogether shut out. A perusal of the curricula proves that the whole thing has been meant to pave the way to religious studies, the fascination of which has not been out-grown by any other consideration. But this inordinate love has defeated the very object which alone can justify

their introduction into Universities as has already been seen. It is therefore in the fitness of things that this so long unfinished fabric should be brought to its natural completion by assigning to modern literature the place it richly deserves. This the modern literature deserves for more than one consideration.

Without facing any fresh difficulty financial or otherwise we can by a mere judicious move make the present materials at our disposal yield the desired result. The proper adjustment made of the existing curricula will constitute a bridge over the Arabian Sea and this bridge may, and one with some imagination feels sure will, constitute a potent source of mutual inspiration, encouragement and material benefit in days to come to the countries at both ends. The most vital problems which have lately been seriously engaging the head and the heart of Arabic speaking countries and India are essentially identical. They have come under the influence of the same star on the western horizon—here it is no place to say evil or lucky—though not exactly through the same process and at the same time, the throes of a political rebirth have become an equally conspicuous feature of the India of today and most of the Arabic speaking countries. It is by a curious coincidence that the stir of regeneration began simultaneously in India and in Egypt, the most important centre of Arabic literature. Having so much of their present in common it is astonishing that these strange bed fellows should do so little to know one another though Indian Muslims, with the advantage of their being already on the track might have done a good deal towards it. But they appear to be loth to take a step forward. Neither can their present stock in trade make for a considerable success in it.

The stock of knowledge of Arabic language with which the most finished products of the University courses come out is in many cases lamentably poor. The fault is not of the products themselves. It is legitimately imputable to the devisers of the machinery, to its drivers and the machinery itself. So far as the teaching and learning of the language is concerned it is practically restricted to doing some translation work. I am afraid it will be a sacrilege to say

that many of the young heroes who manage to come out of the fight with the palm in hand and with flying colours will have recourse to hoisting up a white flag if they are ever set to grapple with some Arabic texts, unmoved by vowel points, beyond the range of their few text books.

It is all due to the lack of a comprehensive view of Arabic language and literature and absence of the noble purpose of widening the human sympathy and understanding which must underlie all literary pursuits. It is high time now to take stock of things and to turn this expenditure of nation's time, money and energy to really good account. It needs only a little effort and imagination but it holds promises of nation-wide significance. The present curricula divested of their religious colour and characteristics and modified in the light of the above discussion will form a link of friendship and understanding but what is of far greater significance is that the two major cultural communities of India living for centuries so close to one another in space and yet, on account of mutual ignorance and consequent prejudice so wide apart in spirit, will be taking a definite step forward towards relieving, possibly to a very great extent, the highly tense feelings now subsisting between them. The latter achievement of course will depend also upon the extent to which the materials proposed are utilized with a will by both sides and also upon the extent to which other Indian classics are adapted to this object. It is rather utopian to attempt to evolve a uniformity of thought and action among peoples steeped too long and too deep in clearly divergent creeds and cultures unless they are given to drink sufficiently deep at the fountain-head of each other's thought. Our Universities can provide an incentive to it by pulling a premium upon pursuits of this nature. Though, by no means over-night, this great object is as sure to be realized by these means as human child is born free from any cultural tinge.

It will be a noble service to the country if those with whom rests the responsibility of framing and guiding the thought of the nation pay due consideration to the matters discussed here and do the needful.



HINTS TO INDIAN STUDENTS GOING ABROAD

CAPT. P. BARDHAN, M.R.C.P. (Edin.), D.P.H. (Eng.), I.M.S.

THERE are very few Indian medical students, under-graduates or post-graduates, in Great Britain who have not at one time or other regretted loss of time, money, and energy through lack of proper guidance both prior to their leaving India and subsequent to arrival in Great Britain. There is a tendency among some of the students returned from Europe to exaggerate the difficulties of life abroad. Questions as to cost of living are not answered directly, admission of cheap living in England is considered derogatory, addresses except in the best residential parts are not given, dress and laundry bills are shown to be heavy, above all these, there is an inherently malignant attempt on the part of some to draw vivid pictures of the badness of life in England, of the lack of social conventions; of the pitfalls for the unwary. Such are present in any country and in any community. These are to be avoided and not feared. Instead of giving warnings against negative dangers, rather guidance should be given for positive propositions. The vast majority of Indian students live on £2 £3 a week, and there need be no shame in saying this openly. There are places in London within 3d. ride of the city where comfortable lodgings are available at 30 shillings a week.

Indian students travel to Europe loaded with luggage that is far too much. All they need are (1) a pair of flannel trousers and a sports jacket, (2) one tropical suiting, (3) about 4 shirts, (4) personal articles—like tooth brush, shaving tackle etc., a pair of shoes, a pair of slippers. These and a change of clothes for bed should complete the luggage. One light small suit-case is sufficient. If need be, one should use two light small cases rather than a big one. The latter will mean portorage and general encumbrance. It is quite the proper thing even for the "gentlemen" to carry their luggage. Therefore, travel light and carry your luggage.

As regards actual arrangements for study, it is advisable to talk to 3 or 4 people who have been through the courses themselves. They will probably give somewhat dissimilar advice but that is only natural. No students prepare for studies in exactly the same manner. Then, write to various likely places for admission, for

information about costs and other relevant matters. Use the B.M.A. Handbook for newly qualified practitioners. It is best to deal directly with the institutions and not through uncles, or the big brother, or a patron. This attitude of direct approach is rather sadly lacking in the average Indian student. The University Professors are generally eminently approachable if you treat them as human beings and not as glorified creatures set up to give additional prestige to the University. Of course it is best to make an appointment before-hand even if you have an introduction letter.

Before leaving India be sure to obtain, among other things:

(a) Your birth certificate; if this is not available, a statutory declaration is wanted.

(b) Your academic papers such as graduation certificates, evidences as to your work in hospitals, etc.

(c) Certificates as to character and social position. Please let these be brief, direct, and to the point. The usual Indian habit of longwinded testimonials is to be shunned.

(d) All correspondence that you may have had with anyone relevant to the subject matters of your study.

Do not take cart-loads of books but only a very few intimate ones. Books are heavy, and medical books get out of date so quickly. There are good lending libraries in Great Britain and access to these is obtainable at moderate cost.

Before leaving the shores of India please get some one to tell you of the customs, manners, and the peculiarities of the British people, and if possible get a few lessons on handling knives, forks etc. It is very embarrassing to have to use them for the first time on board the ship when you are feeling sad, the sea probably rolling and the best taken out of you both literally and metaphorically. The correct use of table implements and reasonably correct manners will add much to your material comforts and poise and will make you more acceptable. These may seem trivial details but are worth noting.

When you are in England, see the school or hospital authorities as soon as you can. It

is advisable to write asking for an appointment before you leave India. The reply may be sent to your bank address in London, and you receive the letter immediately you arrive in there. From the school you will also get a list of lodgings. One should get into one of these approved places at first; when the student has felt his pace a little and seen something of the place he may seek other places—which though not on the University or College lists, may yet be good enough and cheaper.

Human nature is fundamentally the same all over the world. Do not take one or two rebuffs as meant against you individually or against your race. There are many houses where one or other particular race of lodgers is not entertained. Overlook these. People at these places are generally uncultured or snobbish. It is best to avoid them.

In the matter of study, problems vary widely, and no general hint can be given. There are a few things, however, which are common grounds for all medical (and in fact quite a number of other) students which may be mentioned here.

The newly arrived student from India speaks English badly. Hesitation, lack of confidence, bad pronunciation, too loud a voice, undue rapidity are common faults. A very bad habit is to interrupt and to answer questions in the class when some one else is being asked. If possible speak English before leaving India. Control your voice, and do not shout. Speak slowly, gently and clearly. You make your first impression through your appearance but a good second is created by the way you speak. Your upbringing is exposed here. Some good doctors make a hash of their affairs on account of their crude manners and poor speech. They might be grateful for spending four or five pounds in taking simple lessons in elocution and etiquette. The writer can say from first-hand experience that many residential parts are denied to the

Indians not so much because of their colour as because of their crude manner (crude in the British eye).

The average British patient does not mind to be examined by a foreigner. There occur, sometimes, instances where patients do not like to be examined by dark-coloured people. Each particular problem has its own remedy; correct manners, a pleasant "good-morning," a hearty hand-shake will go a long way. It is in this respect that the average Indian student has to learn more. In India he rarely has handled white patients; he does not know the British "hospital class of patients" yet; he is naturally shy and timid, he hesitates. A patient can sometimes see through this timidity, this hesitation; he at once shrinks from being examined by such a person. To get over this the student may either adopt a courteous polite gentlemanly way or the more usual cheerful friendly "Hail fellow, well met" way. Only a small proportion of students suffer from this disability, but it is a real disability.

Do not trouble others with your petty difficulties lest they be too tired to help you when your major difficulties arise. Eminent problems are always sympathetically tackled by colleagues and teachers, and genuine work is always appreciated. Earn a reputation, work for it; do not wait to be spoon-fed, no one has the time to do that to you. Move with the crowd. In medical matters it is so essential to keep in touch with things.

Finally if you are staying in Great Britain for any length of time join the Royal Society of Medicine and attend its meetings. It has a vast library. You get the best men of the country giving of their experiences there and you learn medicine far quicker. The majority of the Indian students fail to utilize this excellent organization.



THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE IN INDIA

By R. L. MOORE, *Assistant Professor of Physics*

AND

BENI CHARAN MAHENDRA, *Lecturer in Zoology*

EDUCATION in India seems to have been exploited in every age. For years the aim of our educational system was to serve a bureaucratic government by turning out clerks of an unimaginative efficiency, seldom excelled anywhere in the world. If the proposed educational organisation of the United Provinces and the report by Messrs. Abbott and Wood¹ is any criterion, we are in for a further spell of exploitation, for now education is to be the means of producing vast armies of fitters, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, leather-workers, and the like. One wonders what the primary aim of education should be: to fit people for a job, or to make citizens endowed with effective critical faculties? Perhaps a sound education should aim at both, with especial emphasis on the latter of the two; still, as long as the educational code remains so sacrosanct and unimaginative, it seems that only by some happy fluke can we produce the thinking citizen.

If criticism can be levelled at the educational system in general, how much more so can it be directed against our prevalent methods of teaching science! Here an extremely rigid syllabus, forced on the teacher by authorities hardly ever in touch with the classes of students taught, stifles all the originality, initiative and spontaneity which are so essential for *vital* teaching. A ludicrously great reverence for theoretical knowledge almost wholly eclipses the practical aspects of the subjects. A general feeling on the part of educational authorities that science is as expensive as unnecessary, leads to much discouragement. Above all, examination questions³ remain the one constant quantity in a

world of changing fact and theory. Many of our students are only able to afford the cheapest text-books, cheap in contents as well as in price; and one often comes across students learning, in 1937, only those things which were commonly accepted, say, in 1902. Worse still is the practice of making what one might call 'a literary study' of science. A science text-book is frequently studied as one might study a Shakespearean play. The text is the thing that matters! Can one go through that proof exactly as in the book; can one reproduce what the book says about such and such a thing; has one memorised the diagram on page 59; and so on *ad nauseam*? Every teacher, if he deviates a hair's-breadth from the prescribed curricular path, is confronted with the words: "Is this in the course?"; "Is it important?" (which means, for passing the examination); "What page is this in the text-book?" Just a few years of this type of attitude, and the natural curiosity of the student is effectively curbed. He concentrates almost wholly on passing examinations, and is glad to sell his books when he leaves college.

It may be argued that a similar criticism can be made against the educational systems the world over, as the science syllabuses used in India are practically the same as those used abroad. Herein, perhaps, lies the crux of the whole matter. The background of a boy growing up in India differs considerably from that of one growing up in Europe or America; yet our educational system totally neglects this difference. The whole of a student's scientific study in India, speaking generally, is unrelated to the actual phenomena in the world around him. He may know his electricity text off by heart, but has little idea how to replace a light fuse, or what to do if a fan stops working. He has a vast amount of bookish knowledge about foreign or uncommon plants and animals, but the plants and animals he meets with daily

1. Abbott, A., *Report on Vocational Education in India* (Delhi, the Punjab and the United Provinces): with a section on "General Education and Administration" by S. H. Wood. *Delhi*, 1937.

2. Nunn, T. P., *Education: Its Data and First Principles*, Chapter 1.

3. For an experimental scrutiny into the value of examinations as a test of ability, see Hartog and Rhodes'

An Examination of Examinations (Macmillan & Co., London, 1935).

he hardly knows. Science is to him—as, unfortunately, it is also to a considerable number of his teachers—a piece of abstract thought, a theoretical study with an air of unreality about it. Where it should deal with concrete facts and phenomena and thus generalise, it has become a sort of metaphysical affair unrelated to the world it studies. In other words, Science is lost amidst the paraphernalia of Language.

There are many causes for this peculiar kind of attitude. In the first place, the religious and social traditions, coming down from times immemorial and moulding subconsciously the lives of every growing boy or girl, seem to put a discount on the tangible, physical surroundings around us in favour of spiritual and abstract truths. Secondly, the average Indian parent suffers too much from pecuniary embarrassment to provide an all-round education for his children. This may be the case with many schools also. Thirdly, our schools and colleges are governed in most cases by persons reared under the old regime, when pedagogy was in its infancy, and thus the proper methods of education are neither appreciated nor courted. Fourthly, the premium put on the value of examinations as a test for obtaining employment is a handicap to the real scholarly interests, and favours cramming and memorising for the sake of success. Fifthly, India is mainly an agricultural country; while the West is so thoroughly industrialised that the applications of science cannot but force themselves upon the notice of the student. Our students lack the opportunities for observing or studying the applied science in the world around them, while a European or American student is surrounded on all sides by them. As evidence of this, one has only to study the spare-time activities of a scientifically-minded youth in Europe or America. At the age of five he will be found making things of bits of wood and nails. He is soon playing with toy trains, Meccano sets, batteries, telephones, etc. He makes excursions to places near and far, and gets interested in animal and plant life. He is a frequent visitor to museums and exhibitions, and is all curiosity. He has a desire to find out how things work. By the time he is learning science at school, he distresses his family by making foul smells in his tiny chemical laboratory. By the age of sixteen he has a working knowledge, amongst other things, of many of the major gifts of Science to civilization. To a boy with a background like this the study of scientific principles (or 'Science,' as we call it in our

prospectuses) is simply the study of the principles of well-known appliances.

This background of applied science, which is the heritage of youth in the West, is missing in India. One may watch Indian children for years, yet very rarely find them making things for themselves, or being given tools or mechanical toys by their parents. The materials or books required for the pursuit of scientific hobbies are not available in the mofussil towns; even when available, students are hardly encouraged to make use of them. The difficulty of obtaining the requisite materials is a very real one, and our educationalists would do well to pay attention to it. We do not intend to make out that the Indian youth is deficient in mechanical or scientific ability; he has little opportunity to show or develop it.⁴ However, there is absolutely no justification why the need for a proper background of pure or applied science should be neglected in our educational system. The development of the scientific attitude in the students is educationally far more important than the passing on of the contents of science to them, and yet absurdly enough, our present system feels satisfied with the lesser of the two aims. Unless we can create in our students the habit of looking at the actual phenomena with a scientific spirit, science must remain a bookish and unreal study.

This brings us to the question of "theory" *versus* "practical." How often one comes across persons who regard the so-called "theory lectures" as the essential part of science teaching! The work of conducting practical classes is relegated all too frequently to junior members of the staff, while the more experienced ones revel in airy, theoretical discourses (How often heirlooms of their own student days!), mostly unaccompanied even with the essential demonstrations. The idea that the conducting of practical classes is inferior work as compared to the delivering of lectures is so entrenched that it will take some time to dispel it. In some of our universities⁵ the demonstrator is debarred from the right of vote in elections. What is worse, in some places he is not even given credit for the total amount of work he actually does, as there are unfair regulations equating the periods of "practical work" to those of "theory."⁶

4. Abbott and Wood (*op. cit.*, pp. 21ff.) give a good discussion of "manual work, art and physical education" in relation to Indian Education.

5. *E.g.*, the University of Agra.

6. In Muslim University, Aligarh, practical work is

A science course is to be valued both as an informative study and as a means of mental and manipulative discipline, and all present-day educators are agreed that the right way of teaching it is by what is called the "laboratory method" or the "heuristic method."⁷ As Armstrong points out :

"It must from the outset and ever be remembered that the great object in view in education is to develop the power of initiative and in all respects to form the character of the pupil. The appreciation of this contention is crucial. 'The pious Pestalozzi is filled with measureless remorse when he finds that he has given a little boy a conception instead of inducing him to find it himself,' remarks Professor Meiklejohn. So should every teacher be; and if the feeling expressed in this sentence can but be made to rankle in the mind of every teacher the end is achieved. Schools will then become educating institutions; the didactic instruction which poisons our existence at the present day will be properly recognized as a fell disease."⁸

This method has its own limitations,⁹ but from the educational standpoint no other method of science teaching has so much real, permanent value.

Thus for a science course the method of teaching followed in the practical class is all-important, and our teachers should pay special attention to it. By this we mean just the reverse of what might be expected. It is obvious that in most of our institutions the teacher does far too much for the students in the practical class. The practical work of a student, as far as possible, should be a piece of research for him, and he should be induced to carry it out unaided. If he has forgotten how to connect a Wheatstone's Bridge, he should be made to puzzle it out. If he is not sure about the details of a dissection or a physiological apparatus, he should work out

the process by himself. If something wants cleaning or adjusting, he should not be allowed help in doing it. It is not unlikely that a teacher who follows such a method be accused of neglecting his work by persons who are ignorant of modern educational principles, and perhaps his own students may regard him as unsympathetic and indifferent. He is, however, inculcating the spirit of originality and independence amongst his students, while his orthodox colleagues are systematically stunting the mental growth of their pupils by over-much "spoon-feeding." Mental crutches, once given, soon become necessities.

The success of any method of teaching is so intimately connected with the personality of the teacher concerned that we naturally ask ourselves, what are the characteristics of a good Science Teacher? Westaway answers :

"He knows his own special subject through and through, he is widely read in other branches of science, he knows how to teach, he knows how to teach science, he is able to express himself lucidly, he is skilful in manipulation, he is resourceful both at the demonstration table and in the laboratory, he is a logician to his finger-tips, he is something of a philosopher, and he is so far an historian that he can sit down with a crowd of boys and talk to them about the personal equations, the lives, and the work of such geniuses as Galileo, Newton, Faraday, and Darwin. More than all this, he is an enthusiast, full of faith in his own particular work."¹⁰

How far a teacher should be a researcher in his subject, we cannot lay down. Surely, a science teacher must have a research mind and should have some first-hand knowledge of the way discoveries in his subject have been made. He should have a mind, keenly observant, capable of sifting the essential from the accidental, resourceful, inventive, manipulative, experimental, inductively-inclined. If he pursues research in his subject he will be able to speak with authority, and his students will imbibe from him (in addition to factual knowledge) the method and spirit of science.

Sometime back, the Vice-Chancellor of an Indian University deplored the fact that "in the world at present, and in India more than elsewhere, teaching and research are being combined in the same man," and regarded this combination of the two functions as a defect in our educational system.¹¹ Whatever may be said in support of such a view, if it be generally accepted, it must surely mark the

regarded as equivalent to two-thirds of formal lectures: in Annamalai University, two hours of practical periods are counted equal to one hour of lecture period; and in Agra University, three practical periods are reckoned as equivalent to two lecture periods.

7. "Heuristic methods of teaching are methods which involve our placing students as far as possible in the attitude of the discoverer—methods which involve their *finding out* instead of being merely told about things" (Armstrong, 1910, p. 236). A fine exposition of this method is given by Armstrong in Chapter XV of *The Teaching of Scientific Method and other Papers on Education*.

8. Armstrong, H. E., *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 252.

9. On account of lack of time, laboratory facilities and specialised training, it is impossible for the student to get all his scientific facts from his own studies in the laboratory. Lloyd and Bigelow (*The Teaching of Biology in the Secondary School*, 1914), therefore, suggest that the knowledge gained by the laboratory method should be made "the basis on which to build facts acquired from other persons."

10. Westaway, F. W., *Science Teaching: What it Was—What It Is—What It Might Be*. Blackie & Son Ltd., London and Glasgow, 1929, p. 3.

11. Basu, Dr. P., Vice-Chancellor, "Convocation Address at Agra University," 1936.

beginning of the decline of Science Education in the universities of India. A science teacher gains by being a researcher; he is better able to give his students an insight into the method of science. A researcher, on the other hand, is also at an advantage by being a teacher; his tendency to specialise within extremely narrow limits is counter-balanced by the broad perspective of the subject he acquires in teaching. Was it not to the world's gain that men like Faraday, Maxwell, Rutherford, Pasteur, Huxley, Freud, Lankester, and a host of others combined teaching with research?

Finally, the educational value of the proper medium of instruction is too well known to need much emphasis. Early science teaching, like the teaching of all other subjects, must begin in the mothertongue of the students. However, it would be a great educational loss, if our students were unable to read with facility some foreign language like English, German or French, rich in scientific literature.

II

Granted the differences in the mental background of the Indian and the European boy and the general lack of scientific surroundings in the industrial life of the East, what can be done in our schools and colleges to promote the teaching of science? What definite suggestions can be made in this respect?

In the first place, every school or college should organise regularly trips to neighbouring places of scientific interest and thereby stimulate the natural curiosity of the students. Factories and workshops of all sorts, observatories, electric power-houses, water-works, mills and industrial plants, museums, exhibitions and the like can serve to awaken real interest in scientific study and to compensate to a considerable extent for the lack of scientific background in India. Excursions should also be arranged to places full of animal and plant life and the students encouraged to make a first-hand study of their biological environment.

Secondly, the background of science, which is missing in India can be artificially inserted at the High School or College stage by the gradual building up, through the co-operative effort of the teacher and the taught, of a "Science Museum" or "Hall of Science". All branches of science must be represented in it, but applied science in particular must have a prominent place. Sanderson held that:

"Applied science was complex and apparently difficult; yet it had romance and mystery which appealed to youth.

Moreover it was in direct contact with the ordinary life, the home life of the day."¹²

The purpose of the Hall of Science should be to present a bird's-eye view of the gifts of science to man. The picture must be *dynamic*, and in order to ensure this, the building up of the Hall should be a continuous, co-operative process carried out regularly from year to year. Thus alone will the students gain a lively interest and a knowledge of Science in Action and at the same time develop their creative abilities.¹³

As finances allow, it is suggested that the following sections be built up in the Hall of Science:

(1) *The Workshop*. This should consist of the usual carpentry and metalwork tools, a fretwork outfit, and if possible, a medium-sized lathe, preferably power-driven. The workshop is the key-stone of the whole scheme, developing as it does the creative faculty and manipulative skill of the students.

(2) *Transport Section*. The aim of this section should be to give a dynamic picture of the transport activities of the country, the most important activity of applied science. At one end of the room we visualise a model port with ships loading and unloading and wagons of a model railway running along the quayside. The railway track with its signal points, scenic effects and stations is carried over bridges to the up-country station at the foot of a range of miniature hills. Here there is again a passenger and goods station. The locomotives and rolling stock, although scale models, are of the smallest gauge (00). The track is signalled and organised on the system in actual use in Indian railways. At the up-country end there is a model aerodrome with models of various types of aeroplanes. To illustrate motor vehicles an old car should be bought; after it is thoroughly cleaned—a museum needs showmanship as much as a shop—sections should be cut through its cylinder head, valve chamber, gear box, clutch, differential, and tyre. The motor can be mounted on blocks and rotated by means of the self-starter, and thus the whole working of the machinery made visible to the eye. Explanatory charts should be arranged above the various models, showing, for example, the principles of aerofoil design, the ship related to Archimedes' principle, the principle underlying the electric-signalling

12. Sanderson of Oundle, Chatto & Windus, London, 1924, p. 64.

13. Abbott and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

apparatus of the railway, the use of the lever, etc.

(3) *Power*. The next section should be devoted to working models of various types of engines. It is worthwhile getting two sets of parts (they can be had without much outlay) : one for building up whole models of engines; the other for arranging on boards with a description of each part. The charts above this section should relate engines to principles of thermodynamics, conservation of energy, and the like. At the up-country end of the Railway sub-section one might arrange a model hydro-electric power station with a miniature dam and turbines.

(4) *Industry*. This section might include working models of various Indian industries : soap making, sugar refining, tanneries, saw-mills, pottery works, glass works, etc. The accompanying charts would explain the underlying principles and would give information about their regional distribution within the country.

(5) *Wireless*. Plenty of information¹⁴ is available regarding the construction of a wireless museum, which should include models and photographs of historic transmitting and receiving equipment, as well as obsolete receivers of more recent date. As in a window display, strings may be connected from the various parts of a receiver to cards explaining the purpose of each component. Models can be made to illustrate reflection from the ionosphere, radiation from an aerial, and valve characteristics in three dimensions.

(6) *Biology*. In the Biology Section the emphasis should be on the *live* organism, its interaction with the environment, and its relation to man. Far too many teachers feel satisfied with only a detached study of the internal structure of dead organisms, and take no pains to relate their subject with the environment and interests of the students. Morphological study has its own importance, but in no case should it be regarded as the whole, or even the most important part, of Biology. The student must, first of all, become interested in the living activities of the organism and get a broad perspective of the various life-phenomena. Bionomics, Ecology, Phenomena of Reproduction and Development, Evolution and Heredity, Animal and Plant Geography, Palaeontology, Social lives of animal groups, and scores of other branches of the subject can

be illustrated by carefully planned sub-sections and charts.

Aquaria and terraria, "breeding-cages, vivaria, insect incubators; gardens, . . . fernery, rose garden—a miniature Kew; an experimental plot; an experimental farm; . . . these will give the means for taking up wide studies, including the life-history of man and the romantic history of Biology itself. Much valuable work can be done for the neighbourhood. Here is a short list : an agricultural survey of the district, where a multiplicity of workers is invaluable; analysis of soil; experimental work on wheat and other crops (this can be done for farms and for neighbouring estates); extraction of fat and sugar; experiments with flour, bread-making; study of . . . woods; the study of diseases and pests; and so on."¹⁵ It will be well to devote a sub-section to local fauna and flora, properly named.

Later on, several other sections might be added. A section on "Public Health and Hygiene" would be of distinct value, illustrating with models and charts the principles of sanitary engineering, drainage, water-supply, mosquito elimination, disease prevention, etc. There could be a section on "Pure Science," with possibilities too numerous to mention : replicas of historic experiments, charts showing the dates of great scientific discoveries, portraits of important scientists, and so on. In order to awaken interest in the personality of scientists, it may be worthwhile to prepare a large volume, consisting of photographs of individual workers, facing one page descriptions of their lives, and to leave it open at a different page each day. Sections on "Geography," "Archæology," "Medicine," and even "History" might prove useful additions, as the scheme is worked out.

The building up of such a Hall of Science in itself would be highly educative and would enable students to appreciate how they fitted in the larger world around them. They would learn to be handy with tools; have that 'feel' for apparatus which is the hall-mark of a successful experimentalist; develop resourcefulness, initiative, originality and creativeness; and acquire a real zest for knowledge. Science to them would no longer be the study of an unreal world, but an enquiry into the principles underlying a world they already knew a great deal about. A somewhat similar scheme has given remarkable results at Oundle School. If it was found useful in England, how much more so should it be in India!

14. O'Dea, W. T., *Handbook of the collections illustrating Electrical Engineering, II. Radio Communication*. London, 1934.

15. Sanderson of Oundle, p. 269.

BIG NICK

The True Story of the Depredations of a North Australian Killer and its Destruction
by an Introduced Indian Animal

By EWEN K. PATTERSON

Out in the middle of the wide, sluggish, jungle-fringed North Australian river, a broad, blunt, scaly muzzle, that came slowly in from the open sea, showed just above the surface of the water. Moving upstream like a piece of driftwood carried in by the tide, it slowed down and finally halted alongside a clump of reeds that grew from the water at the tip of a long, low peninsula which jutted out into the stream from the thick, dark-green wall of the jungle.

For a moment the muzzle remained motionless, then it turned, and the green patch of reeds parted for a massive, scaly body to come streaming and glistening through; and the crocodile (Big Nick, as he was later called) dragged himself ashore to flop like a log on the soft mud.

Fully twenty-five feet long from the tip of the snout to the end of the tail he was, and easily four feet wide across the middle of the back—one of the ferocious salt-water crocodiles (they are scientifically termed *Crocodilus porosus*), which are the largest living reptiles known.

Tired after his journey out to sea, where he had obtained a stomach full of fish, Big Nick yawned once—his massive jaws opening wide to reveal a fearsome array of huge white teeth, six inches long, terrible weapons that slanted backwards towards the throat and that never lost their grip; and then he settled down to enjoy an after-dinner sleep. But almost immediately he was awakened by a disturbance nearby.

About ten yards from where the crocodile reposed, and in the centre of the peninsula, bathed in vivid sunlight, was a pile of mud, surmounted with twigs and dead leaves—a squat pile, about three feet high and a yard across; and alongside it was a wallow of churned, semiliquid mud, just above the surface of which showed the serrated back of another large crocodile—a monster female guarding her incubator—nest of eggs.

For six weeks, night and day with scarcely a break, her massive twenty-feet long body

had lain in that wallow; for six weeks she had been keeping a close watch over her nest—the nest which she had scraped together with her great two-feet long and nine-inch wide fore-paws, and on top of which she had deposited a batch of sixty-odd eggs—glistening white eggs, a little larger than duck eggs.

Cleverly concealed beneath a thin layer of twigs and leaves, those eggs had for six weeks been bathed daily in the fierce heat of the tropical North Australian sun, while the female, formidable and always alert, had remained on guard. She knew only too well the many jungle creatures—wild pigs, snakes, and a score of others—that would quickly play havoc with the eggs if she left them unguarded for any length of time, and so, day after day, night after night, she had lain in her wallow, as motionless as a log, appearing for all the world like a dead beast, except that occasionally she emitted a low moan or grunt.

And now her long vigil was over. The incubation period had expired. Beneath the fierce rays of the midday sun the surface of the nest began to heave. Higher and higher it heaved until finally it broke open, and in an instant became alive with baby crocodiles about six inches long.

No sooner had that happened than the mother began to crawl around the nest wildly, excitedly, while her sixty or more babies, snapping at each other with tiny needle-teeth, jumped, rolled, fell, and ran down the sides of the nest to join their massive parent, scampering along her uneven, broad back, or running about on the soft mud nearby.

All of the babies, except for paler colour and spotted skin, were perfect crocodiles in form and fierceness. Beside the great bulk of their mother it seemed ridiculous that such tiny things could ever attain her size. The entire evil brood could have been packed with ease into an empty four-gallon can.

Each of the babies had a lump of hard egg-yolk attached to the outside of its stomach to serve as food until it could fend for itself, and, presently, as the mother moved slowly

towards the river, the brood hurried after her, following her clumsily, in a straggling line.

But as they slipped into the water, their parent at once deserted them. Having no further interest in the brood she shot rapidly away, just as Big Nick woke from his doze.

His greedy eyes were at once attracted by the commotion caused in the water by the frolicking brood, and crawling swiftly into the stream he pursued the helpless babies, swallowing them one after another as they scampered and fled in instinctive terror.

Having devoured all of the babies within sight, Big Nick, with a contented grunt, returned to his sun-warmed resting place; and, as he did so, two hunters from the little gold-mining settlement on the neighbouring river a mile to the south (they had witnessed Big Nick's arrival and the subsequent birth and death of the brood), raised their rifles and fired.

The bullets struck the monster's thick, scaly hide, but ricocheted off harmlessly, and, with lightning swiftness, the saurian plunged into the river.

In the weeks that followed the hunters paid innumerable visits to the river, and many bullets were wasted in a vain endeavour to shoot the big crocodile.

Often the saurian was sighted sunning himself on the river bank, but always before the men could get within shooting distance he would slip into the water from his basking-place with scarcely a splash.

And then Big Nick would reveal his cunning in an irritating game of hide and seek. He would cruise slowly along in the water, with only his long snout showing just above the surface, like a floating piece of wood. It looked an easy target, but whenever a gun was raised to shoot, or a hand moved to pull a trigger, the snout would sink, to bob up again a few yards away.

Then, when he grew tired of this, Big Nick would flick his long flattened tail and drive his massive body through the water with powerful, rhythmic sweeps until soon he was lost in the distance.

Then came warm nights when the jungle echoed with hoarse bellowings from the river. It was Big Nick roaring out the strange mating call of his kind. Night after night he kept it up for hours with scarcely a pause, and so startling were the cries that the noises of the night were quietened; and when finally Big Nick did stop, a deathly silence brooded over the jungle.

The weeks passed, and then came a Sunday morning when Big Nick left his home river and headed for the stream on the southern bank of which stood the little gold-mining settlement.

What caused the crocodile to make that move will never be known.

At ten o'clock that morning, three men from the settlement, who were out seeking game, came across the saurian suddenly in the jungle only a hundred yards or so from the river at the settlement.

When detected, the massive brute's little eyes gleamed savagely, and then he rose swiftly on his hind legs, and, like a huge goanna, ran madly for the river into which he plunged with a loud splash.

The crocodile was not sighted again for a week, until the next Sunday morning, when most of the people were at church, he dashed ashore amongst a group of little children, who were playing on a patch of white sand a few yards from the edge of the water, seized a screaming little girl in his awful jaws, and then, with a toss of his head, hurled the child into the river, whither he immediately followed.

That taste of human flesh apparently gave Big Nick a craving for such food.

He ignored tempting carcasses of wallabies and other marsupials which the people of the lonely settlement hung from trees along the river for him to take—baits, which were poisoned with enough strychnine to kill a dozen crocodiles his size.

But Big Nick completely ignored them all. The cunning crocodile even refused to approach a live pig which one morning was tethered to a sapling close to the river bank. In vain the hidden hunters waited with their rifles ready for the crocodile to come ashore.

Big Nick claimed his second human victim a few days later, a mile or so upstream from the settlement.

A man on horseback was swimming the river, and was about half-way across the stream, when Big Nick surged forward. His huge jaws closed on the man's left leg, dragged him from the saddle, and swept him beneath the water.

It was the return of the terrified riderless horse, with a wound on its left side, where the crocodile's razor-like teeth had grazed the skin, that told the settlement of the tragedy; and thereafter Big Nick was hunted ceaselessly.

But the crocodile proved too cunning. Traps and poisoned baits remained untouched, and not once did the small army of hunters

from the settlement get within shooting distance of him.

* * * *

A week passed, and one evening, five miles up the river from the settlement, two hunters, who had spent the whole day looking for Big Nick, began to wend their way homewards, when suddenly they stopped abruptly as the jungle echoed with awful cries that came from the river.

Together, with their rifles ready, the hunters dashed through the bushes and reached the stream to see on the opposite bank a desperate battle in progress.

Big Nick, his evil body half in and half out of the water, had grabbed a buffalo cow by the left foreleg and was slowly dragging her towards the river.

The animal's cries echoed and re-echoed through the trees.

It appeared as though Big Nick would have an easy victory, and, raising their rifles, the hunters were preparing to shoot, when suddenly a crashing through the bushes heralded the approach of a massive buffalo bull.

Without hesitating a second, the newcomer lowered his great head and charged the crocodile.

The resultant collision partly lifted the saurian out of the water, and, at the same time, dragged the buffalo cow to her knees.

Again the bull charged, and this time, with a lightning movement, he drove the razor-edged point of a six-foot long, corrugated black horn deep into Big Nick's right eye.

Generations of jungle life had given the old bull an instinctive knowledge of the vulnerable parts of his saurian enemy.

Again the horn went deep into the eye socket, and the writhing crocodile loosened his jaws.

With ear-splitting cries the cow dashed madly into the jungle, while Big Nick, bellowing with pain, endeavoured to grasp the bull; but the buffalo, his eyes blazing with rage, side-stepped swiftly and launched a frenzied attack.

A horn gouged deeply into the saurian's left eye, and then gashed the tender part of the creature's thick scaly hide under the forelegs.

Sightless, torn and bleeding, and bellowing hoarsely, Big Nick careered madly round in a circle.

The buffalo charged again, turning the writhing crocodile over and over until the mighty saurian fell with a loud splash into the

river; and there, amid a whirl of flying foam, Big Nick yielded up his cold, malignant soul.

* * * *

The fight over, the buffalo stood for a moment on the river bank with his sides heaving. He was a magnificent animal, weighing fully a ton.

Suddenly he raised his head and sniffed the air between short, nervous gasps.

Borne on the faint breeze which drifted from where the hunters were watching, came the dreaded scent of man, and, with a loud snort, the buffalo wheeled like a flash, and disappeared into the jungle.

"We missed a good shot there," said one hunter.

"Why did you hesitate then?" asked the other.

"Well—er—I don't think it would've been fair, do you?"

"I do not."

* * * *

That buffalo bull, which was responsible for the destruction of the killer-crocodile, was one of the many thousands of buffaloes roaming the unsettled wilds of Northern Australia, all of which are descendants of Indian wild buffaloes. The introduction of these Indian animals into Australia, which was more by accident than by design, represents one of the greatest examples extant of the invasion of a wild animal.

Over one hundred years ago when a British military settlement was established on a lonely part of the coast of Northern Australia, it was visited by trading vessels from India and the East Indies, which supplied the military men with Indian wild buffaloes to be killed for meat. The animals were kept in special pens at the settlement, and were slaughtered as required.

When the settlement was abandoned after a few years, a number of buffaloes, which had not been killed for food, were released and left to their fate in the wild and lonely country. It was thought that the animals would die out, but instead they increased in numbers and from their progeny has developed a tremendous wild-buffalo infestation, covering a vast area of country. The animals are so plentiful that they are hunted for their skins, which are exported to all parts of the world for use in upholstery and other leather-work. Some Australian hunters have amassed fortunes at hunting the buffaloes; countless thousands of the animals have been killed, but they are still as plentiful as ever.

DHONDO KESHAV KARVE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Fame—particularly contemporary fame, is not a sure test of greatness. Nor is its absence a proof that one is not great.

PROFESSOR DHONDO KESHAV KARVE, of whom I am going to speak briefly this evening, on the occasion of his completing 80 years of his beneficent life, is not exactly an unknown man, though he is not one of the celebrities of modern India, like many of our political leaders. But he is really a very great man. He is best known as the founder and life and soul of the Hindu Widows' Home at Hingne Budruk, Poona, and of the Sreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women's University, of Poona and Bombay.

He was born of poor parents. It was with great difficulty that he could educate himself. One fact alone will suffice to enable us to realize his struggles, and that is that he was in his eighteenth year when he began to learn the English alphabet. Previous to that he had received some education through Marathi, his mother tongue, and, when 17, tramped 110 miles from Murud, his parents' home, in a four days' pilgrimage to appear at a public examination at Satara, and on the third night slept uneasily under the stars in a wind-swept rocky glen where wild beasts might prowl. But all this trouble was useless. The members of the Examination Committee took him to be too young and rejected him. But this did not damp his ardour for education.

He has said in his autobiography that in his life there have been cycles of ten years at the



Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve

end of each of which some new outlook, some new idea, some powerful urge seized him and drew him into a new activity without his losing touch with the old. When eighteen, he began

to learn the English alphabet and a new vista of life opened before his eyes. At twenty-eight he took up the work of the Murud Fund, a fund to be used for the welfare of Murud and raised mostly from inhabitants of that village who were employed elsewhere, each to contribute a pie for each rupee he earned. It has paid part of the cost of the Marathi school and the English Middle school at Murud and worked for the welfare of that village in other ways. In 1936 its permanent balance was Rs. 12,000 "in face value of $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. Government paper."

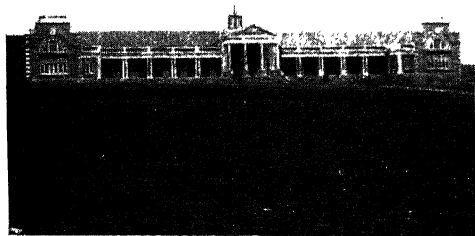
Ten years after starting the Murud Fund, when he was thirty-eight, the Hindu Widows' Home Association was established, and it has been rendering very useful service to society. When he was forty-eight the ideas of the Mahila Vidyalaya and the Nishkama Karma Matha took possession of him and he enthusiastically took up the corresponding activities. These institutions were merged into the Hindu Widows' Home Association. It was at the age of 58 that, as he says, he "took a leap in the

butions he conducted one school himself by paying Rs. 15 per mensem out of his meagre pension of 70 rupees. He also made small collections with the help of friends, the total reaching Rs. 2700 on the 8th July, 1936.

Mr. Karve married a widow in 1893, having become a widower himself before that date, and had in consequence of the marriage to suffer much bitter persecution.

In 1894 he became professor of Mathematics in the Fergusson College, Poona, and also within a year, a life-member of the Deccan Education Society. Mr. G. K. Gokhale was already a member of the Society and a professor of the college. The life-members had to work for 20 years on Rs. 73 and odd per month. This meant considerable sacrifice for him; as he was then earning double that amount in Bombay by tuition. Prof. Karve put in this full period and retired in 1914. He was a very efficient and successful professor.

After taking a practical step in the cause of widow marriage, namely, marrying a widow himself, he felt that it had placed an impera-



The main building of the Women's College, Poona



Women's College Hostels

dark to found the Women's University." He thinks, "fortunately no new idea emerged at the age of 68," and he could give undivided attention to the university for 20 years. "Strangely, however," says he, "I was unconsciously drawn towards a new idea and its powerful urge has thrown me into a fresh activity at the age of 78." He wanted to establish a 'Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society' "to start schools of the old indigenous type to teach the three R's in villages in which there are no schools conducted by the District Local Boards or other agencies." In addition to teaching children of school-going age these schools will try to keep up the literacy of adults by attracting them to small libraries attached to the schools. Before approaching others for contri-

tive duty upon him to try to do his utmost for the cause of widow marriage which he had embraced. He realised at once that for a systematic and efficient working out of any plan, a responsible body was necessary, and with the help of friends started the Widow Marriage Association. He was its first secretary and Dr. (afterwards Sir) R. G. Bhandarker, chairman. Only those people could become members of the Association who had either married widows or who had the courage to dine with such people of their own caste. Others who had sympathy with the cause, were registered as sympathisers. A member or a sympathiser had to pay a day's income every year as subscription.

For over two years he worked very hard

for it. But his experience showed that the question being a religious one, a high degree of moral courage was required on the part of the man who came forward to marry a widow and also on the part of the guardians of widows. It was no easy thing in those days to face excommunication from society. He, therefore, began to think that his energy might be more usefully directed towards the cause of widows' education. The question not being a religious one, would not frighten people away from it. The best way to advance the cause of the widows, he thought, was to educate them and

established on the 14th June, 1896. As no funds were at first available, no independent Home was started. Mr. Karve began to collect contributions, and as money became available, a few poor widows were supported in the hostel attached to the Government Girls' High School and the Training College for women and educated there. He set apart all his savings, namely, Rs. 1,000, for the Home, and utilized his long vacations in doing propaganda work and collecting subscriptions.

Owing to the existence of the Widow Marriage Association and the Hindu Widows'



Prof. D. K. Karve, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, and workers and graduates of the Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women's University

make them self-supporting and able to think for themselves. So, while continuing to keep in touch with the widow marriage movement as a member of the Managing Committee of the Association and taking interest in its work, he founded the Hindu Widows' Home Association. The Widow Marriage Association is still working under an enthusiastic secretary with a fund of nearly Rs. 9,000.

The Hindu Widows' Home Association was not started under the control of the Widow Marriage Association; because, if that had been done, people would have suspected that the object of the Home was more to induce the inmates to get re-married than to educate them. So a separate Association was formally

Home Association, both founded by Prof. Karve and with both of which he has all along been connected, he was between two fires as it were. Orthodox people suspected that the object of the Home was to indirectly promote widow marriage, and reformers of the extreme wing were dissatisfied with his methods of working along the lines of least resistance. But the wisdom and tactfulness of Prof. Karve and his friends overcame all difficulties.

The Home is situated at Hingne Budruk, 4 miles outside the city of Poona. When there was no road to it—not even a foot track, and no conveyance of its own, Prof. Karve had to walk there every day in the evening after his college work, spend the night there for the

protection of the girls and again walk back to college in the morning. That meant trudging eight miles every day. "All provisions had to be carried there from the city on the head and shoulders" and so Prof. Karve had himself usually to carry a pretty heavy load of vegetables and other supplies for the Home. He used to teach some of the advanced girls at night and in the early morning. During the long vacations he went away on subscription work and made other arrangements regarding the protection of the inmates of the Home. Greater devotion to a cause no man could show.

The Home is now a colony by itself of about 300 souls, situated in a quiet and extensive site fifteen acres in extent and four miles from the city. Its buildings, to provide residential and school accommodation, are worth Rs. 200,000. There are a High School, a Training College or Normal school and a practising school. The Association has an endowment fund of Rs. 1,00,000, and permanent and other funds of about 70,000 rupees.

The Home has sent out hundreds of educated women in Maharashtra and the Marathi-speaking centres outside Maharashtra.

Prof. Karve has written in his autobiography:

"In the matter of widow marriage I followed the path chalked out by Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar of Bengal and Vishnushastri Pandit of Maharashtra, and had made it the fundamental principle of the Widow Marriage Association."

It was on the 4th March, 1907, that he opened the Mahila Vidyalaya for giving secondary education to Hindu girls. It was amalgamated with the Widows' Home school in 1915.

The problem of securing devoted workers for the Widows' Home and the Mahila Vidyalaya constantly engaged his mind. The Nishkama Karma Matha was founded by him with that object. In 1915 it was amalgamated with the Home and the Mahila Vidyalaya.

The first three members of the Matha, of whom he was one, took the following solemn vow:—

"I offer my life to the Mission (Matha), which is to be founded to conduct the Widows' Home, the Mahila Vidyalaya and such other institutions, realizing the presence of the Supreme Being in my mind. Now I am no longer my own master. I now belong to this new organization. It may use me in the way it thinks fit. Whatever provision the organization makes for me and my family will be accepted by me."

The idea of the Indian Women's University arose in his mind from the perusal of a booklet descriptive of the Japan Women's University

sent to him by Babu Sivaprasad Gupta and Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. He founded the Indian Women's University in 1916, though at first he had no funds to back him. Money came gradually. In 1920 the University got what Professor Karve has called a windfall. The late Sir Vithaldas Damodher Thackersey gave it the sum of Rs. 15,00,000 in the face value of 3½ per cent. Government paper on certain conditions, the first being that it was to be named after his mother Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey. It has been so named. So long as he lived, he continued to take great practical and active interest in it. It has since then received other important bequests, though of lesser amounts.

The Indian Women's University is a very great achievement, inasmuch as it has made progress and acquired stability in spite of the facts that it had no recognition from Government, its degrees had not the market value which Government-recognised University degrees have, it is entirely unconnected with any religious, sectarian or denominational propaganda, and its medium of instruction in all subjects, up to the highest degree, is some Indian language, English being only a compulsory second language. Before Sir Vithaldas's endowment and even after it, it has depended greatly upon contributions made by the upper middle, the middle and the lower middle classes.

It is for all castes, creeds and religions.

Looking to the needs and circumstances of the generality of women and to make it worthy of the name of Women's University, it has given Domestic Economy, Domestic Science (including Biology, Anatomy, Human Physiology and Elements of Psychology with special study of the child mind) and Hygiene an important place in the scheme of studies. Music, painting, needle-work and embroidery also have an honourable place in the scheme as regular subjects of examination.

The University has high schools that prepare students for the Entrance Examination in four languages, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi and Telugu. College education is given for the present in the first three languages only. Students are allowed to study privately and to appear for the entrance and higher examinations, and there are now and then students who appear in Hindi, Urdu, Kanarese and Bengali.

Prof. Karve thinks there should be a separate Women's University in each linguistic area.

When Prof. Karve was seventy-one he undertook a tour round the world for popularis-

ing the Women's University movement and for collecting monetary help for it. He had previously visited all parts of India for the same purpose. The foreign countries visited during his world tour were: Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, United States of America, Japan, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, Zanzibar, South Africa, and Portuguese East Africa.

In his autobiography, entitled *Looking Back*, he has summarised certain opinions of his on religious matters as follows :—

- (1) Religion should be confined to the consideration of the relations of man with the unknown source of all things, or God.
- (2) Consideration of the rules of conduct of man towards himself and other beings, including dumb creatures, should be the province of morality.
- (3) The dictates of one's own conscience should be the guide in one's religious and moral actions.
- (4) No book in the world is a revealed book.
- (5) No individual, past or present, is an incarnation of God.

He has not "formed any opinion on the question of rebirth." After stating some arguments against and for belief in it, he observes :

I am, however, led to think and feel that if there is truth in the idea of rebirth, I would like to be born again and again in India to carry on my work.

He also declares :

I have had a very sympathetic attitude towards all progressive movements like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj; Theosophy and Rationalism.

It was in 1932, when I went to Bombay to deliver the convocation address of the Indian Women's University, that I had the honour of making his acquaintance. After the convoca-

tion was over I went to Poona with his son Mr. Bhaskar D. Karve and saw his father's institutions there and at Hingne Budruk.

[Regarding Prof. Karve's 'Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society,' Dr. R. P. Paranjpye writes in *The Hindu* and *The Leader* in course of an article on his life and mission :

He had long realized that education of women or girls was not enough. After all, in this way he could reach only a few of them by means of his institutions. He realized that the large mass of the people of India lived in villages, and saw that unless every villager had opportunity for education, India could not advance as it should. He, therefore, launched out a new scheme for organizing education in villages. Again he has begun in a small way. He has founded a society called the Grama Shikshan Mandal for starting, or rather for helping the villagers to start schools in villages which had no school till then. He contributes Rs. 15 every month from the pension of Rs. 70 that he receives every month from the Fergusson College to this society and spends three hours every day in visiting every single house by turns in different parts of the city of Poona to collect funds for the purpose. He accepts anything that anybody gives from a pice upwards. He has thus helped in the establishment of some 25 village schools in various parts of Maharashtra. To such school the villagers contribute something themselves, possibly providing accommodation of a sort, and the Mandal gives a grant of something like Rs. 100 or so per year. To see that the schools are going on properly an inspector has been appointed. . . . To find a man of 80 working in this manner single-hearted for a cause which he considers of national importance must appeal to the imagination of many who may not have the same self-sacrificing spirit . . .

Prof. Karve's physical energy is boundless. One would not think that that small, thin, unimpressive figure was capable of putting forth all this work. He still can easily walk 10 or 15 miles a day and does nearly that amount every day.]

A broadcast talk on the 18th April, 1938, slightly enlarged.

(Compiled mainly from "Looking Back.")



TOYAMA—FOUNDER OF BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD

By DHARMAVIR, M.A.

"Kokuryukai?" I asked leaving aside my cup of iced coffee for a second.

"Yes, Kokuryukai," he replied rather carelessly.

"But how do you pronounce it?" I asked.

"Ko-ku-ryu-kai," he split the word into three.

I repeated it with a little difficulty when he said, "That's right."

He sipped his coffee and looked at me in the peculiar way which was Okitsu's. Then he began telling me about the movement commonly known as Blood-Brotherhood and Black Dragons:

"The Japanese were victorious in the Russo-Japanese War not only because of their superiority due to discipline and physical force but also because of a spiritual force working at the back of the short-statured army. A patriot, Mitsuru Toyama by name, felt sometimes before the War, that was the year 1901 most probably, that the Japanese soldiers were pigmies as compared with the Russians who looked to be giants. He organised a party of young men. They were mostly students. He gave them the name of Ko-ku-ryu-kai, which means "Beyond the river Amur." The Russians had decided to extend their eastern borders: they had an eye on Manchuria. The Japanese could not tolerate this because a certain section of the people wanted to establish *their* connections with that country. In order to check the progress of Russia in the East this organization was set up. Any young man who joined this Brotherhood took a solemn vow that he'd even lay his life at the altar of the motherland whenever he is ordered to do so. Hara-kiri is their *modus operandi*. The man goes to the Meiji Shrine and, holding a dagger in the right hand, cuts his abdomen from left to right raising it upwards to the last rib on the right side. A martyr is considered to be he whose dagger clears its way deep down through the intestines. Like the true Samurai of the old every member of the Brotherhood considers hara-kiri to be one of his ordinary duties."

"Excuse me, how old is Mr. Toyama now?" I enquired from my friend.

"What d'you think how old must he be?" said Okitsu with a little mischief in his eyes.

"I couldn't say that," I replied. "He must be above fifty at least."

Okitsu was serious: "He is above eighty. I think he's nearing eighty-five."

"What d'you think if we call on him and"

"I knew that you'd like to see him," Okitsu said, "so I've already arranged for that. Our friend Tomo has done that for us. We'll be there at 2 this afternoon. Your host needn't worry about the lunch today. Tomo has invited us to his place. From there we go to Mr. Toyama's."

It was a typical Japanese house. We could not, according to the custom, go in with our shoes on. I was putting off my shoes when I chanced to glance at my wrist. It was a minute early. A middle-aged lady who received us at the main door walked ahead of us. At the end of the corridor an old man with a fleecy white beard like that of Tolstoy was sitting on a mat. Behind his black-rimmed spectacles could be seen the narrow eyes like the eagle's. There were no marked wrinkles on his face excepting one or two lines on his forehead. His nose was not long, nor were his ears. He had a typically Mongolian face. He could move his hands freely in the Kimono but perhaps he was not feeling strong to do that. But I was wonder-struck when, after we had bowed to each other, he took up the drumstick and began saying prayers to Lord Buddha and Saint Nichiren beating at the same time the small drum. His voice, though not quite clear, could be distinguished from those of the others'. The prayers having been finished he smiled at us. He enquired from Okitsu how the Indian friends felt in Japan. Okitsu translated the question for us in reply to which I thanked him that everywhere we had been received very cordially. I asked him, of course through Okitsu, if he ever liked to visit India. "Oh yes," he clasped his hands and said, "India is a sacred land for us. Lord Buddha was born there. In my youth I had a mind to go

there once. But now—now I don't think I'm young." And he smiled. Others joined him.

The lady, who appeared to be his disciple, brought us green tea in small beautiful cups. There were biscuits too in front of us. They looked to be home-made. All the same they were delicious. The taste of the tea being somewhat peculiar, one of us left some of it in the cup. The eagle eyes of Mr. Toyama observing that whispered something to the lady. A few minutes later she brought us iced tea. The friend who had not done justice to his cup of green tea was sorry that he had given so much trouble to the lady.

"Oh no, no trouble at all. Tea is no tea if you don't take it to your heart's content," so saying Mr. Toyama laughed heartily.

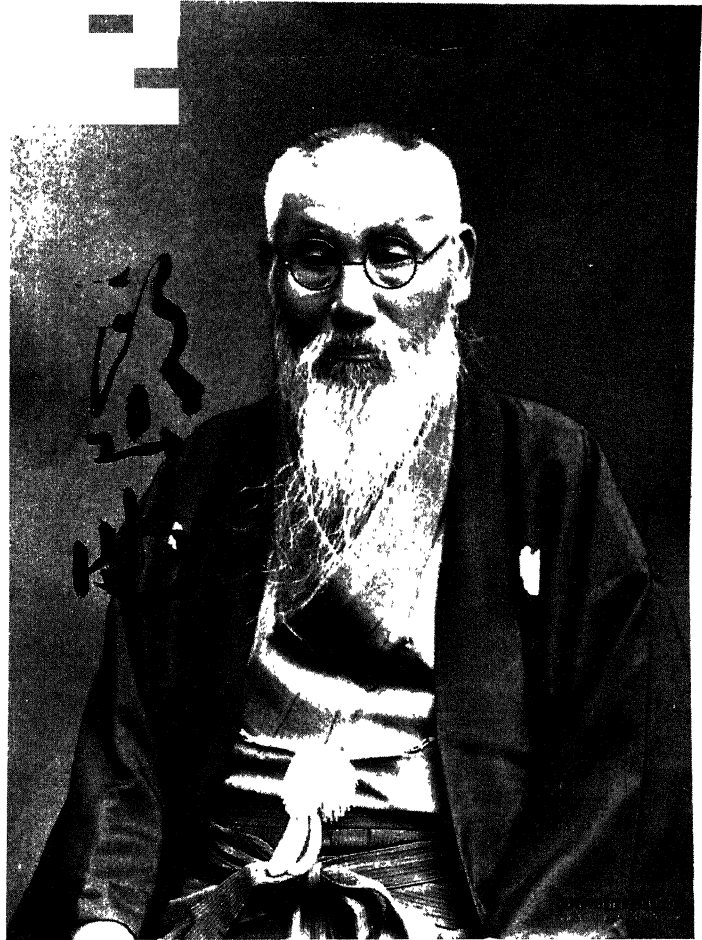
There was a good heap of books lying in one corner of the room, the walls of which consisted of wooden partitions. I wanted to know if Mr. Toyama still read books. He replied although he had reached the last stage of life when reading should be done with still he had not given up the habit of reading and writing. This brought in politics—Indian, Japanese and international. There was the question of war also. Mr. Toyama did not seem to attach any importance to the pacifist movement in the West. He had certain things to say about the wave of communism which was sweeping many a land in the East. At the end of his talk he asked us to visit Manchuria also on our way back to India. We consented. At this Mr. Toyama gave a chit written by his hand to Mr. Tomo for the Minister of Railways who later on arranged for our journey and other comforts.

We took leave of him at 3. Again there was an exchange of bows. When we stood in the corridor he too was there beside us. We requested him several times

not to take any more trouble but he would not agree and came to see us off at the main door.

"So that house belonged to Mr. Toyama himself?" I asked my friend.

"Yes, that was his—to be more correct that was the Society's."



An autographed photograph of Mr. Toyama, the founder of Blood-brotherhood of Japan

"Society! You mean Brotherhood? But how does this Society work?"

"In the beginning he gave board and lodging to certain poor students who came in touch with him day and night. They stayed with him but studied in different educational institutions. They did everything, even, cleaning and washing, with

their own hands. No domestic servants were kept. Naturally Mr. Toyama had not a heavy burden to bear on his shoulders. The Japanese are most loyal to their benefactor. These students were always ready to do what their spiritual *guru* bade them to do. As they grew older they held many responsible posts in the service of the State. Some of them sent regularly quite a good sum of money to their preceptor. During the last thirty years Mr. Toyama has helped hundreds of young men with the result that, it is said, nearly sixty thousand people are at his back today. Now every Ministry in Japan respects Mr. Toyama. Some of the ministers fear him; others seek his help."

I learnt several other things besides these about Mr. Toyama and his Brotherhood. An interesting story was related to me about his influence. Several years ago when the present Emperor of Japan was young and his father was alive, the Prince was engaged to the daughter of a feudal lord. The person in charge of the royal household affairs was jealous of that lord. He did not like that the lord's daughter be married to the Prince. Easy access as he had to the Emperor he dinned the doubt into the master's ears that the princess-to-be was suspected of phthisis. In this way he made the Emperor break the engagement.

When Mr. Toyama came to know of this he was enraged. "This is sheer faithlessness," said he to his band, "and faithlessness on the part of a king is a national sin." Then he sent an appeal to the King that such a thing did not become an exalted personage like the Emperor. But no heed was paid to it. At this Mr. Toyama ordered one thousand of his disciples to perform hara-kiri. They proceeded to the Shrine with the *guru* at the head. Mr. Toyama knelt down before the presiding deity and prayed thus: "An exalted person is going to commit a great sin. In order to check him from doing that these youths have come to offer their lives. Pray accept their humble offer!"

No sooner had he uttered these words than a young man stepped forward and cut up his abdomen. The next moment a human body lay there in a pool of blood. The second youth followed him and so the third. When the news of hara-kiri reached the Emperor in his palace he was struck with horror. A messenger with a message in a steel cover and a royal standard in his hand ran from the palace to the shrine. The leader read aloud the message of the Emperor to the members of the Brotherhood

present there. The King had promised that he would not break the engagement of the Prince contracted with the daughter of the feudal lord. The resolve of hara-kiri was given up by the rest of the youth who later on went back to their headquarter in the form of a procession.

The late Sun Yat-sen, the great political leader of China, was once considered to be an enemy of Japan. It is said that when he was young he excited his countrymen against the Japanese. But in his later life he was found to be a friend of Japan. It was Mr. Toyama with whom Sun stayed once when he was in Tokyo. Mr. Toyama gave a party in honour of the Chinese patriot and showered praises upon him. Dr. Sun Yat-sen in return admired Japan and the Japanese for their hospitality, cordiality and patriotism. A question was troubling the minds of so many Japanese guests in the party. A journalist gave a bit of his mind when he asked: "How is it that Doctor Sun was not a friend of Japan in his earlier life?" At this the Doctor explained that he wanted to infuse the spirit of patriotism then in the masses by exciting their hatred against the foreigners. America and certain European countries were helping him financially. He used that money in exciting the Chinese against the Japanese. But when there was sufficient awakening among the Chinese he gave up that policy and became a friend of Japan.

More than twenty years ago the late Lala Lajpat Rai went to Japan from America. Few people knew him there then. In a short time he felt so lonely that he made up his mind to leave that country and go back to America. An Indian student introduced him to Mr. Toyama who gave a party in his honour. Several journalists attended the function. He gave them all a sketch of the Lala's life. The next morning found Lala Lajpat Rai in every morning paper. He was admired as an orator, writer, social reformer and patriot. Thus in one day the name Lajpat Rai became a household word. After that Lala stayed there for more than eight months.

Lala Lajpat Rai was most probably in Japan when the well-known Mr. Rashbehari Bose reached there. Mr. Bose began mixing with the Indian students. He used to meet Mr. Toyama every now and then. He had stayed in Japan for nearly two years when the British Consul at Tokyo came to know that he was the revolutionary Rashbehari Bose. Japan and England were great friends then. But the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs had

sympathy for the Indian students in Japan. When however there was pressure the Minister was forced to pass orders for turning Mr. Bose out of the country. In certain political circles it was given out that he was a spy of the Germans and hence that action was necessary. Ten days' time was allowed to him. During that period only one boat was to leave the shores of Japan for Hong Kong where the British Police could easily catch hold of Mr. Bose. Bose, however, decided to defy the orders of the Japanese Government. Fifteen Japanese officers of Police surrounded the lodging of Mr. Bose. He came out and told them frankly that he was prepared to be treated by them in whatever manner they liked. Even death at their hands would be welcomed by him. He appealed them not to turn him out of the

country. But what could the Police do when they had strict orders from above! Mr. Toyama came to the rescue of Mr. Bose then. Somehow he took Bose away to his own house. None of the officers came to know where Bose had gone to. Even if they had known that they would not have dared to face Mr. Toyama. For three years Mr. Bose did not come out of his place of hiding. After that there was a change in the Ministry. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs did not think it proper to go into the question again. Thus Mr. Bose was once again free. He married a young Japanese lady so that some years later he had a son and a daughter. Now Mr. Bose is considered to be somebody in the Indian circle. Like Mr. Bose himself everybody there knows how much he owes to Mr. Mitsuru Toyama.

K. NARASIMHA IYENGAR

A Great Indian Figure in Malaya

By G. PARTHASARATHY

By the death of Mr. K. Narasimha Iyengar at the early age of 47, Indians in Malaya have lost a noble and spotless leader.

Mr. K. Narasimha Iyengar was born on 3rd July, 1890, in the beautiful little village of Nangaivaram on the banks of the Cauvery, a few miles west of Trichinopoly, South India.

He was a student of the Hindu Secondary School, Trichinopoly, and his keen intelligence was even then appreciated by his headmaster Mr. C. Rangaswamy Iyer who had a great love for the boy. While fourteen Mr. Iyengar lost his father which gave a rude shock to the young mind. He joined his fourth form in the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, where he was the pet student of Rev. Father Leigh, S. J. It was Fr. Leigh who first planted firm into the lad's mind ideas of correct significance of words, thorough knowledge of grammar, essay writing and above all, discipline. Matriculating in December, 1907, Mr. Narasimha Iyengar joined the S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly. Rev. Allan F. Gardiner, the Principal, granted him a free scholarship as a result of his appreciation of the lad's abilities. The Rev. Allan F.

Gardiner's fame as a distinguished Shakespearean scholar is well known and under that great savant Mr. Narasimha Iyengar learned to love Shakespeare. Simultaneously with this the lad was keenly interested in the study of Tamil, his mother tongue, and took lessons under Pichai Ibrahim Pulavar, the poet, and later under Pundit N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar, now of the Annamalai University, Chidambaram. The young student's ramblings in Kambar and Shakespeare infused into him a great love for music and art. After a three years' study he left college in 1914 without completing the course on account of his sudden ill health. He had already lost his mother in 1911.

About the end of 1915 he joined the Accountant-General's Office, Rangoon, as a clerk and resigned in 1920 on account of ill health. Like Robert Louis Stevenson who wandered over the South Sea Islands in search of health Mr. Iyengar travelled the length and breadth of Upper Burma for a number of months in the vain hope of better health and in sheer disgust he despaired of service in Burma and left for Malaya and lived with his brother Mr. K. S. Rajam who was the Manager

of the Industrial Press, Kuala Lumpur. He had married in 1918.

MALAYAN CAREER

From December, 1920, his Malayan career began. He joined the Industrial Press as Assistant Manager and in August, 1921, the first Tamil newspaper of Malaya, the *Tamilaham* as a bi-weekly edition was started



K. Narasimha Iyengar

which was highly popular and successful till he left the concern about the middle of 1923.

Early in 1924 Mr. Iyengar and his brother Mr. K. S. Rajam established the Art Printing Works. On September 10th of the same year the *Tamil Nesan* was started as a weekly newspaper. From its very inception it stood for non-party, non-communal interests and Mr. Iyengar was a staunch supporter of theism and the interests of the poorer classes, especially the Harijans. When Swami Sahajanandam of the Nandanar Mutt, Chidambaram, visited Malaya, the Swami found in Mr. Iyengar the strongest and most sincere supporter of his cause and expressed it adequately on many later occasions.

By the end of 1927 the need for an English edition was felt and a few pages were set apart for the English matter in the Tamil edition itself. Later from January, 1928, the *Tamil Nesan* English Supplement was issued separately. On 1st March, 1929, the English Supplement was converted into the *Indian Pioneer* weekly and the *Tamil Nesan* into a bi-weekly. On the 18th August, 1930, the *Pioneer* ceased publication and as pointed out in an announcement Mr. Iyengar suffered a net loss of over \$5,000. He now limited himself to the *Tamil Nesan*.

Within a year after the Art Printing Works had been started his elder brother, his only support, died suddenly at the early age of 41 and since then he stood alone to face the world.

Very bad health worried him in 1926 and he unwillingly left for India on a holiday and returned next year. He now put his whole vigour into the business. Times favoured him and he steadily built the edifice of his valuable institution. In 1932 a lot of new machinery and materials were purchased and the office was removed to its present premises No. 80, Ampang Street, Kuala Lumpur, in November, 1932. From 4th January, 1934, the paper was published three weekly and the response was encouraging.

Towards the end of 1934 he took a short holiday in India and came back in May, 1935. On his return he drew elaborate plans for a full-fledged Indian daily with other allied publications and invited the co-operation of interested friends. But they still did not realise the eagerness of his mission and his purpose. But Mr. Iyengar was not the man to go back on his plans. He stuck to them firmly. Alone, single-handed, in a distant country like Malaya, he issued the *Tamil Nesan* Daily Edition on the 20th February, 1937, and when Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Malaya a few months later the Daily sent a special staff reporter throughout the country wherever the great leader went and it is needless to say that the 700,000 of Indians rose in response and the circulation was most encouraging.

In the meanwhile the constant strain told on his health and he took short holidays at health resorts but his physical strength was already giving way. He was removed to hospital and the end came suddenly. On Friday, 4th February, 1938, passed away K. Narasimha Iyengar, a great Indian figure in Malaya.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar was a profound scholar in English and Tamil and had a deep

knowledge of the Vaishnavite philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. He was well built. He was a man of principles and more a man of action than of words. His watchword was Discipline. In his own quiet and unostentatious manner he had played his part manfully for the amelioration of the Indians, especially the toiling labourers, in Malaya. His active and ceaseless campaign through the columns of his *Tamil Nesan* and *Indian Pioneer* largely

contributed to the appointment of Indian Members to the Straits and F. M. S. Councils and the Indian Immigration Committee. Then again when the fixing of wages for Key districts came up for public enquiry he spared no pains to draw pointed attention to the minimum needs of the labourer.

Today we have lost him, but he has left behind him his institution—the *Tamil Nesan*—strong enough to stand firm.

NEW DEFINITION OF THE EMPIRE

By M. MANSINHA

ON the 16th of February, 1938, Professor Reginald Coupland, professor of Colonial History, Oxford, delivered an interesting lecture in the King's College, Newcastle. His subject was 'Nationalism in the British Empire' and the audience, which was large, was mostly British with a sprinkling of Indians, Africans and Jews. Professor Morrison, professor of History, King's College, took the chair. Professor Coupland spoke to this effect:

Nationalism has come to be understood now in two senses. The ordinary sense involves the patriotic instinct in man—a love for the soil on which one is born, and which is universal and harmless. But in these days there has appeared another type of nationalism, which is aggressive and which, in the intoxication of patriotic fervour, tries to impose its own superiority over others. To this type of nationalism is due the irrational demand for colonies by certain powers in Europe.

It is true, whenever questioned, these powers often point their fingers towards the British Empire and ask why they should not have empires like that. But they do not understand that the British Empire is no longer an 'Empire' so-called, but a Commonwealth of Nations—a small league of nations. Within this Commonwealth, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are, to all intents and purposes, independent countries. Ireland is independent now and although it is now divided in two, a day will come when the whole of Ireland will be one country. Palestine is a mandatory state and Britain will be there only so long as the Arabs and the Jews take time to stand on

their own legs. It is obvious however that, Egypt too is independent now.

Now, what about India? Great Britain is earnest in granting India Dominion Status. By the new Constitution the Indians have more power than what the Canadians had by the Durham Report. The Indians desire freedom all at once, but the British Government desires it by a gradual process. The Indians ought to be patient about it and try to work the Consti-



Mr. M. Mansinha

tution to its fullest advantage. In future, whether India wishes to remain within the Empire or to go outside it, depends entirely on the Indians.

So where is the 'Empire' of Great Britain now? The word 'Empire' had a possessory

sense attached to it. But the present British Empire changes the meaning into a brotherhood of independent and self-governing nations. The clamour for colonies by other powers is absolutely unjustified, if at the back of it there is their jealousy of Britain's Empire, inasmuch as, Britain does not possess or does not want to possess, any part of it in the sense that they want to have the colonies. They ought to know that the British Empire is or going to be a brotherhood of self-governing and independent nations.

This is, in a nut-shell, what Professor Coupland said that evening. While speaking about India he paid a tribute to the admirable and inspiring personality of Mahatma Gandhi and expressed his wonder and astonishment at, how India a vast continent in itself, with its surging millions of population, divided into so many provinces each distinct in its own culture and each speaking a language of its own, with numerous religions and grades of civilization, with diverse types of people ranging from the highly intellectual Brahmin down to the lowest pariah, was now pulsating with one idea of being independent and with the one common enthusiasm of nationalism. He said it was possible because, never before in history, the whole of India was under one administration as it is now under the British and secondly, every educated Indian speaks English which provides the Indian intelligentsia with a common language. He then praised the Congress for having accepted the provincial offices in seven provinces and wished that Indians should see their way to accepting and working out the Federal scheme.

After the lecture there was to be tea and talks. That evening only two Indians from Orissa were present at the lecture, I being one of the two. But it so happened later that almost the whole of that evening was occupied by discussions on India. As soon as the talks began an English lecturer asked about the safeguards in the new Indian Constitution. Professor Coupland tried to explain that there are safeguards in every Constitution and there were safeguards in Canadian Constitution too as there are in Indian Constitution now. These safeguards are rarely to be used and they are expected to be withdrawn when circumstances outgrow their necessity. The safeguards in Indian Constitution, it must be confessed, are there to see to the British interests in India and to the rights of the Covenanted Civil Service. But they are there to see to the interests of the

minorities too and among others the Europeans are a small minority in India.

I am not a student of politics, nor is my Indian friend who was with me. But being Indians I felt it my duty to speak for India and give the Indian point of view of the new Constitution. I explained how the safeguards of the Civil Service hampered the activities of the ministers and revealed the hollowness of autonomy in the provinces. I also said how poorly equipped the ministers were financially in proportion to their gigantic responsibilities. These responsibilities, I said, were the accumulation of the errors of two hundred years of British regime in India—the vast problems of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of rural development in India. I explained also why Indians of all classes were opposed to a Federal scheme where the nominees of the autocratic princes and the representatives of communal interests would naturally form a permanent and predominant reactionary bloc.

And above all where is the assurance of India getting even Dominion Status from Britain? There is nothing in the new Constitution to hold out such a hope. In the 1919 Reforms there was a time-limit of ten years. But, this Constitution seems to be a permanent affair, perpetuating the control of the Indian nation by a well-protected bureaucracy. This is how political India thinks, said I.

Professor Coupland was ready with a reply. Said he:

"It is true there will be reactionary elements in the Federal Assembly. But in spite of that the scheme is well-worth a trial, inasmuch as it will complete the unity of India, welding the States and the Provinces into one great whole and the States too in coming into closer contact with the provinces will gradually conform themselves to democratic ideals. And even if there is no assurance given in the Constitution as to India's getting Dominion Status in the near future, 'let it be known that it is the desire of every thoughtful Englishman that India should be free.' The constitution was made at a time when the British Cabinet was extremely conservative. But things have changed now and those Englishmen who think in the old Imperialistic way are doing harm to this country."

At the end of the talks Professor Morrison, the President of the evening deliberations, remarked that the University of Oxford is notoriously conservative. It was remarkable

indeed to hear a professor of Oxford speak in this liberal manner and feel the change that has come over English political thought. He said also that in the light of these talks, the clamour for colonies by other powers was irrational and barbaric and he questioned the right of one nation forcibly ruling over another.

When the meeting broke up Professor Coupland shook hands with me and told me that he was pleased that the discussions were carried on in such good spirit.

In fact in the whole lecture and the discussions over it later on, it was the liberal spirit that was really remarkable. Is this not a changed outlook? Indeed since I came to

this country last September, I haven't come across a single statement in the newspapers and journals that can be even distantly described as purely anti-Indian. On the other hand numerous articles in the dailies and the weeklies have been published expressing sympathy with and appreciation of the way the Congress ministries are working out the Constitution in the provinces. Even the conservative and aristocratic *Times* has surprised us by its reasonable attitude to Indian situations.

All that we wish is that this happy relation that is just beginning may grow stronger between the two great countries of the world, as the times go by.

MAJOR YEATS-BROWN'S CARICATURE OF INDIA AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

[In February and March last there appeared in two German papers reports of two lectures delivered by Major Francis Yeats-Brown before the Universities of Berlin and Munich. He is known as author of the novel *Bengal Lancers* and the film *Bengali*. Cuttings of the German reports of these two lectures from two German papers have been sent to us from Munich by Srijut Raghu Nayak, to whom our countrymen, including ourselves, will feel grateful. Professor Dr. V. V. Gokhale of Cheena-Bhavan, Santiniketan, has kindly translated these reports into English at our request, for which we thank him. The translations are printed below.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.]

Report by the "*Berliner Abendblatt*" (Berlin) on 20th February, 1938.

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY REPEATS ITSELF IN INDIA. A BRITON DECLARES: NEVER WILL ENGLAND LEAVE INDIA, BECAUSE ENGLAND NEEDS INDIA!

Berlin, 19th February.

Under the auspices of the Anglo-German Association and the English Seminary of the University of Berlin, the well-known author and authority on India, Major Francis Yeats-Brown delivered an address on the "Future of India," after he was introduced by Prof. Schirmer of the English Seminary. First dealing with the present situation in India, the

lecturer observed that the enormous population was still increasing at a surprising rate, but was divided by irreconcilable hatred born of religion and race.

On the one hand there were 239 millions of Hindus and on the other 77½ millions of Mohammedans. Further there were 4 millions of Sikhs, who, being branched off from Hinduism, formed at present a nation by itself and represented a very energetic and well-to-do people. Again, there were 560 almost independent Indian princes, the majority of whom were very jealous of each other. As against these peoples stand the 2,000 British officials and 68,000 British soldiers for maintaining peace.

The Native rulers are certainly not angels, but the tyranny exercised by them may be called mercy, in comparison with what is happening today under the name of "democratic government" in these provinces, which are still called 'British' Indian, but which are governed by Indian politicians, who are under the influence of the Comintern Rights and laws are disappearing. The Universities are in a state of revolt. Religion is being buried and family-life ridiculed. Hundreds of agitators, trained in Moscow, are working among the people. The Spanish tragedy is repeating itself in the farmers' districts in India. Wherever election booths are erected, there rules open and shameless bribery.

"What we are, as a whole, doing in India," continued the Lecturer, "is to give the advocates and money-lenders opportunities to oppress the farmers. That is not only my view, but the view of nine-tenths of those Englishmen who know India. It is important, that these things must be declared in foreign countries as well as at home by us, so that other people may know, that we Englishmen are not such fools—nor even such hypocrites—as we appear to be. The world has often discovered with surprise, that we have our own peculiar qualities as a race. In spite of repeated protestations—which, however, I deeply regret—that we shall remain in India only so long as the Indians have not learnt to manage their own affairs independently, I repeat, that we *will remain* in India. England needs India's trade and India needs England's guidance."

Among those present were the Ambassador Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes and Sir Roger Chance, of the British Embassy and Prof. Sarolea of Edinburgh and others.

Report by the "Voelkischer Beobachter" (Berlin), an organ of the Nazi Party, on 4th March, 1938.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

(An address delivered by Major Francis Yeats-Brown).

Upon the invitation of the Anglo-German Association of Berlin Major Francis Yeats-Brown, the author of the "*Bengali*" and "*Children of the Mother Ganges*" spoke in the Auditorium of the Munich University on the "Future of India." He represented the 'mixture of different races and peoples' as the main problem of India. He described how India has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries; how the first conquerors, the Aryans, kept themselves aloof from the native population by means of the caste system, as they instinctively recognised that hereditary qualities would not disappear, in their effort to maintain the race efficiency on a high level.

The climate undermined the strength of Aryans, who were conquered by foreigners.

The English, who were the last conquerors, only gradually came to the realization that they had conquered a country of 200 millions, containing the most varied races.

A historical review will show, that the future of India can never be shaped according to the ideals and rules of English parliamentarianism. No Indian thinks that men are equal. The increasing population is divided by an irreconcilable hatred, founded on religious belief and race.

On the one hand, there are the 293 millions of Hindus, on the other the 77½ millions of Mohammedans. Besides these, we find 4 millions of Sikhs, who are related with Hindus, but represent an energetic, well-to-do and independent people. Nearly 560 independent Indian princes rule over nearly 2/5 of the land. In this country, 2,000 British officials and 68,000 British soldiers are trying to maintain peace.

The India Act of 1935 would bring the Indians a large measure of self-government. But in India there are several nations which would be in a position to build up separate governments independently. At any rate, the democratic conceptions, current in England, have been renounced by the Indians, since thousands of years. Very few Indians would indeed be prepared to reject the constitution, given to them by the Act of 1935.

The Native rulers do exercise tyranny, which however, is less than the one, which the so-called democratic governments in British Indian provinces, is capable of, ruled as they are by politicians, who are influenced by the Comintern. The Universities are in a state of revolt. Religion is buried and family-life ridiculed. Hundreds of professional agitators are working among the people.

It is often said, that the Englishmen will remain in India only so long as the Indians are not able to manage their own affairs. I, however, declare emphatically, that we will continue to remain there. We have done much for India, but our work is not yet over. India needs the British guidance as much as Great Britain needs the Indian trade. Both lands will work together as honorable and peace-loving partners and thus accomplish one of the greatest experiments ever seen in history.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

BALANCES OF PAYMENTS 1936: *Series of League of Nations Publications, 1937. II. A. 16. India: The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, 4/4A, Calcutta. Indian Branch Office of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, 8, Curzon Road, New Delhi. Pages: 236. Price Rs. 6; \$1.50.*

The 1936 issue of the annual volume on Balances of Payments, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, analyses the international accounts of 36 countries in recent years, as against 29 countries in last year's edition. All the principal trading countries of the world are included, except Italy, for which no data are available since 1930. To enable students of international economic relations to draw useful conclusions from the material compiled in this volume, most of the statements for individual countries—though not all—are based on a special form which was sent to States Members of the League, and the full text of which is included in the volume. In any case, comparable figures for the following principal groups of items are given for practically all countries represented: merchandise, interest and dividends, other services, gold, and capital items sub-divided into long-term operations and short-term operations.

The chapter devoted to a detailed analysis of recent tendencies in international business transactions, is an exhaustive one. The changes in the balance on current account of creditor and debtor countries, the international movements of capital from one country to another, the effects of the recent improvement in world trade and the increase in the prices of some raw materials upon the balances of payments of creditor and debtor countries, are subjects of careful scrutiny. Equal attention is paid to the effects of tourist traffic, emigrants' remittances, capital market and gold movements.

Most of the detailed statements given for individual countries are accompanied by a summary table showing the balances, and for the last few years also, the totals of all inward and outward payments. For the sake of easy comparison, these balances have been converted into United States gold dollars and have been entered in a synoptical table which is a feature of the chapter on recent tendencies.

One of the tables shows that the aggregate balance on account of current international business transactions of the three principal creditor countries, i.e., the United States, the United Kingdom and France, was passive in 1936 by 259 million gold dollars. This of course means that a reciprocal change has taken place in the

aggregate balance of debtor countries and that the strain to which these countries had been put in their international transactions has relaxed. On the other hand, although there was a considerable increase in international payments of dividends and in receipts from shipping services, which benefited mostly the creditor countries, there were few new capital issues floated in international capital markets for the account of debtor countries.

An interesting sign of the general improvement is the rise in international payments on account of tourist expenditure, by nearly 40% between 1934 and 1936.

S.

THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER, A BIOGRAPHY: *By K. M. Panikkar, 1937, Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 400. Price 18s. net.*

Mr. Panikkar is a versatile writer who has specialized himself in the polity of Indian States and is recognized as their accomplished spokesman. We greatly admire his commendable execution of a delicate task in writing an informing biography of an eminent living prince, presenting to the world a balanced and correct view of the Maharaja's life and work and showing thereby what good an Indian Prince can do in the midst of adverse surroundings. We presume that the undertaking was not prompted by the Maharaja himself, as it is ushered by Lord Hardinge with his own short foreword pointing out the value of the Maharaja's services to his country in addition to the successful administration of his own State. The volume indeed constitutes an important chapter of modern Indian history and deserves to be in the hands of those who are shaping the destiny of India at the present moment. It tersely summarises the position and difficulties of Indian princes, a grasp of which is so very essential in harmonising the two essential halves of the Indian nation.

There are many features in the present Maharaja of Bikaner's past life, which are more or less common to that of several other Indian rulers and which on that account appear to assume a stereotyped character, the same monotonous tale, that is to say, of a minority administration, tutelage under an English guardian, intrigues of the palace and of the hereditary nobles, the wranglings with the British Residents, state-visits by the Viceroy, the usual items of administrative reforms such as roads, railways, canals, buildings and even the erection of equestrian statues to beautify the capital. But it is a pleasure to read in Mr. Panikkar's well arranged seventeen topical chapters how ingeniously the Maharaja Ganga Singh has carved out of his hard surroundings

an outlet for his innate powers of head and heart and how manfully he has played his part in the post-war problems of India. It is this latter portion of the present biography which is both interesting and instructive, revealing as it does the Maharaja's tact in handling many important problems involving vital Indian concerns towards a successful termination. Few know the inner working of recent events and one is agreeably struck with the patriotic and laudable course which the Maharaja has adopted between two conflicting calls of duty, *viz.*, his loyalty to imperial Britain and the permanent interests of his own enslaved nation.

The Chamber of Princes and the present consummation of the Indian Federation, consisting of British India and the States, are two most noteworthy achievements directly initiated by the Maharaja's own personal exertions. He has always played a prominent and beneficial role in Indian politics and attained a unique position as India's ambassador striving for the lasting good of India. He first distinguished himself by the part he took in the great war so that he was invited by the Imperial Government as a member of the Peace Conference and thereafter represented India at the several Imperial and Round Table Conferences and also at the League of Nations. This has made him a world figure and it must be said to his credit that in all his activities he has faithfully served the interests of the whole Indian nation, although it may be doubted whether all these conferences and the world-wide deliberations have at all materially contributed to the eventual good of India. The Maharaja's honest endeavour cannot, however, be for a moment doubted. More than once he has emphatically declared that "after the States' concern for the Empire, our greatest anxiety is to see our country progressing and prospering and our fellow countrymen in India receiving what is their due." As a loyal Prince with his unavoidable affiliations to the British Crown, he had to put British interests first and the Indian interests next. An average Indian, however, would put India's interests first and the British interests next. Indeed the various quotations from the Maharaja's speeches and writings form a happy background for his life's mission.

At the present moment, when the question of Indian Federation is engaging the attention of every thinking man, the clear enunciation by the Maharaja of Bikaner of the States' position and attitude towards "the new and integral nationalism of the Indian people" is a great advance in the right direction. It is expected that, shrewd as the Maharaja is, he fully realizes the implications of Federation, the growing strength of democratic feeling in India, and the consequent sacrifice required on the part of Indian States. They can no longer look upon their States as their own private patrimony, as merely means of personal enjoyment and greed, but as a divine trust which they have to discharge faithfully and in all conscience. Mr. Panikkar himself has quoted the oriental ideal of Kingship being ever present before the mental vision of the Maharaja and it is but fitting that the Maharaja should now boldly come forth to call upon all his order to make a voluntary surrender of those rights and privileges of Purna-Swarajya, which the British Government have already yielded to the people under their charge and thus help to fulfil the sacred ideal of a united Indian nation within his own lifetime. Japan owes her rise to a similar sacrifice of powers on the part of her nobility: the Indian Princes have already long enjoyed autocratic rule: it is in vain for them to covet the same powers in perpetuity. Circumstances will sooner or later compel them to make the surrender. They will

save much trouble to themselves if they do this of their own accord. Let the Maharaja of Bikaner give the answer by taking the lead.

G. S. SARDESAI

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA: By Dr. Bal Krishna. Published by School and College Book-stall, Kolhapur; 1937. Pp. 6+256. Price Re. 1-8.

In this small but admirable book on the Federal Constitution as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935, the author has tried to give as much useful and relevant information for the students and the general reader as he possibly could within a limited scope. In an introductory chapter Dr. Bal Krishna has tried to explain the fundamental differences in the various types of constitution and has also put down the merits and demerits of each type. He has also tried to deal briefly yet clearly the various essential and predominant features of a modern state. The author has devoted one whole chapter to the growth of the Indian Constitution specially from the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909 and has referred at some length to the various events and developments in Indian politics since 1919 to the passing of the present Act. The scheme of the Federal Constitution for India has been discussed and dealt with in an independent chapter and Dr. Bal Krishna has stated the reasons for provincial autonomy, and has discussed the factors contributory to the Indian Federal Constitution and the difficulties in the way of a normal type of Federation in India. The author has devoted one separate chapter to each of the following: *viz.*, the Home Government, the Federal Government, Provincial Government, Federal and Provincial Legislatures, and powers of the Legislatures. The chapter on Indian Finances briefly gives a review of the financial changes since the reforms; and after describing the new scheme of federal finance the author puts down the criticism of the Niemeyer award and details all the financial safeguards on the Central revenues as imposed by Constitution. The chapters on Administration of Justice, on problems of the new constitution, Local Self-government, and on Administrative problems not only give us the remaining important provisions of the Act but also give for the information of the readers many details of the present administration which are not directly dealt with in the new Constitution. The chapter on Indian States sums up all the provisions of the Act which refer to the States, but it does not go further. The author comes from an important Indian State (Kolhapur) and hence it is expected of him that he will throw some light on and explain in fuller details the obscure and difficult yet very interesting and intriguing problems of Indian India. Again, when dealing with the growth and the development of the Federal scheme the author has not fully brought out the part played by the Indian States in it, nor has it been made clear how the various constitutional and legal difficulties arising out of the problems of the Indian States were finally and automatically solved by their agreeing to federate with British Indian provinces. The centrifugal forces that are working today in India are daily bringing the two Indias nearer to each other; the problem of the Indian States, therefore, is the problem of tomorrow, and hence it is earnestly hoped that the author will make good this deficiency when bringing out its second edition. In the end the author has briefly given all the salient features of the new constitution. The author has not been slow in attending to the needs of the students and hence has appended short summaries

of the various chapters. He has also taken pains to add a very useful and exhaustive index to the book.

RACHUBIR SINH

INDIAN POLITICS SINCE THE MUTINY: By C. Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor, the 'Leader,' Allahabad. Published by the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair, 1937. Rs. 2.

This book is a reprint of the lectures delivered by the well-known public man of Allahabad to the students and public-spirited men of Waltair under the auspices of the Andhra University. Those who are familiar with the *Leader* of Allahabad, may well expect a fresh outlook and new angle of vision from Mr. Chintamani. The subject chosen by him for this lecture admits of much deep insight into the under-currents of responsiveness and reaction to various activities since the Crown assumed the sovereignty of India. The establishment of Universities, functioning of co-ordinated and graded courts of justice, English precedents serving as beacon light for forensic discourses and public movements, public discussions in the press gradually ousting authority and dogmas, and several other factors, have contributed their legitimate shares in moulding and shaping Indian politics. When we took up the book, we expected to get an insight into all those forces acting and reacting in India. The author has not attempted it. It is only an 'account of the development of public life and political institutions and of prominent political personalities.' It serves a useful purpose in opening up a vista of momentous chapter in Indian history, and a future research scholar who would try to correctly interpret this history will find some useful materials from this book. To that future scholar, we should point out a few points wherein we differ from the learned lecturer. The opening sentence of the book is: 'Public life, as we know it today, may be said to have been non-existent at the beginning of the period of review.' With the qualification—'as we know it today,' the remark is unexceptionable. But 'the vast unknown intricacy,' which is the public is being forgotten today. 'The Public' which looms large in the press and platform is a narrow, cooped and cabined view of the intricacy. A scholar should always note this. Similarly, there may be difference of opinion as to Raja Sri T. Madhava Rao's observation as to the Congress as 'the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation' (p. 21). Nor can we forget that the lecturer's 'Liberal party-politics' is responsible for the following injustice done to Balgangadhar Tilak:—"It was an idea with him that Indians should never express appreciation of anything, however, good done by Government, for, he said, that would blunt the edge of agitation. For this reason his opinions uttered in public with a political motive, were not always what he held and expressed in private. He was opposed to the Bengal boycott agitation as he thought boycott impossible, but was one of its most vehement public advocates. He was satisfied with the Montagu Act, but would never say so in public." This passage will be painful reading to many like the present writer who knew him and were known to him.

NARENDRA NATH SET

THE CHILD IN INDIA: Edited by Clifford Manshardt. Published by Taraporevala Sons & Co. Price Rs. 4.

Those who have some idea about how defective and destitute boys and girls in big cities are exploited by villains of society will welcome the present book which has been published to commemorate the coming of

age of the S.P.C.W.I. The history of the society given in the first article by Mr. R. P. Masani (one of the founders) reveals some of the heinous methods and nefarious tactics that are usually adopted by the exploiters in Western India to get hold of their victims. There is no reason to suppose that such processes of victimisation and exploitation are confined to Western India only. Though much remains to be accomplished as yet, it is fortunate that people everywhere have begun to realise the extreme importance from social, moral and every other point of view, of the task of protecting children from the clutches of these villainous bands of professional exploiters. The reviewer has seen and heard much about the activities of the Society for the prevention of cruelty to "kittens" and would be very glad to see an encouraging report like the present one of the work of the Society in Calcutta for the protection of children in India.

The book deals not only with the actual concrete situation but contains articles of much psychological value on various problems connected with the development and training of children, normal as well as defective. It can be safely recommended to any organised society, college or university dealing with the subject of Applied Education. It is particularly to be desired that municipal corporations and philanthropic organisations which have made the improvement of the health and welfare of citizens their sole objective should carefully go through the pages of this book including the admirable introduction by Lord Brabourne.

S. C. MITRA

TALES FROM THE MYSTICS OF THE EAST: By General Parakram Jung Bahadur Rana. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 133.

When God created Man, says George Herbert, He gave him everything from His "glass of blessings", namely: strength, honour, wisdom, etc., except the gift of peace. That is why, perhaps, ever since the *mantra* and momentum of his prayer and progress has been "from restlessness to rest." This rest, according to the author, rather translator, of *Tales from the Mystics of the East*, is found in mysticism, which "is a course of thinking, that has for its objective the achievement of rest for the soul" (Foreword, p. v). Is it rest or rhythm for the soul?

The tales in the book are fifty-one in number and are based on the traditions and teachings, among other mystics, of Buddha, Guru Nanak, Mirabai, Jaidev, Sadan and Kabir from India and Rabia, Shibli, Attar and Hasan Basri from Persia. The themes of most of these have already passed into the stock-in-trade of all seekers of the Supreme Reality. The inevitability of the death of the body; the futility of desire for the wealth of the world; the ever-burning beauty of love; the worship of God in the image of what is the holiest and the highest in one's own self—these and other allied truths are embodied and embellished in the *Tales*. They are so many beads of beautiful meditations in the Rosary of Remembrance. They are dreams of the unborn Spirit. They inspire the pilgrim on the path to engage himself in the divine commerce in which Kabir spent his whole life:

"One day Kabir was working on his warp. Somebody asked him, 'What is that you have engaged yourself in?' He replied, 'In breaking at this end and joining at the other'." (p. 94).

Yes, breaking down the barriers of finite forms at this end so that the spirit in man, thus released, may join the Spirit at the other end,—the dewdrop may merge into the shining sea!

The get-up and printing of the book are of high quality, though here and there some "slips" of preposition and punctuation have crept in inadvertently.

G. M.

MUSIC IN EIGHTEEN CENTURY SPAIN : By Mary Neal Hamilton. Published by the University of Illinois at Urbana, 1937. Pages 283. Price \$3.00.

A great service has been rendered to the music world by the author of this book, who, as she says in the Preface, was stirred up to write by the wealth of the material almost unknown to most people, and by the scanty attention paid to the subject by writers on the subject. Music, like art and literature, has been influenced by religion in Spain to an extent unknown in other countries. The great masters of the golden age of Spanish literature were mystic writers, and a good many of the writers were priests and members of religious brotherhoods and communities. Similarly in Music, the originality of Spanish musical talent was in the religious sphere. "It is not generally understood, how much Spanish musicians gave to the Roman Church. The name of Palestrina is at once remembered as a musician in whom was achieved the height of polyphony, although one forgets entirely that he was 'one of the series of masters' of polyphony, some of which preceded him. Among them one of the greatest was Cristobal Morales of Seville . . ." The names of other masters, disciples of Morales, are mentioned.

Singing and dancing were used in the big religious functions and to this day, the "seises" in Seville and in the Mozavabic ritual of Toledo are a relic of past. Another typical development of Spanish drama is the "Autos." Lope de Vega, Calderon, Tirso de Molina, all wrote large numbers of this kind of drama and it was natural to apply religious music to their performance.

This should suffice to give an idea of the comprehensive account of Spanish Music presented by the author. The book is well documented. The author has not only a good knowledge of the language, but has entered sympathetically into the customs and traditions of the people. She has travelled widely and knows her Spain well. Spaniards should be grateful to her for such scholarly presentation of the subject in English. Music-lovers in general will certainly welcome this book.

P. G. BRIDGE

INDO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS : By Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Esq. 1937. Price Re. 1.

This is a small compendium seeking to examine the effects of the Ottawa Trade Agreement in regard to the trade relation between India and Britain during the last three years, and to indicate its implications on India's foreign trade in general. The author very carefully studies the course of India's foreign trade during recent years and comes to the following conclusions :

(a) The Ottawa Agreement has resulted in some expansion of India's exports to Britain but not to the extent anticipated; (b) This involved some diversion of trade from other countries to the United Kingdom; (c) The Agreement in its present form has seriously affected India's trade with other foreign countries, and in many directions India has given much more than she has received.

In view of the above the author makes some concrete proposals as to how a new trade agreement with Britain should be shaped.

The publication has been a timely one and provides a very helpful study of the subject both from the theoretical and the practical aspects of the question of bi-

lateral and multi-lateral trade agreements in general, and Indo-British Trade Relations in particular.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN NORTHERN INDIA : By S. A. Husain, Ph.D. (Econ.) London, Lecturer, Faculty of Commerce, University of Lucknow, Published by George Allen and Union, Ltd., London.

This book attempts a critical examination of contemporary marketing methods and practices and examines the defects of present-day conditions in some of the commodity markets in Northern India. The work is divided into three parts dealing respectively with (a) Marketing and world agricultural conditions, (b) Marketing machinery as found at present and (c) the proposals for the future improvement of Indian marketing arrangements.

The author has dealt principally with some staple agricultural commodities, namely, wheat, rice, sugar-cane, oil-seeds, cotton and jute. The book has been approved as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London.

Of the many problems with which Indian agriculturists are faced today the problem of marketing is undoubtedly one of the most baffling. The author has done a distinct service to the cause of a scientific presentation of the case at the right moment.

The book contains many valuable suggestions, but on certain matters the author appears to have been misguided in his judgment. For example, with reference to the possibility of raising the price of jute by restrictions on cultivation, he virtually echoes the European contention that high prices of jute will provide a working margin for its rivals and will encourage its substitutes. Interference with the freplay of supply and demand should, therefore, in the opinion of the author be avoided and they should be allowed to find their own level. Those who are intimately concerned with the problem of jute know the fallacy of such an argument too well.

In spite of such occasional lapses the book must be considered as a very valuable contribution towards the literature that seeks to bring about the salvation of India through a proper handling of her agricultural problems.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN BURMA : By J. Russell Andrus, M.A., Ph. D., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Dr. Ba Maw, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Bar-at-Law, Minister for Education, Government of Burma. Published by the Oxford University Press. 1936. Price Re. 1/8.

Dr. Andrus of the Judson College has described briefly the work that is being done in Burma, both by the Government departments and the private agencies, particularly by the Christian missionary bodies, to improve the conditions in the villages. As in Indian provinces, conditions in Burmese villages are also appalling and whatever is being done is hopelessly small compared with what has still to be accomplished. And the merit of Dr. Andrus' small book of some 145 pages lies in the suggestions he has made to young men with education and spirit of social service, as to how they can participate in the noble work of rural uplift. I personally believe that the greatest need in connection with rural reconstruction is education and intensive and extensive and ceaseless propaganda—both for adults and the children—organised and conducted in a form in which it can be effective in the peculiar local conditions.

GURUMUKH N. SINGH

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY: By M. P. Gandhi, M.A. Published by the author from 14-B, Heysham Road, Calcutta. Pp. 178. Price Rs. 2-4.

The history of India's industrial development is a story of conflict between the economic interests of Britain and India. This is particularly true of Indian Cotton Textile Industry. Mr. M. P. Gandhi in the monograph under reference here discusses at great length the history of Indian Cotton Textile Industry from the time of its early prosperity to its decadent stage under the British rule, and its revival since the Swadeshi movement in Bengal to the present day.

The author discusses the problems of the industry in all its various aspects from the field to the factory and from the factory to the market. The book contains all the relevant statistics which make the publication useful, and interesting at the same time.

NIHAR NANJAN MUKHERJEE

HINDU SANGATHAN: By Bhai Parmanand, M.L.A. Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Pp. iii+236. Price Re. 1.

Bhai Parmanand wrote the book in Urdu. It has been translated into English by Prof. Lal Chand Dhawan. Bhai Parmanand points out the weakness of the modern Hindus, and stresses the need of Hindu Sangathan. He is pained to see that the Hindus sadly lack communal consciousness. The lower classes, or the masses, are too depressed to be of any help, and the so-called upper classes are too self-centred and indifferent to the common interests of the community. His heart bleeds to observe the supineness and indifference of his own people, when the Muhammadans are organising themselves on absolutely communal lines, and threatening to swallow up the Hindus. To the Muhammadans, India is still a land of warfare; and it is the duty of Muslims to convert Hindus to Islam. For this they stick at nothing for the end justifies the means. Even during the much-trumpeted Hindu-Muslim Unity of the Khilafat day agitation, they forced hundreds of Hindus in Malabar and elsewhere to embrace Islam. While the Muhammadans are thus active; the Hindus are dying for catch-phrases, and the external charms of Nationalism. Hindus alone regard this country as their own; and naturally true patriots can be found only among them. He says "It has been an old belief of mine that the way to unity between the two communities is to separate them; and for this purpose he is ready to co-operate with the British Government."

In spite of the defects of translation; and obvious misprints, the book is eminently readable; and it provides one with much food for hard-thinking. We would ask especially the Nationalist-made-easy Congressmen of Bengal to read, mark and inwardly digest the book. And if it is possible for him to refute the arguments of the author.

J. M. DATTA

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH: By Eric Temple Bell. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1. Pp. 279. Price 7-6 net.

This is a serio-comic account of man's endless quest of truth—or of "that mystical moonshine which philosophers call Truth" (p. 128). About this endeavour the author seems to think that either truth cannot be known, or, if known, it ceases to be true. Man in his search for truth is compared to a blind mule who can run very

fast indeed but who dashes against lamp-posts and smashes himself (p. X). If we were to take the author at his word, then Plato was a dazed dreamer (p. 116), Euclid was a fool (p. 119) and most mathematicians were insane (p. 126). He, however, does not mean as much, for he hastens to add that some mathematicians are *not* insane.

That man's truth-seeking has often been abortive, need not be denied. But does he deserve no sympathy even for that? Could he really do otherwise than thus run after truth?

The book is full of learning but also of jest. We would not say the jest is not good-humoured, but the author's heart is not overflowing with sympathy for man's endless theorising. He has intimate knowledge of the world's scientific history: and with a little more sympathy and respect for the ancients, he could have easily given us an excellent history of science. But there is more banter than is necessary and the similes often verge on the vulgar. The style is overloaded with witticisms; and this makes the narration somewhat clumsy and obscure. But with all this the book provides delightful reading.

A PEEP INTO THE SPIRITUAL UNCONSCIOUS: By M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, M.A., LL. B., Principal, Bahauddin College, Junagadh. (Price and Publishers not mentioned). Pp. 194.

This is a book on *Dreams*. In the earlier portion, it contains able summaries of current views on the subject, including that of one Mr. Dunne, who has advanced an interesting theory about *Time* under the name of *Serialism*. Dunne's theory, according to some critics, is a mixture of mysticism and meaninglessness. (Cf. Bell, in his book *The Search for Truth*). Our author uses this concept of *Serialism* to understand the nature of memory (p. 71). So far his book is a scientific attempt.

But slowly and, perhaps, unconsciously, he drifts away from dreams into dreamland and towards the end of the book and in the appendices, he actually warms himself up into an ecstatic mystic of the religious order. And in pages 182 *et seq.*, he launches upon a dissertation on the relation between *Resurrection* and *Judgement* and tries to establish the superiority of Islam over Christianity in this respect. Without implying any disrespect to any one's religious susceptibilities, it is perhaps permissible to say that such an attitude of mind is not scientific, and, without explaining anything, it may itself call for an explanation.

The diagram at p. 168 and the terminology employed therein also will baffle many a psychologist. Terms like "the material conscious," the "social" and "spiritual" unconscious, "racial personality," and so on,—though not exactly jargon—will not be readily understood by all.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

JNANA-YOGA: By Swami Vivekananda. Fifth edition. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Almora, Himalayas.

Swami Vivekananda is popularly regarded as the prophet of service—of Daridranarayana; but he is pre-eminently a prophet of the Advaita Vedanta; as he himself remarked to a disciple, he preached the message of the Upanishads—and Upanishads alone. He was a teacher of Seva, of Yoga and of Bhakti, but the Vedanta forms the background of all his teachings. This book, embodying eighteen lectures, as well as that "veil-rendering" song of the Sanyasin, has therefore a special significance for students of Swamiji's philosophy. It may

not be out of place to refer here to Swamiji's exposition of the doctrine of Maya, which forms the key to the understanding of the Advaita Vedanta. Those who are baffled by reading the same in Sanskrit works (as Na Sati Nasati Na Sadasati, etc.) will find Swamiji's exposition amazingly simple yet convincing. The get-up and the printing leave nothing to be desired.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

GEETA MADE EASY: By Keshab Chandra Chatterjee, B.A., B.T. Published by the author, Baichi (Hooghly). Pp. 87. Price As. 12.

The title of the book is a misnomer. The book does not contain the text of the Geeta with easy explanation as the name suggests. The first part of the book (introduction) contains some stories to illustrate in general the Jnana-yoga, the Vakti-yoga and the Karma-yoga of the Geeta and other tenets of Hinduism. In the latter part of the book the synopsis of the eighteen chapters of the Geeta is given. The didactic stories incorporated in the book are a very pleasant reading.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF SCHOOLS IN INDIA: By W. M. Ryburn. Published by Oxford University Press. Pp. 223. Price Rs. 2-8.

Books on school organization often tend to be stereotyped and formal in nature. Fortunately Mr. Ryburn has written a book which is neither and which consequently is both interesting and stimulating. Development of educational ideals always outpaces the development of educational organisation. From the nature of things it is bound to be so; but things become difficult when rigid organisation of education stands in the way of progress of education and dry formalism becomes sacrosanct. In our country specially the existing organisation of the school system represents ideals of a past age which is irrecoverably gone by.

If that system is to be of use today it must move with the times and the entire school organisation must be changed and a new orientation given to it. In his book Mr. Ryburn shows how this can be achieved. He is not too radical nor is he a visionary. His suggestions are eminently practicable and this fact adds value to his book. Perhaps I do not agree with some of the things he has said therein e.g., in the matter of discipline, rewards and punishments, religious instruction etc., but I do think that it is a book which should be in the hands of everyone who has to deal with school organisation in some form or other. It will be specially useful to teachers in training and I recommend it to them without hesitation.

A. N. BASU

HEROES AND HEROINES OF INDIA. PART I AND II: Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and London. Part I—Pp. vi+67, Part II—Pp. 66. 1937. Price each part annas 10.

In the two parts of the book are narrated the lives of some historical personages, men and women, selected from all periods of history, who have left a deep impression on the minds of their countrymen. The essential features of the characters and their special contribution to the life of their fellow-men have been brought out in a very simple language. The people dealt with include Shri Krishna, Shri Ram Chandra, Sita, Mahabir, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Akbar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Nur Jahan and others. The book is chiefly meant for boys, and girls and may very well serve as a text-book.

SUREN DEY

SANSKRIT

VILASAMANIMANJARI: Edited by Ganesh Rango Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Kolhapur. Published by D. N. Moghe, B.A., School and College Book Stall, Kolhapur.

The Sanskrit texts of two interesting works on the game of chess are edited in the present volume with translation and explanation in the Marathi language. Of these the smaller one—the *Buddhibalasaptaka* or *Balakahitabuddhibala*, as it is called by the editor, which is complete in seven verses, is edited with an anonymous Sanskrit commentary which refers to a number of other works on the subject. The editor assigns it to the Pre-Muhammadan period owing to the absence of Persian terms which are frequently used in the other work. But more positive evidence is required before any definite conclusion is arrived at in this respect as the use of Sanskrit terms in the place of Persian ones may not unlikely have been due to late coining. The bigger work which gives the title to the volume—the *Vilasamanjari* composed by Trivengadacharya in the beginning of the 19th century at the instance of Baji Rao—is one of the latest, if not the last—of the few works in Sanskrit on this old game of India. It contains one hundred problems with their solutions and is divided into four chapters. Though a late work it appears to have enjoyed a good deal of popularity as is testified to by the fairly large number of manuscripts of it found in different parts of the country and referred to by the editor in the elaborate introduction to the volume which *inter alia* deals with the origin and development of the game. The foreword in English contributed by Dr. Balkrishna summarizing the main conclusions of the editor's introduction in Marathi will be welcome to the vast majority of scholars who are innocent of the provincial language. The whole of the introduction as well as the text will be easily intelligible to and appreciated by a wider circle of readers when the proposed English version of the edition comes to be published. We hope, it will be possible in the meantime to trace and make use of the contemporary English translation of the work made by one Cruz and reported to have been published in Bombay in 1814, which is expected to contain an account of the author.

CHINTAJARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

KRANTI-YUGA KE SAMSMARAN: By Mr. Manmatha Nath Gupta. Published by the Sahitya-sevak Office, Jalipadavi, Benares. 1937. Pp. 214. Price Re. 1-4.

The author, who was a convict in the Kakori conspiracy case, writes about revolutionary movement in India. The life and activity of many persons convicted in the various cases read like romance. The author has succeeded in rousing interest for his own memoirs.

SRI GURU GOVIND SINGHJI: By Dr. Sardar Jaswant Singh, M.A., B.Sc., M.D. Published by the author, Generalganj, Muttra. Pp. 384. Price Re. 1-8

This is the third publication in the useful series called "Sikh Itihas Mala", published by the United Sikh Missionary Society of Muttra. The author has done a service by writing this work on the life and teachings of the Guru. His viewpoint is that of a devoted Sikh, he has tried to show the Guru as an *Avatara*. But this attitude detracts much from a really historical work. What the Guru did, stands as the best monument for

him and an objective study is more needed than devotional attitude. All admirers of the Guru will welcome this book. The teachings in the original are sure to be found interesting and profitable coming as they do from a person who made a nation. There is a picture of the Guru.

GITA-GOVINDAM : Edited by Mr. *Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee, M.A.* Published by *Sudhir K. Mukerjee, 376A, Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta.*

Different sides of the teachings of Guru Govinda Singh are brought out. In the Introduction the editor explains and annotates the texts and delineates their bearings on religion and society.

RAMES BASU

DOSHI KAUN? : By *S. Dube.* Published by *Delhi Pustak Bhandar, Delhi.* Price Rs. 2-8.

Shalini, a rich man's daughter, educated after European models, and Ashok-kumar, a brilliant scientist, are the two leading figures in this improbable and even absurd story, the only aim of which seems to secure a cheap gibe at Western education and culture. The book originally formed a scenario for a film. Considering the quality of the paper and the printing, the price is too high.

S. H. V.

GUJARATI

SHAYASAT NE-SHAYST : By *Jehangir Kavaji Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Hamburg University.* Printed at the *Modi Printing Press, Fort, Bombay.* Paper Cover. Pp. 37. 1937.

This is a translation into Gujarati of a Pahlvi Text on religious customs (of Parsis). It has already in (1930) been translated into English by Dr. Tavadia, who has written a scholarly introduction to it. The style used by Dr. Tavadia is easy and is sure to be understood by those for whom it is meant. The customs and rituals described in this small book are very interesting. The one relating to the untouchability of a woman undergoing her monthly sickness specially arrests attention as it shows that in old Iran, the practice was the same as India. The book will surely prove a useful guide to Parsi priests.

JAVAHIR-JYOTI : By *Chunilal Nagjiwora.* Printed at the *Shah Printing Press, Rajkot.* Thick Card Board. Pp. 178+31. Price As. 6. 1937.

This is a collection of lectures delivered by the Jain Maharaj Acharya Shree Javaharlalji when he stayed at Rajkot during the rainy season of 1936. They relate to Janaseva, Manav Dharma, Brahmacharya, Khadi, etc. He had interviews with Mahatmaji and Vallabhbhai Patel also. The lectures display scholarship and therefore merit close attention.

LAHT KALA AND BIJA SAHITYA LEKHO : By the late *Mrs. Chaitanyabala Majumdar* and edited by (her husband) *M. R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B.* Printed at the *Lakshmi Electric Press, Baroda.* Thick Card board. Pp. 270. Price Rs. 2 (1937).

Mrs. Chaitanyabala died young, she was only twenty-two when she died. She had a literary turn of mind and luckily she was married to a husband who encouraged her in her studies and she was thus able to turn out good literary work. The present volume contains nine literary essays. 1. On Fine Arts. 2. Nature and our older poets. 3. Women and social service. 4. Defects in the present system of Educating Women. 5. Direction in which women should direct their studies.

6. Literature of Garba. 7. Usha Haran or Aniruddha Haran. 8. Whose was the most remarkable Swayamwar? 9. Literature in verse of the twelve months in the year. The first essay was read at the Bhavnagar Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in 1924 and she was heartily congratulated on her performance. The other essays display a very creditable knowledge of the literature bearing on its subject matter and a very nice way of marshalling the facts leading to the conclusions arrived at by her. The husband has indeed discharged his loving posthumous duty to his deceased spouse by ably editing and publishing her work.

AJNI SABBATHSHALA : TRANSLATED FROM THE ENGLISH : By *Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Ahmedabad* and published at the *Mission Press, Surat.* Paper cover, pp. 112. Price As. 4 (1937).

The title of the book means "The Sunday School of Today," and the book is a translation of an English book of that name by Edward A., and Edith M. Annett of the Indian Sunday School Union, Coonoor.

The outstanding merit of the book is that it does not read like a translation, so well has the translator entered into the spirit of the original and reproduced it, so to speak, in his own words. We first read a few paragraphs at random, and thought that we were reading not a translation, but an original work, till we noticed the title page where it is so described.

We have had occasion to notice some time ago another book written by the same translator, and we notice a distinct difference in language and style in the present work. The style of the present book is that of a cultured Gujarati, and, as the nature of the book demands, the language contains a large number of words of Sanskrit origin. The book is intended for the use of trained teachers; and every word is accurately used. We do not know whether the language of the original is involved or simple, but the translation certainly reads smoothly and easily. Grammar, idiom, and the general form of the language are faultless. A translation always furnishes the best test of the translator's knowledge of the language into which he is translating. The Rev. W. Graham Mulligan stands that test very well. We have great pleasure, therefore, in welcoming into the fold of Gujarati writers one who has so well equipped himself for the work expected of him by painstaking and accurate study of the language, and attention to detail.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

SULABHA VYASAMULU : By *Akkipedi Ramakoti Sastry, Head Master, B. H. E. School, Kuchipudi, Guntur District.* Pp. 138. Price As. 8. Can be had of the author.

The work comprises a wide variety of topics in the form of short essays, both instructive and provocative. A reliable asset for the enhancement of adult education.

ADHARAMULU (SHORT STORIES) : By *J. Kodandarama Sastry, Kollur.* Pp. 108. Can be had of the author, *Care of Lakshmi Press, Tenali.*

The work is divided into two parts—the first comprises of four stories depicting the misery and the position of womanhood in Society, while the second part of five stories portrays the position of people brought about by capitalist exploitations and the drink evil. On the whole, it is a readable stuff.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

WORLD AFFAIRS

"We are suffering today from the worst of all diseases, the paralysis of will," writes Mr. J. M. Keynes in *The New Statesman and Nation* (March, 26, 1938) in examining the British foreign policy of the hour. "We have become incapable of constructive policy or decision of action. . . . We just re-arm a little more, grovel a little more, and want to see what happens." British foreign policy in fact revolves around the two opposing poles—appeasement, and armament and, is inspired by one single desire—to gain time. "To gain time, to avoid at all cost any risk of war, how much there is to be said for it"—Mr. Keynes knows that well enough. So, the search for peace and appeasement proceeds, even though it means humiliation for the Britisher and danger to his interests.

ANGLO-ITALIAN PACT

The policy of appeasement has had its first success in these years in the Anglo-Italian Pact signed on the 16th of April last. After the fall of Eden it was a foregone conclusion that a conciliation with Italy must be arranged for. Mr. Neville Chamberlain had staked his all on it. Or, to be more correct, he had already lost his all to Mussolini when he surrendered to his threat of 'now or never.' But it was necessary for him to find a justification for his approach, if only to win back his small internal credit in the homemarket, by the successful conclusion of this negotiation. He has been successful, of course, by conceding the real success to Mussolini. The Pact professes to be a "contribution to the general cause of peace and security." To some extent it reduces the European tension. Anglo-Italian rivalry in and around the Mediterranean is sought to be ended, and even Egypt is assured of an invitation to participate, when the Instruments take effect, with a view to reach a definite agreement on the boundaries between Italian and British possessions in east and North Africa. According to the *Reuter* report,

(1) The Instruments attached to the Protocol reaffirm the Anglo-Italian Declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and also the "status quo" in the western Mediterranean.

(2) The two parties agree to a periodical exchange of information in regard to major prospective administrative movements or the redistribution of their respective armed forces in the following overseas territories in or

bordering the Mediterranean: The Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, Egypt, Sudan, Italian East Africa, British Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda and Northern Tanganyika.

The parties also agree to notify each other in advance of any decision to provide for new naval or air bases in the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea or at the approaches thereto.

(3) The parties bind themselves to respect the integrity and independence of Saudi Arabia and Yemen and agree that their common interest is that no other Power should interfere.

The position between Great Britain and Italy in regard to certain areas in southern Arabia is clarified and regularized. This applies particularly to the Aden Protectorate where certain rights are guaranteed to Italy.

(4) Each party reaffirms their guarantees for the free use of the Suez Canal for all Powers.

(5) The Italian Government confirm their adherence to the British formula for proportional evacuation of foreign volunteers from Spain and pledge themselves to apply this evacuation at a moment to be determined by the Non-Intervention Committee and undertake that if evacuation is not completed by the close of the Spanish war, all the remaining Italian volunteers will forthwith leave Spanish territory and all Italian war material will simultaneously be withdrawn.

Italy declares that she has no territorial or political aims and seeks no privileged economic position in Spain, the Balearic Islands, the Spanish possessions, and the Spanish Zone in Morocco and has no intention of keeping any armed forces in these territories.

(6) Here the British Government repeat that they regard the settlement of the Spanish question as a pre-requisite of the attempt that they intend at the forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations to clarify the situation in Abyssinia.

The present British Cabinet did not intend this Pact to be a fulcrum to drive Hitler and Mussolini apart. Italy, however, has been quick to remind that in no case is the Rome-Berlin axis to be weakened. In the natural order a Rome-Berlin-London axis is expected, with Paris to finally come in into a Four Power Pact. The French Charge d'Affaires is following the British Foreign Office in opening talks with Italy. The pact does not, however, cover all fields nor clarify the situation. The Abyssinian question is made to wait on the permission of the League, at which, as the *Times* pointed out, the Soviet may, and must, put up objections. More than that, Spain may prove a serious problem. As the victory of General Franco over the Republicans is becoming more and more a certainty, it becomes easier for Italy to disavow all ambition of aggrandisement and agree to evacuation of Italian volunteers from Spain while it becomes more and more difficult for the

British interests in the Mediterranean to contemplate the future possibilities with indifference or equanimity.

FRANCO'S VICTORY

General Franco, it is evident, is not a Mussolini or Hitler. He may share that laudable inspiration of many soldiers, but unfortunately he is not cast in the same mould, nor has he been able to create a party behind him of such force and *morale* as these Dictators had forged out for themselves. The Spanish people are not probably the right material for it. Anyway, Franco wins his way through an incessant flow of men and material and money from the Italian and German Fascist sources. Even his recent successes are less his than of his allies. They are too strong and too astute to be dropped when Franco establishes himself in Madrid. Under this thin smoke-screen of a Franconian Government Mussolini will rule the seas and the coast around Gibraltar. This is a hard fact from which there is no escape today. In fact, the victory of Franco will injure Britain and her imperial interests. The best hope for Britain lay in a division of Spain into two independent halves, each a rival of the other, and both weak enough to respect the British arms in the Mediterranean. But that hope is almost smashed and deliberately done so by the virtual refusal to the Republicans of all outside help in the name of non-intervention. Except for the upper classes of Britain, who naturally share a sympathy for Fascism of any brand, British opinion, which knows its imperial interests, cannot but look on with anxiety upon this final scene that is now being enacted in Spain. The curtain will be dropped soon—only not so soon as Franco expects. But however delayed, he is to emerge victorious with Mussolini to prove his Lord Protector, and France almost encircled by Fascism.

"CHINA INCIDENT"

The Anglo-Italian Pact has been viewed with a cold and resentful eye by a single power far away from the field *viz.*, Japan. She considers it to be rather a weakening of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. Apparently, there is no reason behind the Japanese view. But in so far as the agreement releases Great Britain from the European complications and pre-occupations, Japan is naturally called on to meet the possible danger of her at last asserting herself in the East. This is exactly what she

would not have at this moment. Japan has chosen the hours carefully, and wants the European complications to drag on, until the 'China Incident' is closed to her satisfaction. The prospect particularly about this time is bleak for Japan. At the Southern Shantung section Japan has suffered reverses from which she must retrieve her position at any cost if her moral and military superiority is to be maintained. That might mean sacrifice of more men; but the Japanese soldiers still willingly offer themselves to be used as cannon fodder. Power and prestige will therefore be regained, but, it is evident, no quick victory is in sight. But this is just what Japan needs now. She is in haste—in haste lest the European powers are freed from their own entanglements to answer the Far Eastern challenge, in haste lest her national economy is damaged. More and more, the chance of a quick victory is receding in the background. The very bulk of China is proving a too big problem for the Japanese invading forces. Chinese unity is being cemented into solidarity that is unknown in recent Chinese history. The Chinese soldiers and irregulars are at last learning to curb their hate and fury for a more tactical guerilla warfare. The outcome, as a writer points out in the *Economist* (March 26, 1938) is likely to be a stalemate—with Japan in possession of big coastal provinces and the trading commercial districts on the two rivers.

PEOPLES OF THE FAR EAST

Conflicts, reasonably enough, loom large in any survey of the world, east or west. The Sino-Japanese conflict is portentous in its significance for the Imperialist powers. Its reactions are visible everywhere among them. The Soviet watch and preparations on the Sakhalin and Siberia are, for example, well known. Of late Japan, it is noted, has been less truculent in Mongolia and Manchuria. Singapore as a naval base is strong enough and the way to it is being made secure by the British. Even the Dutch have been forced to strengthen their defence in Java, under the pressure of circumstances. The French too busy at home, can naturally pay less attention to French Indo-China than it deserves. Siam, it is known, is in close relationship with Japan, and Japanese experts and advisers are probably looking after her development. The rumour of a Kraa Canal to nullify Singapore defences has been discounted authoritatively, and, how far Siam is inspired by the Japanese Fascist ideas is not

known. In December last was inaugurated at any rate the Siamese Parliament. Its ceremonies, as a writer in *L'Illustration* points out, are modelled rather on those of Britain. There are of course no parties in the chamber and there are two categories of members too, one elected, the other co-opted by royal sanction. The elected element is sent by a universal suffrage which extends to all Siamese over the age of 21, regardless of sex or religion, the priests and the royal house being excluded. Obviously, it is anything but Fascist in this respect. The world likes labels, Fascism, Bolshevism etc; for they save it from independent thinking and scrutiny. But the labels in fact do not satisfy all situation. Siam is probably one such instance. Or, perhaps Siam is on the way to Fascism and is evolving duly her own version of it.

A PERSPECTIVE

Our changing politics is changing the world so rapidly that it is becoming difficult to see things in their proper perspective. Tremendous events shape and reshape the face of the earth. The less noisy band of workers who devote their life in the laboratory or in the library, are lost to our sight. Yet they probably are changing the face of our civilization without even knowing it themselves. While the Italian challenge is known to all, few care to see that in the clearing of the swamps and establishing new cities, the Duce can justly claim a triumph. In encouraging archeological exploration like that of Prof. Tucci in Tibet a few months ago, he is proving himself to be a real civilizing force. The world is afraid of Hitler's aggression and wrinkles up its nose at 'the Baroque excesses of the Nazis'. Yet at this very hour another scientific expedition is being prepared and equipped for proceeding on its work in India and Tibet. The Moscow trials must send a just shudder through many people and even through the friends of the Soviet like Fenner Brockway. Political allies of Russia are forced to admit as the *L'Illustration* concludes, "The new process of Moscow will not certainly create any confidence in the Russian alliance". But, great scientific undertakings still stand to the credit of the Soviet, and in the very same issue of the French journal we are presented with excellent photographs of the Arctic pioneers of Russia, who for nine months under the leadership of Papanni and his three other scientist compatriots, pursued their researches in the ice-bound pole till they were

repatriated. The world is sliding into political barbarism, but science has its heroes as yet.

THE FRONT OF SCIENCE

The advancing front of science has approached the 'borderland of life,' a fascinating area for all, and therefore, a treacherous 'twilight zone' for scientists. The 'viruses' at present occupy the scientists, as a report in the *Nature* (March 26) shows. Dr. Wendell M. Stanley of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research (U. S. A.), reported isolation of two viruses causing disease in animals. "Like the virus of the tobacco mosaic disease" we learn from *Evolution* (U.S.A.), "these viruses are not small living bacteria, as had been supposed, but giant protein molecules resembling the ordinary protein molecules of protoplasm but larger, and having the life-like ability of reproducing themselves rapidly when in contact with living matter." The virus molecules, in common with all forms of life, are found subject to mutation. Some diseases are said to have their origin in such mutation from a harmless to a harmful one. Again, certain viruses that produce disease in one plant are harmless to other forms of life, and, by certain chemical methods the virus proteins can be rendered inactive. Apart from the medical importance of the discovery, its importance as a new advance in evolution, we are told, is great.

Evolution itself again is being sought to be sped up by some scientists.

"In view of the properties which this protein possesses," says Dr. Stanley, "the borderline between the living and the non-living tends to become non-existent, for although it possesses properties which have been regarded as characteristic of living things, such as specificity of host-range and the ability to reproduce and mutate, it is nevertheless a protein molecule, and as such may be regarded as non-living."

"The sole objection," says Dr. Stanley, "to the final and complete acceptance of virus proteins as protein molecules is that, although an analogy of a protein reproducing itself in the test-tube is known, the self-production of a protein in the living cell is today not an accepted chemical reaction. Immediately we are forced to the inside of a living cell we are faced with a set of conditions that we have not fathomed as yet. The virus protein is apparently imbued with something of which today we are ignorant."

"Knowledge of the mechanism by means of which a given huge molecule-like protein, when introduced in a certain cell, is able to bring about the organization of the amino acids and cellular constituents, with formation of exact duplicates of the introduced entity, is of tremendous importance, for this mechanism is the basis of biological activity."

Researches in experimental genetics in the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. have already placed

in the hands of men a volume of knowledge usefully employed in agriculture and animal husbandry. Its imports are well known. To affect the genes and cause mutations artificially and thus speed up evolution, X-ray was being considered a probable means. Dr. Albert Blakeslee, Director of the Station for Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, tried out the effect of various chemicals in his effort to induce hereditary mutations. He found a chemical, *colchicine*, would cause mutations in plants, doubling the chromosomes and genes. The report says:

"The alkaloid colchicine we have found will induce an abundant production of branches with doubled chromosome number. When seeds are heavily treated all the seedlings may be affected. Doubling in adult tissue has been induced by immersion of twigs in solutions and in agar, by treatment of buds with mixtures of colchicine and lanolin and by spraying with solutions. By the use of colchicine changes have been induced which are interpreted as being due to doubling of chromosomes in the following genera: *Datura*, *Portulaca*, *Cosmos*, *Phlox*, *Nicotiana*, and several others.

"If control of chromosome doubling proves of general application, as seems to be the case, the plant breeder will be able to work with greater precision in his efforts to control the evolution of economic forms of plants propagated vegetatively as well as those produced by seed. Starting with a sterile hybrid, a pure breeding double diploid has been synthesised, having hybrid vigor and the desirable characteristics of tetraploidy. Doubling the chromosome number would give enlarged flowers and fruits to the horticulturist. In addition to increase in the size of the organs of plants, doubling the chromosome number has changed a self sterile to a self fertile form, changed a dioecious to a hermaphroditic race and an annual into a perennial, and has increased winter hardiness. In Zoology the causing of chromosome doubling is an unexplored field, but it will probably be a fertile one. The ability to induce chromosome doubling therefore is of importance to practical as well as theoretical genetics."

"THE SHIFTING FOCUS OF SCIENCE"

Not the face of the political world alone is thus being changed. The advancing front of science, it is apparent, looks like the changing face of science. The *Nature* (March 5, 1938) opens with a remarkable article, in which the writer, H. L., in reviewing Mr. Hogben's book, "Mathematics for Millions," points out the great shift that has taken place in science from time to time with the change in the social structure.

"... No man of science can do other than concern himself with the problems characteristic of his period. The changing face of science can be seen without difficulty to fall into clearly defined stages. We have suggested three. Each phase is carried through by the activity of the individual scientific workers,

great and small, contributing in various measures, partly driven on by the developing internal logic of the subject and its accumulating experimental knowledge, partly canalized and fed by outside social forces not normally apparent to the individual workers. How scientific work is financed, and for what special purpose that work is pursued, for example, is a question the answer of which, in these days of industrial and governmental research points to one only of the socially determining factors. The shifting focus of science, howevermuch it may provide with subjective satisfaction to its devotees, is nevertheless an objective feature of nature, and therefore, if for that reason alone, a fit subject for scientific investigation.

"Today we are witnessing just such a shift. It began tentatively in the early days of this century with a scrutiny of the logic of mathematics and a study of the methodology of science. It passed to a series of startling attempts to evaluate the philosophical implications of more recent scientific knowledge, implications that sought to deny the certainty of science and strove to lead it back to mysticism. . . . The significant feature of this phase was that these pronouncements were couched in popularized writings, a concession to a sense of social responsibility. Now at last a serious attempt is being made to probe further back to the social origins and social consequences of scientific discovery. . . . Scientific history, like ordinary history, is at last beginning to be seen in its social context; and the shifting focus of science is part of its history.

"The new concern of men of science with the uses and misuses of science has undoubtedly developed with the increasing tenseness of the international situation. The concern of this journal with these matters evidently derives from this source, but did not in fact become apparent until the latter had reached a critical stage. Nevertheless, the social background was always there for study. It required a social crisis to direct our attention to it.

"Every shift in interest of science is accompanied by opposition on the part of those absorbed in the older problems and convinced that the new development leads away from the true path of scientific rectitude. A multitude of specious reasons are certain to be brought forward to show that political prejudice must necessarily intervene to prevent the formation of balanced judgments. Such considerations need not deter those who are genuinely concerned with the trend of scientific development as a feature of natural change.

"... In his own way, Hogben has established beyond dispute the existence of a qualitative relation between the growth of mathematical facts and the severely practical problems of the society that gave them birth. That is in itself a significant scientific advance. What requires farther advance is the changing nature of this relationship.

"In its early history, society encountered quite definite immediate problems that required for their solution a definite mathematical technique. By the eighteenth century, the situation in this respect had become drastically transformed. The new merchant and industrial aristocracy was purchasing social prestige by the endowment of university foundations and educational institutions generally. While out of the practical needs of social life there had blossomed forth the earlier mathematics that dealt with the directly important problems of mensuration, experimental practice had also been called into being for these same ends and experimental practice involves theory and theory its mathematical technique, and mathematical technique its special tools and its specific logical problems. To such questions could the universities devote themselves, but

the linkage with the severely practical problems of social life, the problems of the common man, while it still existed, had become more remote. The danger for us lies in the belief that the link no longer exists, a belief that show itself in the idea that mathematics is an independent logical discipline with an absolute line of cleavage between its pure and its applied form. It shows itself in the effort to accord mathematical ideas a priority over the physical facts of the world and so to present the universe and the struggling society on this earth as a series of grandiose mathematical theorems...."

Is 'Pure Science,' as we conceive, it, an imaginary thing then? An answer in the affirmative is likely to be returned by the writer, who with much cogency will maintain that our scientific research at the hour more than ever before, is a handmaid to the politico-economic forces that rule the world. The facts are incontrovertible, conclusion is obvious too. There is going to be a shift, but 'a Nazi theory of race' or 'a Marxist-Leninist theory in surgery,' is neither science nor sense. These fail to disarm our suspicion that 'political prejudice must necessarily intervene to prevent the formation of balanced, judgment.'

G. H.



A scene from Rabindranath Tagore's new dance-drama "Chandalika" which was recently staged at Calcutta

INDIANS ABROAD

Who are they—'the Indians Abroad?' The intriguing question confronts us sometimes. For, paradoxical as it may sound, we Indians cannot be sure what part of the vast Indian world will be accepted by the authorities that be as India or something else. But one year ago Burma belonged to the Indian Empire, and, Indians in Burma, in spite of the difficulties they faced, could consider themselves to be still within their own country. The bond was drawing them closer when it was snapped on behalf mainly of the interests which were non-Burman. Today Burma is a separate land, and the Government of India are going to appoint an Agent on behalf of the Indians abroad there. Ceylon has been always a Crown colony and politically out of the Indian pale. Yet, even now, socially and culturally the small island belongs to the Indian orbit. But this has raised problems and Indian labour from the South has been the object of a long and bitter attack by Ceylonese politicians. Immigration of Indian labour has been a sore point with them. And, now that the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the question, has been released, we find much of the Ceylonese complaint was without point. The resentment, however, is still there, and, Ceylonese politicians are not pleased with the report. But, our question still remains unanswered. Are Indians in Ceylon to be regarded as Indians abroad? What is India then? Recently the question has been brought back to our minds by a case from Rhodesia. Even an Indian born in the mainland of India can not be sure of his own position, as we read in the *Indian Opinion of Durban*.

INDIAN AND BRITISH SUBJECTS IN RHODESIA

Considerable surprise and much resentment has been aroused among the Indian community by a ruling by the chief registering officer for the parliamentary franchise that Indians born in an Indian State are not British subjects but British protected persons, and are accordingly not eligible for the parliamentary vote except in such cases as were included in the 1928 rolls. The registering officer says it has been legally ruled that protected persons are not British subjects and he holds that this applies to all Protectorates, such as Bechuanaland and Nyasaland as well as to the Indian States. Persons born in Protectorates, he rules, take the nationality of their parents and this law applies equally to White people. Naturalisation is essential to secure any other nationality. He has volunteered to take a legal ruling on this point

if he affected Indians so desire. The decision affects a large number of Indians in the Colony, including many property owners. It is probable that the position will be tested by formal appeal to the Magistrate and thence to the High Court.

The Indian abroad is at the mercy of the authorities that be. Even his nationality is denied whenever that suits them. Of course, his nationality is more often a hanticap to an Indian outside—and inside too, sometimes—than an advantage.

THE UNITED NON-EUROPEAN FRONT

In the third week of April, a message from Capetown informed of the formation of a 'United Non-European Front' of the Bantu, the coloured and the Indian people. Naturally European opinion everywhere, particularly in the Union of South Africa, cannot view with equanimity this move, which was being mooted for the last three months, in the press and platform. The 'Front' would really appear to be strong and formidable, composed of 45 organizations and 30 thousand Bantu, coloured and Indian delegates. Following is the resolution that was passed:

"Realizing that the general conditions of non-European peoples can only be improved by the abolition of political inequalities embodied in the South Africa Act, this Conference resolves to initiate a non-European United Front movement for co-operation between the native, Indian and coloured races in the struggle against the colour bar in South Africa."

In the absence of a mandate from the South African Indian Congress the Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress could not attend the Conference, but sent a message of sympathy. It is not known what Indian organizations are formally associated with this new and fateful movement, which may turn South African politics into a violent crusade of racial hostility and hatred. For that, of course, the Europeans should thank themselves. It is their own creation. Indians, in India or outside, may not share the alarmist views of the European people, but they are certainly anxious to ascertain the character and the possibilities of the movement as well as the natural consequences that are likely to flow from the adherence of the Indians in South Africa to such an organization. Sir Raza Ali, we remember, was not in favour of the Indians mak-

ing common cause with the Bantu races. Seth Govindadas, a non-official on tour in Africa, advised similarly, asking the Indian settlers not to join forces with the coloured people and the natives in any organization like the present one. We hope there was no assumption of racial superiority behind all this. These are sound counsels which should get respectful consideration from all. South African Indians must have weighed them, and, we believe, their Congress will be cautious enough before making any move in this matter. A 'United Front' based on a perpendicular division of the communities into racial blocks is a dangerous, and, even a backward step. In the present-day world such 'Fronts' are fashioned out of the economic and social lines of horizontal cleavage which already exist. In the case of South Africa the results, whatever principle were adopted, would have been the very same. Still one must know the path one follows. Indians, if they make common ground with the Bantu and other people, must recognize how they are to plan their future, and agree, partially, to forget their Indian origin and Indian tradition. For ourselves in India it may pain us to think that Indians are cutting themselves adrift from our moorings. But the primary consideration with the settlers everywhere should be the interests of the land and the people which they adopt, and which give them their living. There cannot be any thing fundamentally wrong if the Indian people of the Union find themselves in the same camp, side by side with the Bantu and the coloured people, provided, of course, they know and realize the consequences of the step. They perhaps as yet fail to see that the Front if it lasts will call for a union of the oppressed and suppressed forces within this South African Colonial world, and, cultural and racial exclusionist tendencies, of Indians or of any other people, are to be given a go-bye there once for all. The move, therefore, is to be watched to see the 'possible repercussions on the complex problem of race relationships in Africa as a whole' and on the equally complex problem of relationship between the oppressed and oppressors in the colonial countries world over.

The Indian cause in Natal and elsewhere has received, however, more attention as a result of this Anti-European Conference, and Major, W. T. Walker, Secretary of the Natal Municipal Association, in resigning from the Municipality drew pointed attention to it:

"I commend to you with all seriousness an almost immediate closer contact with the Natal Indian Congress

officers, either by means of the 'Hofmeyer' Sub-Committee of the Association, or a full-dress Executive Committee Round-Table Conference between the two parties, immediately after their Congress, to be held very shortly.

"I wish to stress this subject as the matter is becoming daily more critical and, unless handled in a sympathetic and commonsense manner, a position will be reached in our non-European life that will shake the very foundations of our existence.

"I do most earnestly plead with you to cast aside all prejudices and misunderstanding of our fellow South Africans, for such are the Indian people, just as much as you and I are.

"For the sake of the future of our country, these imaginary barriers between the European and Asiatic have to come down." (*Statesman*, 25th April, 1938.)

THE CAPE COLOURED COMMISSION REPORT

The Cape Coloured Commission Report is another important event from South African side. It is a document of considerable significance, reviewing the whole position of the races in the Cape, and is bound to prove helpful to the Indian community too. Their problems differ from those of the natives only in degree, not in kind—a point which, we should know, forms the real plank in the Cape-town 'United Front' platform whether that is joined to or not. As noted in the *Statesman* (April 18, 1938, Calcutta):

The incidental improvement in the condition of the one is bound to help in the regeneration of the other races of the Dark continent. The grant of limited and indirect franchise to the Bantu in the Union Parliament has already played a very influential part in the drive for securing similar and if possible wider franchise for the Coloured and Indian people. The present Commission recommends such franchise for the Coloured people. Sir Raza Ali recommended as a beginning the immediate grant of a limited franchise to the Indians of the Transvaal. The cumulative effect of these apparently disconnected facts is bound to be towards the uplift of the non-Whites of South Africa.

This has been followed in Durban by the Indian settlers raising a strong agitation against the housing policy of its Municipality, threatening in one case with Satyagraha. The Municipality, it is learnt, is ready to reconsider their policy in respect to Indian housing.

ZANZIBAR AND CLOVE

The Clove boycott which in Bombay and Calcutta, is proving so effective, has at last forced the Zanzibar Government to a mood to hear. A reorientation of the Clove policy is recognized, and the Zanzibar Government have drawn up revised terms for a parley with the representatives of the Government of India. But, to believe the *Zanzibar Voice* (April 3, 1938), the Administration is still anxious more for the Clove Growers' Association than for the trade, or the Arab growers.

"Though these proposals go some way to meet some of the reasoned and justified objections of Zanzibar Indians, they are hardly likely to be acceptable to them: for the sinister Clove Growers' Association will be there with its unwanted interference with free trade in cloves."

One of the most important modifications now suggested is that the prices paid by licensed dealers 'will not be prescribed by law, but will be a matter of arrangement between the parties concerned.' All the same, before export, all cloves will pass through Clove Growers' Association at the price fixed by the body.

We are not against giving protection to clove growers, but that cannot be done by organizing a costly and unwanted association as the Zanzibar administration has done."

ELECTIONS FOR INDIANS IN MOMBASA MUNICIPALITY

So long the seven Indian seats were filled by nomination. But by a notification it has been announced that the seven members on the Municipal Board of Mombasa are to be henceforth elected by the Indian community. The elections probably take place in June next. This is a valuable right conceded which Indians in other towns should try to secure too.

MALAY UNEMPLOYMENT

The reduction of the quotas for rubber and tin production has thrown large number of Indian workers in Malay out of employment. This is also evidenced by the larger repatriation figures.

900 unemployed Indian tappers at Bahau, we learn from the *Madras Mail*, have come into collision with the police on a recent occasion. Arguing that repatriation of Indians during the slack season "is fundamentally a bad policy," the paper proceeds to say that "with the constant fluctuations in the prosperity of Malaya's principal industries, rubber and tin, there is ever the possibility of the workers who are not wanted at one period may be urgently required a few months hence." Stressing the "moral aspect" of the question, the spokesman of the planters' views felt that these unemployed Indians "are surely entitled to some consideration in bad times." A policy of permanent settlement has also been recognised to be the only way of meeting the exigencies of the present and future situation concerning employment of Indians in Malaya.

WAGE REDUCTION TO RELIEVE UNEMPLOYMENT

It has been suggested that an actual reduction of the wages of the employed Indians in the estates would provide means for the employment of others who are displaced now. The Central Indian Association sent on March 29, 1938, telegrams to the Government of India and the Government of Madras protesting against this:

Reduction of wages of Indian labour, runs the message, is imminent. If wages are now reduced this

action will finally render infructuous the main labour of Sastri delegation. The present labour situation is definitely detrimental to the economic interests of Indian labour. It is suggested that assisted emigration may be stopped pending settlement of issues between the two countries. We respectfully urge the Government of India to take up a determined and firm stand and safeguard Indian rights.

EMIGRATION AND WAGES

The Secretary of the Association briefly explains the position in a letter to ourselves:

The question of wages relating to Indian labour has followed a checkered career for over 10 years. The employers have fairly successfully dodged paying even the so-called standard wages taking advantage of the economic conditions during periods of depression. Soon after the standard rates were introduced they were reduced by 20 p. c. owing to slump. In 1934, the Government of India permitted assisted emigration without securing the restoration of the wages at least to the pre-slump level.

Towards the end of 1936 the industry was attaining a state of high prosperity and about the same time the Sastri Delegation visited Malaya. As a tactical move, the wages were put up by 12½ p. c. before Mr. Sastri landed in Penang. Mr. Sastri in his Report pleaded for the full restoration of the cut and he hoped thereby to do some justice to the claims of Indian labour for higher wages.

In March 1937, there was a shortage of labour all over Malaya. Prices of rubber had artificially risen and the production quota under the scheme of international control was raised to 90 p. c. The Chinese who always put on the screw whenever prices soar up, went on strike. The employers got frightened. They immediately agreed to pay Indian male labourers 50 cents and female labourers 40 cents on condition the Labour Department stimulated recruitment. In the middle of 1937 there was a great scramble for Indian labour. By all means available—fair as well as unfair—a very large number of labourers was brought over from India.

For some months there is now what is called a 'recession.' The employers are everywhere burdened with more men than they need. Having succeeded in drawing off a large labour flow by holding out an inducement for increased wages, they have now placed themselves in an advantageous position this year in being able to dictate to labour their own terms. The present position is exactly opposite to what it was during the corresponding period of last year.

It is the Indian labour who suffers in this game. The present evils are due to uncontrolled emigration from India. Unless India regains control of emigration in her hands it is impossible to maintain any higher standard of living for our people or to maintain their wage level. The situation is drifting back to the same unsatisfactory position as it was before the Sastri Delegation came.

In a way the present situation is not entirely hopeless. If it results in the sweeping away of all the cobwebs that have been so finely spun both by the Malayan authorities and also by the Sastri report, a way will then have been created for entering into an agreement with the Malayan Government on the basis of a juster appreciation of the needs and rights of the Indian labour in particular and of the Indian community in general.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Italy's Weakness

Writing in *The New Statesman and Nation*, a correspondent gives a clear picture of the financial and economic difficulties of Italy, which economically is the weakest of all the dictatorships. The writer first points out the disadvantages with which Italy starts:

Italy is not a rich country. Her natural resources, with the exception of agriculture and water power, are negligible. Nor has she any large revenue from foreign investments or shipping services. Only a well-developed tourist industry and a declining amount of emigrant remittances help her to supplement the income of her export trade. Equally, the financial structure of the country, the banking system and the amount of national savings can scarcely be regarded as strong, while the standard of living of the people has traditionally been low.

Far from being a source of immediate profit, Abyssinia continues to be a liability of serious magnitude.

After a temporary lull following the capture of Addis Ababa, native resistance against the invader has been steadily growing. In particular, the last four months have seen increased military difficulties for the Italians, the number of troops, black and white, in Abyssinia has had to be raised from 130,000 to over 200,000; the development of the colony has completely stopped; trade has come to a standstill; and Italian firms have either returned to Italy, migrated to French Somaliland, or gone bankrupt in an attempt to fulfil their mission.

The result is that whereas Italian expenditure on Abyssinia amounted to approximately 400 million lire a month during the first nine months of 1937, it has since risen steadily until, during February, it reached the enormous sum of 850 million lire. . . . It is necessary to remember that none of it is productive capital investment, but that it is solely devoted to the maintenance of the Italian occupation.

In Spain, too, the Italians have little cause for satisfaction. The duration of the war has been hopelessly underestimated in Rome, and so has been the cost of Italy's support to Franco.

The Italian Government has to bring extraordinary resourcefulness into play in order to finance its numerous adventures:

Naturally only part of the money can be found from the normal sources of budgetary revenue. And even after taxation in every shape and form has been raised to unprecedented levels the budgetary deficit has increased from 2.1 milliard lire 1934-35 to 12.7 milliard in 1935-36 and 17.52 milliards in 1936-37. In the current year the deficit is lightly lower, namely 16.9 milliards, thanks to the favourable development in the first few months of the year. But a fresh rise to not much below 20 milliards in forecast for 1938-39 if the present rate of expenditure is maintained.

Borrowing does not suffice to meet the deficit, and the Italian Government has to take recourse to measures like the recent levy on the capital of joint-stock companies.

This was not necessarily a dangerous thing to do, if the Government had succeeded in keeping prices at a reasonable level. As it is, however, the flood of money that is being spent is acting as a powerful inflationary stimulus to prices. Thus the official cost of living index between 1934 and the end of 1937 has risen from 74.4 to 97.2. But owing to official reticence as to the full extent of the price inflation this figure does not tell the whole story. A rise to 120 is very much nearer the mark. Wages, of course, have also risen, although much less than the cost of living. If, in addition, one makes allowance for the increase in taxation, it appears that the standard of living of the Italian people has fallen by approximately 25 per cent since 1934.

A severe fall in the standard of living, then, is the first result of the Duce's military adventures. And although even the most ardent Fascist cannot maintain that the present rate of deterioration in the standard of living can be kept up much longer without causing harm to the morale of the people, the more immediate danger of Italy's economic situation lies elsewhere. Abyssinia, Spain rearmament and the *autarkie* drive are all enormous consumers of raw materials, and of raw materials which have to be imported from abroad. Consequently Italy's imports of primary products during 1937 showed a heavy increase, and as exports (partly as a result of the high Italian price level) recovered but little, the balance of trade showed the tremendous adverse balance of 5.64 million lire. Against this, Italy's net foreign exchange income from emigrant remittance, tourist trade and "services" is less than 2.5 milliard lire. Thus Italy suffered last year a net loss of gold and foreign exchange of over 3 milliard lire. At the same time, however, she continued to live on the raw material stock which had been laid in during the Abyssinian War. If allowance is made for this, the total loss of substance during the year was approximately 4 milliard lire. That compares with a total gold and foreign exchange reserve of 6 milliard lire still held by the Italian authorities.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Italy's foreign exchange position should have given rise to serious fears in Fascist circles.

Dictatorship

The essential idea behind dictatorship is the idea that national unity is best attained by national uniformity, by making everybody do and say the same thing till they come to believe and think the same thing, (writes Raymond V. Holt in *The Inquirer*) and this uniformity is achieved by propagating a new mythology, which is presented as a kind of idealism while in fact appealing to racial egotisms and hatreds. A

factor in this propaganda is that people are not allowed to know what the rulers do not want them to know, and those who do not accept this state of things are terrorised, tortured or imprisoned. Even decent people acquiesce in these cruelties because

they are taught to look upon the victims as outside the pale of humanity, as in the sixteenth century at the time of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew French Catholics looked upon the Huguenots and in the seventeenth century at Cromwell's massacre of Drogheda English Protestants looked upon Irish Catholics. Others acquiesce because they are unwilling to believe that these things really happen and they find it easy to persuade themselves that things are not as bad as they are painted because nowadays the worst of these cruelties are done behind the scenes. In the days of the Inquisition when men were burnt alive for heresy the burnings were public. Modern technique here as elsewhere is more efficient. Those who do not want to be disturbed by what they suspect can pretend that nothing terrible is happening.

At first these methods seem to produce the results desired. Immense power is generated by the mass production of opinion as it is by mass production of electricity. Sometimes this power is turned to good use for those who wield it are able to ride roughshod over any resistance to their schemes—whether the resistance comes from selfish vested interests or from enlightened humanitarians. And this again blinds some people to the issues at stake.

Sooner or later, however, the system will crack up and the appearance of uniformity will be resolved into a clash of bitter antagonism. Such dictatorships inevitably undergo progressive deterioration. Under them there is no place for men with sensitive consciences or independent minds and the worst men come to the top. The time-servers, the brutes and the self-seekers shelter themselves under the belief that all criticism and expression of opinion is disloyal, and so things go from bad to worse. And when a crisis arises all confidence has been undermined and all sense of individual responsibility destroyed. People do not know what to believe and so they believe the worst. At the height of their popularity the dictators can do no wrong and when a crisis arises they can do no right.

Japan's "Anti-British" Drive

Britain has become Public Enemy No. 1 in Japan and is now rarely referred to in the press except as "Crafty England," writes Hessel Tiltman in the *Asia*. At great mass meeting held in Japanese cities, the British Empire is held responsible for the cultivation of anti-Japanese feelings among the Chinese and accused of "furnishing the Chinese forces with financial assistance and materials of war."

Most famous of all the charges leveled at England was the story, widely believed to this day, that during the bombardment of Woosung and the landing of Japanese troops at that point below Shanghai, British warships steamed up and down the Whangpoo, interfering with the firing of the Japanese warships and creating a "wash" which impeded the landing operations. No shred of evidence was forthcoming to prove that the vessels ever existed, although the incident was reported to have

occurred in broad daylight. Later, at Tokyo, *Gaimusho* officials admitted frankly that there was, so far as they knew, no truth in the allegation. But they pointed out that "the fact that the story was widely believed is indicative of the state of Japanese opinion." A state of mind, I may add, which the Japanese press has not seen fit to correct by publishing any repudiation of this canard.

Finally, there is the clinching argument that the British have been upholding the fighting spirit of the Chinese army and the Kuomintang not only by moral but also by material support. To this charge the retort may fairly be made, first, that Japan not being at war with China, there existed no reason why any nation should refuse to sell munitions to that country, second, that if Japan owned thirty-eight per cent of all foreign investments in China threatened with national destruction, interest might reasonably dictate a sympathetic policy towards the government of China and, third, that high officials of the central government had complained bitterly to me that Great Britain "had not lifted a finger to help us in our hour of need."

Why, then, pick on the British? The answer is that certain exporting interests in Japan believe it is good business to do so, while others, in the ultranationalist camp, have reached the conclusion that Japan cannot secure her place in the sun until Great Britain has been pushed back into the shade—at least in Eastern Asia. In the light of this philosophy, a head-on collision with the U. S. S. R. would yield a meager reward compared with the rich booty destined for any one who can edge the British bankers, financiers, traders and merchants out of China and liquidate the £300,000,000 or more of British capital poured into that country during the past century without war if possible.

If, as I believe, neither the present Japanese Cabinet nor the General Staff nor the majority of the Japanese people desire to find themselves in serious conflict with Great Britain, or to interfere in any way with existing British interests in the Far East, there are certain prominent personalities in Japan who know quite definitely where they want *Dai Nihon* to go next. These leaders, who are believed to have some support in Japanese naval circles and are openly angling for the backing of the army, would gamble with the future prosperity of the empire by attempting to carry out the idea which lie behind the slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics" (which does not, however, include "China for the Chinese") by making their temporary peace with Russia in order to turn the national energies to the task of eliminating, as painlessly as possible, the British position in China. To this end they have already vetoed the appointment to the Japanese Cabinet of one able personality on the grounds that he is anti-Russian and, as the first step in the fulfilment of this dramatic *volte face* in the foreign policy of the nation, have advocated the occupation of Canton and South China by the Japanese army (thereby garroting the trade of Hong Kong) and the occupation of Hainan Island by the Imperial navy, thus cutting the communications linking Singapore with Hong Kong, and invalidating the whole strategic conception on which the Singapore Base was constructed.

The Heritage of the North China Peasant

A close acquaintance with the Chinese peasants, reduced as they are by circumstances to the borderline of starvation, reveals the fine heritage of a great people, which even extreme want cannot take away. F. S. Drake

writes in the course of an article contributed to *The International Review of Missions* :

The peasant is a farmer and has been a farmer for at least forty centuries . . . The farming instinct is deeply rooted in his nature, and no matter where a Chinese of peasant stock may be placed, or how small a patch of land may be at his disposal, he will speedily make something grow in it. It may be only a few grains of maize, or a vegetable marrow, or even a daisy in a pot, but something growing he will surely have.

This instinctive love for the land is enhanced by the fact that the Chinese peasant is for the most part the owner of the land he ploughs. It is the land he has inherited from his ancestors and which he will pass on to his heirs. It may be a small patch—one-third of an acre is reckoned to be enough for one person—but it is the source of his life and the guarantee of his freedom. Some member of the family may add to the joint income by small trading in the cities, or by bodily labour for others—pushing a wheel-barrow, or pulling a ricksha—but in time of necessity he can always return to the family plot, and though it may make it tight for all the rest to feed an extra mouth, yet he will not starve. This is what gives stability to the Chinese social system and makes it possible for the Chinese to ride successfully over the calamities that again and again sweep over them.

The ownership of land is related to a religious factor, the worship of ancestors.

In the mind of the lowliest Chinese peasant there is a consciousness of the ancestors from whom he has descended, from whom he derives both his own life and the land which he works, who are buried in that land in which he himself will one day be buried and which his children will work after him. So the Chinese peasant thinks in terms of the past and of the future as well as of the present. He himself is but one link in the chain of life. The ancestral land, the source of his life and of that of his children, is his heritage from his ancestors, and it is his duty to maintain it and to transmit it to his posterity, so that he and they may minister to the spirits of the departed who lie buried beneath its sod.

The consciousness of the individual as part of a long chain extending from the past into the future militates against excessive individualism, gives a sense of responsibility, elevates duty above personal desires and is the basis of the peculiar nationalism of the Chinese, which makes them never forget the land of their ancestors or the old family home, even though the family may have left it for a couple of hundred years, and which makes them abroad desire above all things to return home to die.

Mention must be made of Buddhism and its influence on the Chinese peasant:

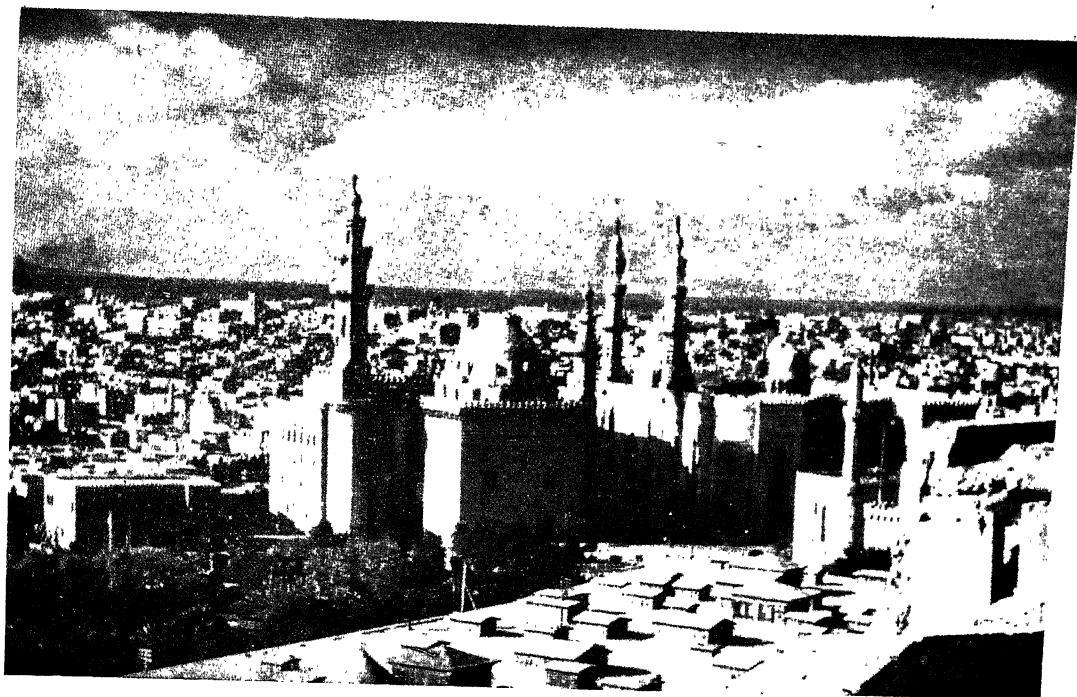
The Chinese peasant in all probability has never penetrated to the inner depths of Buddhist thought, although his women-folk may be enthusiastic devotees at the temple festivals, but his outlook nevertheless is influenced to some extent by the Buddhist point of view, by which he senses a higher state of existence than that of the present, and feels a respect for tenderness and charity and deeds of mercy that he would not otherwise feel.

Outer Mongolia

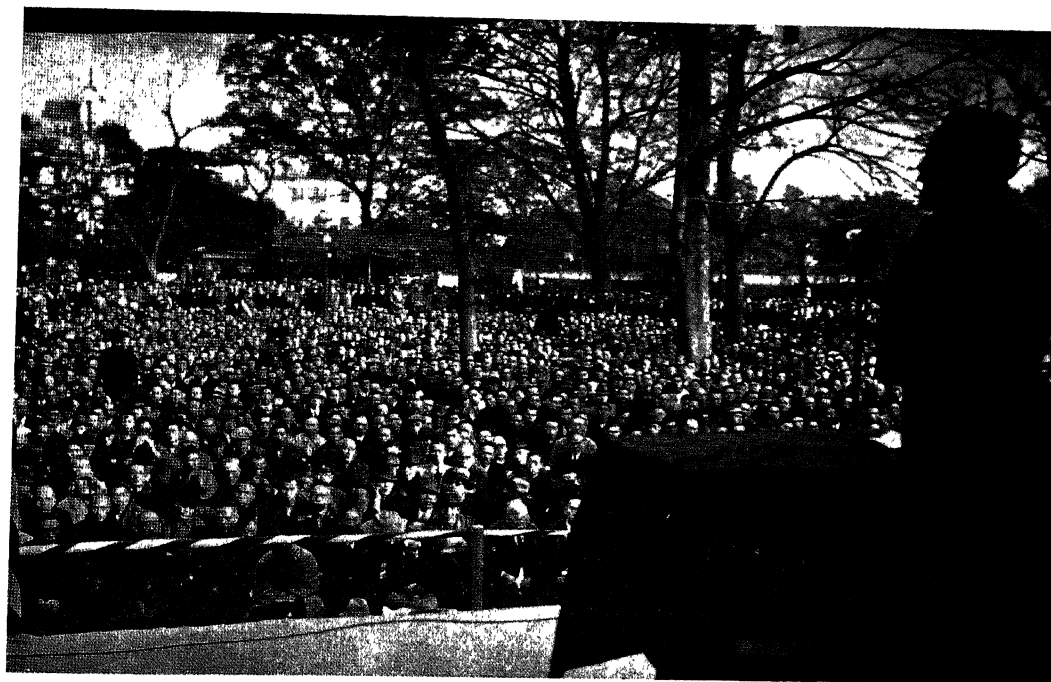
Rudolf Walter writes in the *Europäische Revue*, Stuttgart:

Outer Mongolia had never considered herself as an integral part of the Chinese Empire so long as she stood under the Chinese influence, but had only felt herself bound up with China through the common bond of sovereignty of the Manchu Emperor recognised by her. She had therefore been treated by China more or less as an autonomous unit with special rights of self-government. Outer Mongolia thus proclaimed herself autonomous on the 1st November, 1911, when the external bond of the Manchu dynasty fell off. . . . Russia has not only reckoned with this autonomy, but has defended it against China with her own diplomatic influence and military power. In 1913, both China and Russia recognised Outer Mongolia as autonomous. . . . In 1915, however, the suzerainty of China over this autonomy was recognised and in 1919 China felt herself strong enough to cancel the autonomy and occupy the land under General Hsu Shutsang. There was unrest among the Mongolians; the Chinese were driven out in 1920 and the "Living Buddha" set up at the head of an independent Mongolia. The Soviets now bestirred themselves and in July 1921, the so-called "People's Party of Revolutionary Mongolia," which represented the Far-Eastern section of the Third International of 1918, captured Urga with the help of the Soviet troops and declared the independence of Mongolia under their own auspices. The "Living Buddha" in Urga died subsequently on the 20th May, 1924, and with him the long line of incarnations of the Buddha came to an end. In spite, however, of the predominant Soviet influence, most of the supporters of the "People's Government of Revolutionary Mongolia," who might have been about 10 per cent of the population, remained nationalistic and the Soviets soon recognised that nothing could be obtained by threats and violence. . . . The old trade used to be in the hands of the Chinese, who used to bring clothing, tea, utensils, etc., to the Mongolian homes in exchange for the Mongolian products of cattle, hides, wool, etc. The new way opened to Russia did not prove satisfactory. A proposal was even made for renewing the old relation of a Mongolian autonomy under Chinese suzerainty, but remained unheeded by the Chinese. In November 1924, Mongolia had, for the first time, an independent constitution, forged after the Soviet model. Soviet Russia is now gradually penetrating Mongolia in every direction. The Chinese and foreign undertakings in the land are by some means or other brought to a standstill. The trade-routes through Inner Mongolia, manned by the Japanese, are closed and Outer Mongolia has become for the outside world, a prohibited area. For this purpose, the Soviet Government makes use of the small but orderly Mongolian troops as a vehicle of the revolutionary ideals of the Soviet. It has been proved on various occasions that the Mongolian soldiers, who have to undergo a two years' compulsory military service, are prepared to obey their masters and shoot their own countrymen, who are known to them to be true Mongolian nationalists. . . . The disruption of trade with China has, however, forced Outer Mongolia to think seriously of being economically independent. They have been making steady progress in education, health and hygiene. . . . The result of the present Sino-Japanese conflict is, therefore, of decisive importance to the future of Mongolian politics; because the old ideal of Pan-Mongolianism has always remained wakeful and a Mongolian, who takes his bread willingly and contentedly from the hand of a foreigner, is yet to be born.

[TRs. DR. V. V. GOKHALE]

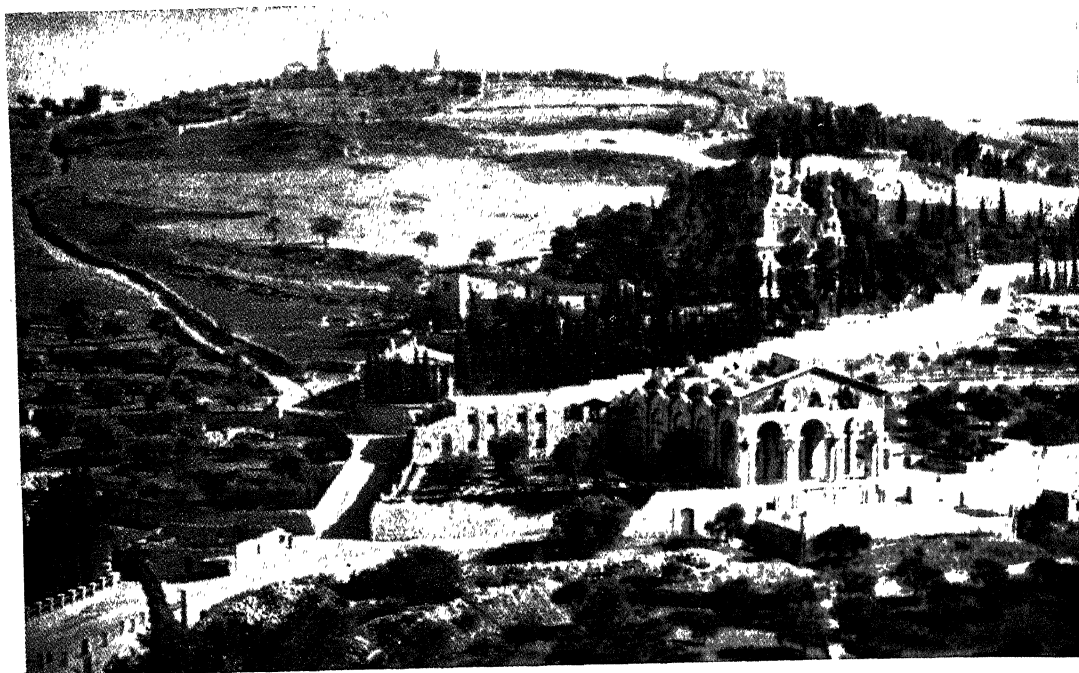


Cairo : In its modern streets and its antiquated bazars East and West mingle but do not mix



A view of the great anti-British mass meeting, held at Hibaya Park, Tokyo, on November 27, 1937. There were banners beside the speaker's platform which read : "Break off relations with Britain" and "Redistribute Britain's Colonies."

[Asia



Jerusalem solves "the problem of modern westernization by drawing a cabalistic circle around itself."
Outside its ancient walls—yet within the "fortress of faith" is the Mount of Olives



Beirut, chief seaport of Syria, the old Phœnician city which once was a Roman colony and in which Greek culture flourished for centuries [Asia



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The West must Learn about India

William Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U. S. A., in his article in *The Aryan Path* makes a sincere appeal to all Westerners for a real understanding of the mind and heart of India :

Fifty years ago, India was an economic prize to supply an industrial western country with raw materials and consume its manufactured products, while the will of her people was of no consequence outside her own borders, if a will even existed. During the twentieth century her status has changed. She still is an economic asset to the West, but she has cultivated so much of political nationalism and asserted herself so effectively toward nationhood that her opinions and desires begin to affect the outside world. When another fifty years will have passed, her expanding industry, her growing trade with its wider diffusion among the nations, her more vigorous and modernly motivated intellectual life, all heightened in importance by the great numbers of her population, will compel the rest of the world to listen to her voice and reckon with her aims and actions, and she will herself have become a power.

The problem, then, for a western nation, is to ascertain just what it needs to know of India to understand that country in its world relationships, and to develop a method of getting that knowledge to enough of its leaders to guide its national policy toward India.

The West will want to know—should be trying to learn right now—how strong the desire is in India for independence, if the final demand will be for separate statehood or if home rule within the British Empire will be satisfactory. Again, what form of government will India adopt—democratic, fascist, communist—what will her foreign policy be? And will she develop industry within her own borders, using her abundance of raw materials and labour and marketing her products at home, with exportation of her surplus to other countries, and so enter into competition with western industrial nations, or will she remain primarily agricultural, and a consumer of imported products? What are the chances that Britain can hold her preferred position in India, and what the chances of Japan for economic and perhaps also political domination? What is the substance of India's will to assert and develop herself : will it grow stronger or is it only an illusion?

Even such immediate questions as these lead at once to the study of India's past. This is not a novel idea to Indians but we of the West hardly seem to have grasped it. We must examine the development of her political institutions during the millennia of which we have records, if we are to estimate the significance and

strength of the current demands for representative responsible government. The temper of India's mind as revealed in her literature and previous dealings with governmental problems give shape to her present political thinking, and will affect that of the future.

The economic questions we have raised require the same sort of treatment.

If politics and economics must be studied and interpreted in the light of general Indian culture, still more obviously must social phenomena.

It is of profound importance to the world at large that it should understand the social organization of a country containing over three hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants. What is happening among so many people is important in itself; to outsiders it is additionally important because of the effect, in this narrowing world, which their social developments will have upon the rest of us. The institution of caste alone is sufficient to illustrate the point. The effect it has upon life in India and upon the relation of India to the world at large, the changes it is now experiencing, its probable future, the character it will give to the India with which the West will have to deal—these are so weighty as to demand that we study it intensively.

The same sort of situation exists with respect to the arts.

Indian painting, sculpture, and architecture—some of whose characteristic features appear as early as in the Indus civilization of the third millennium B.C.—so different in their fundamental motivation from the Greek that dominates the western tradition, so profound in their intellectual content, so rich and varied in their form so powerful in their hold upon the people, these we must know from the Indian point of view, if we are to make any adequate appraisal of Indian civilization, while from them western artists may themselves derive ideas of value in their own creative work, as indeed some have already.

What are the practical means of bringing the West to learn about India? It is not enough to point out the needs and advantages of acquiring such knowledge and then to leave it to chance or the unassisted efforts of our public or our leaders to find the necessary and valuable information. Those who are interested in seeing India and the West understand each other, and who have some measures of specialized information about India, should try to think out a programme of specific and definite means for accomplishing that end.

In every case, the first requisite is that our attitude should remain objective : for, just as it is indefensible to try to make Indians think and behave like us, so too we should not aim to make Occidentals believe and act like Indians. A humility and respect for each other, too often lacking in India as well as in America, must especially mark those who endeavour to interpret the one

to the other. The aim is understanding, not proselytism; so will success follow.

Scientists of the World, Unite!

In the course of his Appeal entitled "The World's Dire Need for A Scientist Manifesto," published in *The Theosophist*, Dr. Bhagavan Das says:

Every great human movement has, necessarily, some sort of a philosophy of life behind it, conscious or sub-conscious, good or bad, sound or erroneous. Practice is inevitably connected with theory, instinctive or deliberate. The French Revolution is said to have found its philosophers in Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the Encyclopaedists; the greater Russian Revolution, in Bakunin, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and others. Capitalist Individualism is said to find support in Bentham, Spencer, Darwin, Wallace, and Mill. Fascism and Communism both are reported to trace their spiritual ancestry back to the German philosopher Hegel, in different ways; and they are now warring against each other with the implacable hate of step-brothers. On the present occasion, we must not endeavour to apportion blame or praise; but it is unavoidable to say, for our purpose, that all those Nations, all those Powers, without exception or distinction, which have been, are now, or think of, exploiting, subjugating, enslaving, oppressing, any weaker populations, nations, races, or classes—all such are to blame, in the degree in which they are thus treating the weaker.

Now, it is obvious that the philosophies behind the gigantic movements, and also the science-created weapons with which they fight, are within the purview, nay, are the main concern, are even the creation, of the men of thought and science; in fact, it has been said openly and repeatedly, by western writers, that the last World War was much more a war of scientists than of soldiers; and such men, today, are almost all congregated in the Universities and various Learned and Scientific Institutes. *A very great responsibility, a very urgent and high duty, therefore rests upon them; and an equally great power and authority belongs to them, if they would only awaken to it, recognize it, assume it, and determine to wield it. They are the educators of mankind... They constitute the "spiritual power" today. They should guide the "temporal power" everywhere, instead of allowing themselves to be misguided, exploited, prostituted by it. They can resolve and declare that they will cease to discover, invent, teach, if the politicians and the soldiers do not cease to misuse the precious knowledge. Education is the root; Civilization is the fruit. As is the one, good or bad, such is the other. Science should compel the Sword to protect; not the Sword, Science to destroy. If Science flings away Spirituality, and clings to Materiality alone, then it makes easy, nay, inevitable, its own prostitution and ultimate destruction by the Sword, as seems imminent now.*

Poison Gases in Modern Warfare

Science and Culture gives an account of how poison gases came to be employed on a large scale in modern warfare:

The Great War of 1914-1918 was responsible for the development of a technique in attack and defence through the use of chemicals which were not explosives. Early in 1915, it was apparent that the war of attrition had

begun. The battlefront in the west expanded from the Swiss mountains to the sea; the British fleet were effectively preventing the entry of essential raw materials into Germany. In their desperate attempts to break through this cordon in land and sea, the German High Command determined to adopt measures of extreme ruthlessness. Indiscriminate submarine attack in sea and extensive use of poison gases on land were the outcome of this policy.

Never was the critical factor of surprise in war nearer success than when the Germans launched their first gas attack at Ypres on 22nd April, 1915. Field Marshal Sir John French described the situation as follows:

"Following a heavy bombardment, the enemy used poison gases for the first time. Aircraft reported that thick yellow smoke had been seen issuing from the enemy trenches. What follows almost defies description. The effect of these poison gases was so virulent as to render the whole of the line held by the division incapable of any action at all. It was at first impossible to realize what had actually happened. The smoke and fumes hid everything from sight and thousands of men were thrown into a comatose and dying condition and within an hour the whole had to be abandoned together with about 50 guns."

Competent critics are of opinion that if the Germans had completely grasped the probability of such colossal success and pressed the advantage with rigour, the channel ports might have fallen and the fate of the war might have been otherwise.

In May 1915, the Germans made similar gas attacks upon the Russians immediately west of Warsaw and with equally deadly results. "The gas was discharged for a total time of not more than half an hour on a front of about 6 miles. The affair seems relatively small, yet what was the result? The Russians lost not less than 5,000 dead in the field and their total casualties were 25,000 officers and men."

No other weapon could have produced results under the most favourable conditions for its use in as many days what gas was able to do in as many minutes.

Poison gases having proved their deadly efficiency, their employment on a large scale was decided upon by all the combatants. In the early attacks the gas under compression was discharged from cylinders into the no man's land in front of the trenches by means of lead pipes, and was transported into enemy lines by favourable winds. The advantage of being able to command the locality of the incidence of gas cloud was immediately realized, and gas shell came into vogue. The poison gases can generally be compressed into the liquid state; and into the shell were charged these liquids, which, by the use of a small amount of high explosive in the shell, were converted into fine mist when the shell burst. Since gases can diffuse into a wide area, the gas shells need not be fired from guns with the same accuracy of aim as high explosive shells. Guns of simpler mechanical design can therefore be used for this purpose. General Ludendorff tells us that during the big German attacks of 1918, gas shells were used against artillery and infantry in quantities which had never been seen before, and even in open warfare, the troops were asking for gas. It is surmised that about 50 per cent of the shells fired in the last phase of the war were gas shells.

The irritant gases produce lesions and congestions in the respiratory system and cause death by suffocation. Chlorine, phosgene, diphosgene, cyanogen chloride,

chloropicrin, chlormethyl chlorformate are some of the powerful irritants whose deadly efficiency in war has already been demonstrated. Chlorine and phosgene are fatal at concentrations of 40 parts per million and these were the two gases which inflicted such heavy casualties in the allied armies in 1915.

Another type of gas which has great military value is known as Lachrymators. They produce temporary or permanent blindness by weeping.

Mustard gas has also another property which revealed the possibilities inherent in chemical warfare. It produced vesicant or skin-burning effects, which, although rarely mortal, were sufficient to put a man out of action for several months.

The chemicals which produce sneezing came into use in the later phases of the war when the mask had become a part of the soldier's normal equipment. Typical substances are some arsenic derivatives—diphenyl chlorarsine, diphenylcyanarsine.

The chemical industries of Germany, England and America have equipment and assets which may be valued at a thousand million pounds. They are, in times of peace, engaged in manufacturing acids, alkalis, fertilizers, dyes, drugs, etc. But, at a moment's notice, their activities can be switched on to the production of war chemicals.

The Hindu Conception of the Motherland

The Hindu conception of the mother-country is more cultural than territorial. The spiritual enters more into that conception than the material. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji illustrates this truth in *Prabuddha Bharat* in his article on the Hindu Conception of the Motherland :

The spirit of patriotism in the West finds a typical utterance in the following famous lines of Walter Scott :

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,

Who never to himself hath said,

"This is my own, my native land;"

But the Hindu raises his patriotic utterance to a much higher level. A typical and most wide-spread utterance influencing the mass-mind in India is the following :

"The mother and the mother-country are greater than Heaven itself."

But this utterance which comes from later Sanskrit literature owes its inspiration to the Vedas, the eternal fountain-head of Hindu thought through the ages. For instance, the Prithivi-sukta of the *Atharva-Veda* contains the Hindu's earliest hymns to the mother-land, each of whose features receives its due share of recognition for its contribution in the making of the country : "The seas protecting the land, the fertilizing rivers, hills and snows, forests and herbs, its agriculture, flora and fauna, and, lastly, its people of different speech, of diverse customs according to their regions, its roads, villages and even assemblies (*sabha* and *samiti*)."

The *Manusmriti* finally describes the country as created by the gods.

He describes how patriotism is expressed in pilgrimage.

Indeed, in the heyday of Hinduism, in the spacious times of the Gupta emperors, a fervent patriotism transformed into a profound religious sentiment found its own

means of expression in its own way. It invented its appropriate symbols and ceremonies, its own mode of worshipping the country. It conceived of the system of pilgrimage which is peculiar to Hinduism, and is a most potent instrument of instruction in geography by field-work. It educates the Indian popular mind, or mass-consciousness, in the realization of what constitutes the mother-country through the religious necessity imposed on the people to visit its different parts for the sacred places and shrines placed in them. The country as an abstraction is thus transformed into a vivid and visible reality, an ideal is realized in terms of blood. The romance of patriotism has fondly woven a network of holy spots covering the whole country, so that all parts of it are equally sacred and the equal concern of religious devotees.

The number of places of pilgrimage in India is legion.

It only shows the waking of a religious imagination in its attempt at visualizing and worshipping the physical form of the mother Goddess. This religious imagination of the nation has, indeed, impressed in its service every spot of beauty in the vast country, which it has at once declared as holy and has endowed with a temple, shrine, or some religious symbol like a piece of hallowed stone, or even a tree. Here is patriotism run riot! It finds its food even in the natural beauties of the country. Hence the Hindu's pilgrimage is to the eternal snows of the Himalayas, the depths of forests, the palm-clad seas-shores, the hidden sources of rivers, or their mouths and confluences. His treatment of natural beauty is also unique. His love of nature is a religious emotion. A place of natural beauty in the West is associated with holiday-making, pleasure trips, picnics, hotels and cinemas. In India, it is marked by temples and pilgrims, hermitages and ascetics, so as to lead the mind from Nature up to Nature's God. The beauty of Nature in the one case is a stimulus to objectivity, to outgoing activities. In the other case, it is an incentive to subjectivity, mediation and renunciation.

He says that pilgrimage inculcates love of country in the masses.

A comparative consideration of the various lists of *tirthas* in different texts will show how fondly the Indian mind clings to the mother-country and considers every inch of its territory as sacred soil. It worships the Virat-deha, the great body of the country of which every part it holds to be holy. As a consequence, the Hindu has no holy place outside India, like a far off Palestine or Mecca or Medina. As has been explained, his culture is synonymous with his country.

The later texts locating the holy places on a generous scale all over India indicate how far they have travelled from the early days of Vedic civilization when the country or the holy land was confined to Aryavarta. Now the country embraces the whole of India, as its civilization has penetrated into all its parts.

A final expression of this evolution of the idea of the mother-country is embodied in certain texts prescribing the places where one should seek his last resting-place to lay his bones, or have his funeral ceremonies performed. These places are, accordingly, to be considered as the most sacred of places by all Hindus in common, irrespective of provincial or religious differences, of sect or creed. In the contemplation of death they must sink these differences and realize the unity of their common mother-land. Death completes what life leaves incomplete.

Women's Place in Hindu Law

Writing about women's place in Hindu Law T. Pattabhiramayya observes in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine*:

It can be said that the result of the establishment of British Courts of Law was rather conservative in the domain of Hindu Law and tended to restrict the rights of women. *Mitakshara* is much more liberal to women than the Courts of today; it did not accept the theory that women by reason of sex are disentitled to inherit, nor is there any foundation in it for the rule that women take a limited estate in property inherited by them. All property, however acquired, was *stridhan*, according to its definition; but judicial decisions exclude inherited property from the category of *stridhan*. The theory that women *prima facie* take only a limited interest under grants *inter vivos* or by will is a creature of judicial decisions.

Mysticism in the Poetry of AE

George William Russel (1867-1935) of Ireland was a great poet, patriot and mystic. In *Prabuddha Bharata* Dayamoy Mitra discusses the importance of the ideal and the deeper note of mysticism in the poetry of AE by which name he is generally known as a poet:

Poetry for a man like AE constituted a '*sadhana*' which implied continuity of effort towards Realization. AE's view concerning one aspect of the future of Poetry is succinctly expressed in the poem called *A New Theme*:

I think that in the coming time
The hearts and hopes of men
The mountain tops of life shall climb
The Gods return again.
I strive to blow the magic horn,
It feebly murmureth,
Arise on some enchanted morn,
Poet, with God's own breath.
And sound the horn I cannot blow,
And by the secret name
Each exile of the heart will know
Kindle the magic flame.

As a marked contrast to the Victorians we notice that in such poetry as AE's the claims of the Infinite in thought, the Infinite in feeling, the Infinite in willing have been triumphantly asserted. It is not true that this is entirely a new note in English literature. We have had something of this in Blake and Wordsworth in their loftier moments and before them in even the so-called "metaphysicals," however closely connected some of them are with a narrower creed, and in a more pronounced manner still in the poetry of Shelley. Shelley has been so systematically misunderstood, with notable exceptions here and there, that one almost hesitates to take his name; but without doubt if there is a new vision in poetry at all today, we must have to hail Shelley as its protagonist. Shelley at least prepared the path for those who could sing and talk in graver and more assured tones regarding such high sentiments as make the mortal nature in us tremble like guilty things surprised.

Granted the ideal, we can very easily understand AE's treatment of Love in his poetry.

The poet does not practise the rigorism of self-denial; but he has his own beautiful manner of teaching self-abnegation. The poet is in it but not of it, when he sings:

We liken Love to this and that, our thought
The echo of a deeper being seems
And we kiss because God once for beauty sought
Within a world of dreams.

We have not only the value that we consider to be important but at the same time we are made to recognize the Highest in our traffic with the beloved objects of this world:

I sometimes think a mighty lover
Takes every burning kiss we give
His lights are those which round us hover
For him alone our lives we live.

It is the meeting together of the Eternal Lover and the soul of man that we are constantly witnessing through our finite loves. As the Upanishads would have it: The beloved we feel to be our very own not because of his or her sake but because of the Infinite that is implicit in the finite.

"I would not have the love of lips and eyes,
The ancient ways of love;
But in my heart I built a paradise
A nest there for the dove"

and then we hear what we shall feel when Love disperses the thinnest of veils, when it truthfully dawns on the human heart:

I could not even bear the thought I felt
Of Thee and Me therein;
And with white heat I strove the veil to melt
That love to love might win.

The Earlier Phase of Modernist Verse

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty discusses the earlier phase of modernist verse in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

The problem for the young poet today, it must be admitted, is complicated. The Modern Age presses upon our lives a multitude of unharmonised elements; a daily paper is a bedlam of unrelated pictures; the interactions of events, in all fields of modern activity, in finance, economics, politics . . . defy our powers of unravelling. The modern mind is haunted by the interdependence of things; emotions evoked by the fragmentary experiences of city-life move in a whirl, and the creative imagination, excepting in a finely balanced personality, soon gets tired; the criterion of inward truth is obscured by the crowded complexity of facts.

The Metaphysicals could take shelter in a few fundamental assumptions; when the experiences of life seemed chaotic they tried to find a logical reason, but essentially they were at peace with themselves and could rest in reserved areas of belief into which the dissecting mind was not admitted. The modern poet has hardly any reserved areas, though he is trying to create some with the barbed wire of psychological jargon, or of economic doctrine. Life is being psycho-analysed in verse, and consciousness tortured to yield new materials. Modernist poetry, however, proves that as yet no safe anchorages have been found, and both the struggle for new forms of expression, and the character of the literary materials assembled show that the effort to introduce the novel associations and links which lie below consciousness has yet to find its justification. The foundation of belief cannot be established by method and law, or by the analysis

of interconnections. In short, something more than pursuit of the process is called for.

Like the Metaphysicals, the moderns sacrifice clarity for the sake of chromatic effect.

The sonnet-form, which demands a unity of mood, and a corresponding structural sense, has therefore fallen into disuse, just as it did in the period of the Metaphysicals. Excepting a few poems of Eliot, like the *Journey of the Magi*, where due to his self-discipline, poetic form and consistency have been preserved, and poems like Spender's *The Express*, in which the limitations of the subject-matter have not been ignored, few post-war poems of the modernist group can be remembered as individual works of art. Most of the poems of Day Lewis, Spender and Auden seem to run into each other and form a chain of verses, revealing hardly any sense of form, even though much is made these days of the objective reality of "expression." Even when the subject of the poem can be expected to impose a certain logical structure, as in the poem *Time to Dance* by Day Lewis—his two brave pilot friends had a definite ground (or rather air-area) to cover—beginning, and continuing for a time on a fairly high level of poetic journalism, essential to narrative poetry. Day Lewis allows his poetic idea to dissolve into thin air, leaving a feeble smoke-trail in the mind. Often, again, his poem says, is choked by assortments of thought, as with weeds, and in trying to offer opinions on various problems of the day it reaches nowhere. His *Feathers to Iron* written in immaturity shows greater incoherence because of its mix-up of machine, terminus, child-birth, revolution and what-not; though the meandering, semi-narrative nature of the long poem permitted a cycle of paragraphic structurers. *The Magnetic Mountain* shares this quality; it is a more fully developed poem, passages can be isolated from it, and remembered. But both Auden and Day Lewis would rather swim about than walk on the land; their poems offer the kind of aquatic continuity for which one has to go back to the worst excesses of the Metaphysicals.

Free Verse, in these days, has been widely exploited for lyrical as well as dramatic poetry. But only a conscientious craftsman can justify its use. The Imagists far too often employed it to match the diffuseness of subject-matter.

Mr. Eliot learning from their experience has achieved fine effects in this medium. Mr. Yeats, claimed by moderns to be a Modernist edition of himself, has never set one foot forward in its forbidden area. There has been much discussion about the heredity of *Free Verse*; that it is neither the spontaneous creation of this Age, nor the invention of Whitman, is acknowledged. *Samson Agonistes* and *The Strayed Reveller* occur to the mind. The Imagists betrayed their usual confusion of mind when after referring to Arnold's *Philomela* and Henley's *London Voluntaries* they went on to say that *Free Verse* derives also from Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*, and Chaucer's *House of Fame*. Browning's and Gerard Hopkins' speech rhythms have added to its vigour; the effect of Owen's internal rhymes is discernible. *Free Verse* has indeed come to stay, within strict limits. It is interesting to watch its transformation into *Choruses* in some parts of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and Auden's *Dog Beneath the Skin*. The pressure of the "multiple-correspondence" mind has often tortured it out of shape, and it has ended in being used for

unending perorations, and since it is clearly unsuited for many kinds of poetry, and can never replace blank-verse, the rhymed lyric, or sonnet, it remains today mainly as an evidence of the daring explorations of the modern craftsman rather than of major creative achievement.

P. E. N. Annual Meeting

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the P. E. N. India Centre was held in Bombay, on the 14th of March. The following extract from the report published in *The Indian P. E. N.* is given below:

In welcoming the guests and stressing the desirability of more frequent contacts between members, Sophia Wadia referred also to the threatening conditions in the world and read a statement on the stand of the international P.E.N. on the exchange of literary works independent of political accidents, on respect, even in warfare, for works of art which are the common heritage of humanity, and on the obligation of every member to use his influence, personal as well as literary, in favour of mutual understanding and respect of peoples. Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, our Honorary Secretary, read the list of twenty-three new members from all parts of India admitted to membership during the past year, and the names of four members deceased since the 1st of January, 1937:

Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee
Sjt. B. M. Dattatraya
Sjt. V. Suryanarayana Rao
Sjt. Kanaiyalal Vakil

The Zenda Avesta

Pritam Singh gives the following brief description of the Zoroastrian scriptures in *The Twentieth Century*:

The scriptures of the Zoroastrians (the Parsis of India) of whom there are about a hundred thousand living in and near Bombay, are known as Zenda Avesta or commentaries on the Avesta (Vesta-Knowledge). The Avesta represents a long period of diverse development spread over about one thousand years. The original Avesta is said to have consisted of 21 volumes, but the ravages of Alexander the Great seem to have destroyed a large number of the old manuscripts. The various scattered manuscripts were later on collected by the Sassanian Kings (third and fourth centuries A.D.). The language of these scriptures is old and extinct and very few oriental scholars can understand them. The modern translations are in Pahlavi of course and the original has undergone many changes in course of time. The Gathas or the words attributed to the Prophet Zoroaster form part of the Zenda Avesta.

The Zenda Avesta, like the Bible, consists of many books and extends over a period of one thousand years as stated above. The process of compilation was roughly as follows. The sayings of the Prophet Zoroaster and those who immediately followed him were the first to be recorded. These records were then edited and elaborated by successive generations. The language originally was Gathic Avestan. In course of time, new explanations were added in a dialect known as the "Younger Avestan" or Zenda. The modern Zenda Avesta

is in the Pahlvi language which was the spoken language in the Sassanian times and is nearer to modern Iranian. The languages and dialects of the Zenda Avesta are, however, all inter-related.

Gathas form the most important part of the Avesta and are 'metrical sermons' attributed to Zoroaster himself and are regarded as revelations. These were recorded more than three thousand years ago. Considering the age it is really remarkable that such fine literature should find birth in the primitive civilization of ancient Iran. The art of verse seems to have been very highly developed in that age. One Gatha, however, is in prose which is a collection of prayers. The *Yasna* of which the Gathas form a part, is a book of liturgy meant to be used in connection with the various ceremonies current among the Parsis. Besides the *Yasna*, there is the *Vendidad* which means 'law against the demons'—all these constitute the Zenda Avesta.

The Zoroastrian faith based on these scriptures is monotheistic in the main. Ahura Mazda or Ormuzd as the Parsis call Him, signifies the 'wise lord.' Before Zoroaster's coming people worshipped many kinds of spirits. He showed them that there was one Ahura (spirit) and he was Mazda (the wise one). Justice and Truth must be rendered as his service by men of good speech, good thoughts and good deeds. It sounds paradoxical that we should find two spirits postulated, the good and the evil, thus giving a colour of dualism to the teachings of Zoroaster. This dualism is not of co-eternal spirits however; because it maintains that the evil spirit will ultimately succumb to the good.

Elephant Lore in Pallava History

Dr. C. Minakshi writes about the elephant lore in Pallava history in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. In the course of the article the writer observes:

Gaja Sastra or Elephantology dealing on the different aspects of elephants, their capture, taming, training, etc., has been specially patronised by kings in ancient India. Its inclusion among other sciences of study is well justified by the great use to which the elephant has been put not only in the State paraphernalia but also in the military equipment of ancient Indian Royalty.

It is interesting to observe that learned treatises on this subject have been written by eminent scholars of which to enumerate a few:—(1) *Hastayurveda*, a most ancient standard work ascribed to one Palakapya; (2) *Matanga-lila* of Nilakanta, which treats extensively on the elephant sport; and for which a valuable translation into English from the original Sanskrit by Professor Egerton of the Yale University has recently been published; and (3) *Mriga Pakshi Sastra* by a Jain author named Hamsadeva, another informative work extant on this subject which gives a classificatory account of the thirteen kinds of elephants.

Besides the above-mentioned works, references and allusions to elephant hunting and elephant breeding are found in Sanskrit *Kavyas* frequently.

On the basis of epigraphical evidences we find that a few of the Pallava Rulers evinced a very great interest in the study of elephantology. One of these kings Rajasimha is described as *Sri Ibhavidyadarah* (he who possesses the knowledge of elephants), *Sri Ibhavatsarajah* (he who resembles the king of the Vatsa Country in the knowledge of the elephants), and *Sri Varana Bhaga-*

dattah (he who resembles Bhagadatta in the knowledge of elephants).

Explorations in the Gobi Desert

The Gobi Desert offered a special challenge to the scientific explorer. It tempted him, for in all the world it was the largest land area about which so little was known. It defied him, because its distances are so vast, and travel is so difficult that the short summer passes before the explorer can penetrate far or finish his studies. Observes Frederick K. Morris in his article in *Science and Culture* on the explorations in the Gobi Desert:

Roy Chapman Andrews conceived the answer to this challenge. He sent out a caravan of camels in early March, carrying food for men and for motor-cars. A month later, we scientists with a small fleet of cars travelled into the desert, studying the land and collecting specimens.

Dr. Granger, the Palaeontologist, with four assistants, collected the vertebrate fossils which were buried in the sedimentary rocks. Many people believe that we found creatures of great antiquity—even to the earliest of vertebrates; but this is not true. Our vertebrate fossil record began with the lowest Cretaceous. Dinosaurs and other vertebrates are found abundantly in other regions from much older formations than these. Popular belief also held that we had discovered the source from which many races of dinosaurs and mammals evolved and migrated radially to all the world. This would have been very interesting; but what we actually found was even more interesting.

The Age of Mammals is richly represented in the Gobi Desert, and we took thousands of mammal-bones from many Tertiary beds. Here, too, our discoveries were surprising, even to ourselves. One of the most interesting experiences was finding the highest Cretaceous in direct contact with the Paleocene. This meant that in a single locality we could study the latest dinosaur beds and the earliest mammal beds together, one resting upon the other. Here we hoped that the great gap between the Mesozoic and Cenozoic eras would be bridged; and that we could find a transition from the Age of Reptiles to the Age of Mammals; there might have been a mingling of the two faunae; there might have been primitive mammals in the one whose descendants appeared more highly advanced in the other. We hoped to shed some light upon the unknown cause of the extinction of all dinosaurs—an unsolved problem of biology and geology.

But here, as everywhere else on this planet, we found the fossil records wholly separate and distinct. In the Cretaceous rocks the dinosaurs were abundant to the very top; but not one survived into the Paleocene. The Cretaceous did indeed yield primitive mammals—but they were wholly different from the strange aberrant mammals of the Paleocene.

The mammal record held many surprises. We had expected to discover the five-toed ancestors of the horse; for in America the earliest of the horse-tribe had already lost one toe. And since Asia was the home of the domestic horse, we hoped that we would find horses or their ancestors in all the formations of the Age of Mammals. But exactly the reverse was true; for we

found no horses older than the *Hipparion* of Pliocene time. The horse must have emigrated to Asia after evolving in America. He must have travelled to meet his Asiatic comrade, Man, almost at the time when Man had evolved so highly that he could begin to use the horse. I grant that the word "almost" is a bit figurative, for there is no evidence that Man domesticated *Hipparion*, which was almost as good a horse as *Equus*. But the proof of the separate evolution and dramatic meeting of these two comrades, Man and Horse, was one of the unexpected results of our studies.

Another surprise was the discovery of titanotheres in Asia. Our Museum's President, Henry Fairfield Osborn, had just finished his great monograph on these huge-horned beasts of the Western Hemisphere, when Dr. Granger found titanotheres in the Gobi Desert—the only part of Asia, I think, where they are known.

India and China

India! O India!!

Remember thy ancient friend, thy brother-nation, across
the Himalayas,
claiming same age, same spirit, same life of piety.

Never yet was seen or heard on this globe
such incomparable bond of fellowship,
unbroken through the milleniums.
Ye met, not as rivals on the battlefield,
each claiming the monopoly of tyranny on this earth,
but as noble friends, rejoicing in the exchange of
valued gifts.

To thee my love, my greetings!

India! O India!!

Full of chaos still is the world, where men grope
blindly in dark terror.

Thine be the right and of thy suffering friend,
across the Himalayas,
to show them light and lead them along the way
of righteousness.

Thine the difficult duty and of thy friend,
to pilot them through the sea of storm and horror,
to the shores of peace and piety.

Awake then thou, arise and be prepared,
to march along, side by side, hand in hand,
hearkening to the stern voice of truth,
and shoulder the burden of a mad, vicious world.
My love to thee, to thee my gratitude.

Tan Yun-Suan in *Visa-Bharati News*



Rabindranath is receiving offerings of love and affection from the inmates of Santiniketan on his birthday
(Photographs by Satyendranath Bisi)

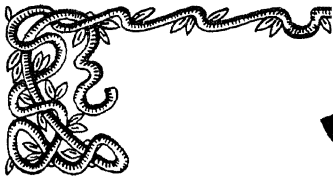


Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan. Mahatmaji is seen taking orange juice.

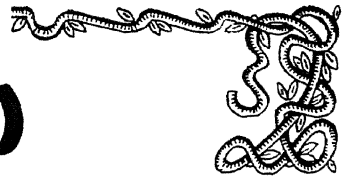


Mahatma Gandhi at Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan

[Photographs by Satyendranath Bisi



Notes



How Federation Can Be Made Acceptable

The public guess that the Governor-General's and several Governors' going home on leave has something to do with the British Cabinet's desire to consult them on the question how Federation can be best started in India, is perhaps right. Perhaps it is also right that the Gandhi-Linlithgow interview had something to do with the question of federation.

From ex-President Jawaharlal Nehru and President Subhas Chandra Bose downwards Congressmen have repeatedly said that they will have nothing to do with the federal scheme contained in the Government of India Act. Their intention has been to wreck it. But the resolution relating to Federation passed in the Madras Assembly and a speech of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly, seem to show that the Congress may agree to work the federal part of the constitution if some alterations are made in it. No one has yet outlined or pointed out these alterations.

The original Congress position was that the constitution given to India by the British-made Government of India Act was to be rejected lock, stock and barrel, and that only a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly would be acceptable. Nevertheless Congress agreed to work the provincial part of the British-made constitution for its own purposes. Similarly, Congress may agree to work the federal part also for its own purposes. If so, Lord Zetland's assertion that, though Indian politicians (meaning Congressmen) had said that they would not accept the constitution, they would do so in the long run, would prove correct.

Those Congressmen who would agree to work the federal part of the constitution if certain alterations were made in it, have not yet said what alterations they want. It may in the circumstances be permissible for others to

speculate what alterations may make the British-made constitution acceptable to Indian nationalists.

The Government of India Act should contain a provision by virtue of which the Indian federal legislature itself may amend that Act in any way it likes. India's political goal should be definitely made clear as self-rule, which may be either Dominion Status as interpreted according to the Statute of Westminster or Independence.

In both houses of the federal legislature the number of seats to be given to the Provinces and the States should be strictly according to population. The seats allotted to the States should be filled by representatives elected by the people of the States as the seats allotted to the Provinces are to be filled by representatives elected by the people of the provinces. In both cases, the elections ought to be made directly by the voters, not through the provincial or through the State legislatures (where they exist).

The voter's qualifications may differ from province to province and state to state, if so demanded by them. But in the same province and the same state the qualifications should be exactly the same for persons of all communities and classes.

Electorates and elections should be joint, not separate for different communities. No seats should be reserved for any community or class. If any community by a majority of the votes of its voters, wants a separate electorate and separate election and a number of seats to be reserved for it, it may have separate electorate and election and a number of seats reserved for it in proportion to its population, but no weightage. This ought to be the rule for both the provincial legislatures and the federal legislature.

All departments of the State and their budget should be under the control of the legislature, as they are in self-ruling countries

like Great Britain. This means that Defence, Finance, Foreign Relations, Currency, Exchange, Customs, Transport, etc., are to be entirely under the control of the legislature.

The Governor-General's and Governors' powers and ordinary or special responsibilities, if any, are not to be more than those of the President of the U.S.A. and the Governors of the States of the U. S. A.

The Governor-General's or Governors' power of vetoing any Bill by a legislature should not be final. As in the United States of America, if the legislature concerned passes the Bill again by a prescribed majority, the veto will have no effect and the Bill is to become an Act.

The chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act, 1935, should be entirely omitted. The Indian Legislature should have full power, as legislatures in other free countries have, to impose whatever restrictions it thinks necessary upon persons, goods, means of transport, etc., of foreign origin, in the interest of India.

The fundamental rights of all Indians of all communities should be the same and equal, and should be mentioned in detail and described as clearly as possible in the Constitution Act.

The Question of A National Language For India

We have never been anxious or eager to discuss the question of a national language for India, and that for various reasons, some of which we shall indicate in this note.

We have never felt the extreme urgency of it. On the contrary, we have had a vague feeling that it can wait till we have won Swaraj, and that Swaraj can be won without our or anybody else's making the possession of a national language the condition precedent to our obtaining Swaraj. *In reality, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding*, our agitation for self-rule has all along been carried on and is still being carried on mainly through the medium, not of a national language, but of English. If we are not mistaken, the Presidents of the Indian National Congress write out their speeches in English and then translations into Hindi or Urdu or both are made. Presidential speeches at Provincial Conferences are also, perhaps for the most part, with exceptions, written out in English. Years ago Rabindranath Tagore set the example of writing it out in his mother tongue. Congress resolutions are drafted in English and then

translated. Most of our most influential and widely circulated newspapers are conducted in English, Tilak's *Kesari* in Maharashtra and the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in Bengal being exceptions. No newspaper in Hindi and Urdu, which are or is the national language in the opinion of Congressmen, occupies this prominent position. There must be contact with the masses, no doubt. But this is being established through the medium of speeches in the provincial languages and the newspapers in the provincial languages in different provinces. Even if and when we have an Indian language as our national language, in all areas except where it is the mother tongue, the provincial languages will continue to play the same useful part. For instance, if Tamil be the national language, the mass-contact language will be Tamil only in Tamil-Nadu, but not in Andhra, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Panjab, Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Sindh, etc.

For these reasons, we have not felt the immediate need and urgency of settling the question of a national language.

Another reason why we have not been eager to discuss it, is that we do not possess sufficient knowledge of any vernacular except Bengali to be able to pronounce any opinion on the subject. The reason why we say so will appear later.

We beg to be excused for holding and saying that the claim of *any* particular language to be the national language is not indisputable like an axiom. There may be more than one claimant. And those whose vernacular is a claimant may be prepossessed in its favour. Speaking for ourselves, we have never pressed the claim of Bengali, though high foreign and impartial authority may be cited in favour of both the language and the literature of Bengal,* because we feel we are not impartial judges so far as Bengali is concerned. We do not assert that the advocates of Hindustani are not impartial—they may or should be.

Another reason why we have not been

*For example, more than a century ago the Rev. William Carey, who was teacher of some of the principal modern Indian languages in Fort William College, Bengal, pronounced the following opinion on the Bengali language when there was a proposal to give it an inferior position in the scheme of studies of that College:

"Its structure is such that it abundantly uses words requiring much care for their right formation, and which yet yield it its peculiar perspicuity and elegance. Convinced as I am that Bengali is intrinsically superior to all other spoken Indian languages, and second in utility to none, I cannot consent to what degrades it in the College."

enthusiastic in discussing the question and supporting the claim of any language is that we have felt all along that there being no lack of causes of quarrel among us between communities, classes and provinces, why add another? Assuming that Hindustani is to be the national language, Hindus and Moslems differ as to the script—Nagari or Arabic—to be used and the particular variety of the language—Hindi or Urdu—to be used. The controversy has taken a communal turn. It cost the Congress authorities nothing to enjoin that both scripts and varieties of the language are to be used. But if schoolboys and school-girls are to learn both, how much time will they have to spend and how much money in buying both Hindi and Urdu books? And how much money will have to be spent in employing teachers of both Hindi and Urdu in addition to teachers of the mother-language in non-Hindustani-speaking areas? In addition to these English has to be learnt and a classical language, and teachers have to be employed for teaching the same.

Provincial jealousy and provincial bickerings existed before the introduction of the so-called provincial autonomy. Since its introduction these have increased. The controversy over the national language question is one of the causes of inter-provincial strained relations.

To determine which should be the national language of India—if of course one must be fixed upon—it will not be enough to find out from the census report which is spoken or understood by the largest number of Indians. Even that is no easy task. For official linguists are not unanimous. At one census, dialects which were held to be varieties of Bengali were held at the next census to be varieties of Hindi. Official linguists do not recognize Maithili as an independent tongue having an existence separate from Hindi. But Maithili-speakers, 10 millions strong, hold it to be an independent tongue having a valuable literature of its own. But we need not multiply examples. Let us take it for granted that it is easy to ascertain the exact number of speakers or users of each language. If ordinary day-to-day talk or marketing were all the uses to which a national language was to be put, the language which is spoken or understood by the largest number of persons would be clearly entitled to be the national language. But the national language of India should be sufficient, too, for all our All-India cultural, political, social and economic thinking and expression of such thought. We do not

assert that Hindustani is not sufficient for both the purposes indicated; for our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Hindi-Urdu language or languages and literature or literatures—particularly of the literature or literatures—would not warrant us in making any such assertion. Any other modern Indian language and literature, too, than Bengali we do not know. These are some of our reasons for not discussing the question of a national language for India. And we are habitually disinclined to accept the opinions of others on trust. It may be that Hindustani is the best Indian linguistic medium for ordinary everyday requirements as well as for cultural and political purposes. It may also be that some other Indian language is better fitted for the latter purposes and *on the whole* for all purposes. We are not dogmatic, because we do not know. Those who know the principal modern Indian languages which have a rich and progressive modern literature may be in a position to dogmatize.

Perhaps no modern Indian language and literature is so well developed that we can feel proud to be represented by it alone in the world outside India.

In the circumstances all that we can do is to publish the views of contributors. This we have been doing.

Chinese Use of Pidgin English and Literary English

'Pidgin English' or 'Pigeon English' is a Chinese corruption of 'Business English.' It is the jargon, mainly of English words (often corrupted) arranged after Chinese syntax, used as a lingua franca between foreigners and the Chinese. This jargon is used for purposes of ordinary talk and business between the Chinese and foreigners. But when the Chinese wish to write anything on literary, scientific, philosophical and other cultural subjects or on political and economic topics, they use excellent literary English. This we know from their newspapers, bulletins and books, received by us.

Incidentally we are reminded that it has been suggested that what is called 'Bazaar Hindi' or 'Chalu (current) Hindi' may be adopted as the lingua franca of India. If that be sufficient for the purpose indicated by its name, it will have to be considered whether it will suffice for higher purposes as well. If not, the suitability of the excellent models of literary Hindi to be found in modern Hindi books and periodicals for these purposes may be considered.

Perhaps, except for poetry and fiction, no modern Indian language has as rich a vocabulary as some of the leading languages of Europe.

Domicile Certificates

It has been officially stated in defence of requiring Bengali candidates for jobs in the public services, admission to educational institutions, etc., in the provinces of Bihar that that practice is meant for preventing Bengalis from going there from Bengal with those objects.

As we have pointed out in our last issue, the *province* of Bihar includes Bihar proper and some areas of which the principal inhabitants are Bengalis, these areas being therefore parts of Bengal proper, as they were before 1912. Hence it is not Bihari-speaking persons alone who are the permanent inhabitants of the province of Bihar, but hundreds of thousands of Bengali-speaking persons also are. In Bihar proper also there are Bengalis who settled in Bihar before the commencement of British rule—many even four centuries ago, as pointed out in *The Behar Herald* by a Bengali correspondent from Bhagalpur. There are other Bengali settlers in Bihar proper who or whose ancestors migrated to Bihar proper later and became its permanent inhabitants. The Bhagalpur correspondent of *The Behar Herald* referred to above has also shown by quoting a passage from a judgment of the late Sir Jwala Prasad, Judge of the Patna High Court, that Bihari Kayasthas, of whom he was one, immigrated to Bihar proper from the United Provinces some 150 years ago. No domicile certificate is required from them. But it is required from Bengalis whose ancestors settled in Bihar equally early or even very much earlier.

It is also to be noted that in the province of Bihar it is only Bengali-speaking persons who are required to produce domicile certificates. Men speaking any other tongue are not required to prove their domicile.

Madras Does Not Require Domicile Certificate

The principal languages spoken in the province of Madras are Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kanarese. There are Marathi-speaking persons also, and speakers of other languages.

According to the Census of 1931 the number of persons in the province of Madras who speak Tamil is 18,560,059. In the States and Agen-

cies there are 1,613,822 Tamil-speaking persons.

In the province of Madras 3,726,727 speak Malayalam, and 5,358,413 in the States and Agencies.

In that province Kanarese is spoken by 1,715,191 persons. In the province of Bombay it is spoken by 2,598,349, and by 6,817,697 in the States and Agencies.

Telugu is spoken by 17,783,024 in Madras, and by 8,106,467 in the States and Agencies.

These figures show that the British province of Madras does not include the whole of the Tamil-speaking, Malayalam-speaking, Kanarese-speaking and Telugu-speaking areas. Some parts of these areas lie outside the Madras province. But *we are not aware that the Madras Government requires any domicile certificate from anybody to prove that he is not coming from those areas.*

Bombay Does Not Want Domicile Certificate

The principal languages spoken in the province of Bombay as at present constituted are Marathi, Gujarati and Kanarese. But the province does not include all the Marathi-speaking, Gujarati-speaking and Kanarese-speaking tracts, as the statistics given below will show.

Marathi is spoken by 9,336,405 persons in the province of Bombay, by 5,432,265 in the Central Provinces and Berar, by 5,972,323 in the States and Agencies, and by 129,398 in Madras.

Gujarati is spoken in the province of Bombay by 3,426,127 and by 7,214,326 in the States and Agencies.

In the foregoing note we have stated how many Kanarese-speaking persons live in the province of Bombay and how many outside it.

These statistics show that the British province of Bombay does not include the whole of the Marathi-speaking, Gujarati-speaking and Kanarese-speaking regions; some parts of them lie outside it. But *so far as we are aware Bombay does not demand any domicile certificate from persons coming from these parts.*

No Domicile Certificate in C. P. and Berar

The principal languages spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar are Marathi and Western Hindi. The number of those who speak Marathi here is 5,432,265. Those who

speak Western Hindi here number 4,825,293. But as the total number of Marathi-speakers in India is 20,889,658 and of speakers of Western Hindi 71,547,071, it is clear that the vast bulk of the speakers of Marathi and Western Hindi reside outside the Central Provinces and Berar. But so far as we know the C. P. and Berar Government do not try to shut them out by requiring them to produce domicile certificates.

No Domicile Certificate in the Panjab

The principal languages spoken in the Panjab are Panjabi, Lahnda or Western Panjabi and Western Hindi.

Out of a total number of 15,839,254 persons speaking Panjabi, 12,154,001 reside in the Panjab, 3,401,615 in the States and Agencies, and the rest elsewhere.

Out of a total of 8,566,051 speakers of Lahnda or Western Panjabi, 6,528,325 dwell in the Panjab, 1,034,957 in the N.-W. F. Province and 954,937 in the States and Agencies.

Out of a total of 71,547,071 speakers of Western Hindi, 3,431,393 reside in the Panjab.

These figures indicate that numerous speakers of Western Hindi, Panjabi and Western Panjabi dwell outside the Panjab. We are not aware that they are sought to be excluded from the Panjab public service by a demand for domicile certificates.

Most Provinces Do Not Require Domicile Certificates

So far as we are aware no provinces in India, except Bihar, Orissa, and Assam, require anybody to produce a domicile certificate. If they do, they do so only in the case of Bengalis.

As regards the province of Bihar, the facts are by now known to the Indian public. As regards Assam, perhaps some statistics may be found useful.

Domicile Certificate in Assam

A good many languages are spoken in the province of Assam. But the principal languages are two: Bengali and Assamese. The total population of the province is 92,47,857. Of these 39,60,712 are Bengali-speaking and 19,92,846 speak Assamese. The main reason why Bengalis preponderate in the province of Assam is that some parts of Bengal, e.g., the district of Sylhet, have been tacked on to Assam proper.

Whatever the reason may be, the fact is the Bengalis are by far the most numerous single community in the province named Assam.

And it is this singly most numerous community in the province called Assam whose members are required to take out domicile certificates. And the eligibility for government jobs, etc., of even those among them who obtain such certificates is often considered inferior to that of the Assamese-speaking people.

It is difficult for Bengalis in Assam not only to get appointments in government offices, but also to acquire land for building houses for themselves in towns and for agricultural purposes in rural areas. In the matter of admission to educational institutions and scholarships Bengali students are said to be discriminated against in parts of Assam, as in Bihar proper.

Biharis in Bengal and Bengalis in Bihar

As no part of Bihar proper is included in Bengal but some Bengali-speaking tracts form part of the province of Bihar, the Biharis in Bengal are for the most part sojourners, whereas the Bengalis in Bihar are for the most part not sojourners.

Separate figures for Bihari-speaking persons for the whole of Bengal are not available in the census reports of 1931.* Most of the Bihari-speaking persons in Bengal live in Calcutta and its suburbs.

Their number there according to the census report of 1931 is mentioned in the Calcutta census report as 266,488. Of these 201,812 are mentioned as males and only 64,676 as females. That shows that most Biharis are sojourners in Bengal, earning their living here, sending part of their earnings to Bihar and returning home in due course.

As regards Bengali-speaking persons in the province of Bihar, separate figures for Bihar are not available in the Census of India, Vol. I, Part II. The figures given are for Bihar and Orissa combined, but they will serve our purpose. In 1931 there were in Bihar and Orissa 1,851,797 Bengali-speaking persons. Of these 937,090 were males and 914,707 females. This practical equality in the number of males and females shows that most Bengalis in Bihar and Orissa were permanent inhabitants thereof.

In Bihar some recent circulars have almost stopped the recruitment of Bengalis in govern-

* In Bengal, according to the Census of 1931, there were 1,891,337 speakers of Hindustani—1,263,610 being males and 627,727, being females. In the Calcutta report 60 per cent. of the Hindustani-speakers are taken to speak Bihari. So, according to that assumption, the number of Bihari-speaking persons in Bengal would exceed eleven lakhs. And as the vast majority of them are males, they are mostly sojourners.

ment offices for the time being. As regards the independent professions of law and medicine, they are still open to Bengalis. But the animosity roused against them by writings in the provincial press, cannot but affect their position therein. Steps have been taken to prevent Bengali contractors from getting contracts and Bengali firms from supplying stores required for public purposes.

All these amount to a movement for starving out Bengalis. Permanent inhabitants can hardly be starved out easily. But even the desire to do so creates bad blood and cannot but have repercussions in Bengal. That is not desirable. It goes against national unity.

Non-Bengalis in Bengal

The bulk of non-Bengalis in Bengal are unskilled and skilled labourers, or traders, merchants or other kinds of men of business. The choice of occupation made by them, whether consciously or unconsciously, has been wise. It does not make them conspicuous. At the same time, skilled and unskilled labourers and small traders earn more than the generality of clerks and schoolmasters. Many non-Bengali merchants and other men of business in Calcutta earn much more than High Court Judges and barristers, vakils and doctors in good practice.

On the other hand, educated Bengalis in Bengal and outside Bengal generally go in for clerkships, teacherships, the legal and medical professions, and various kinds of jobs in government offices. This brings them conspicuity without corresponding gain in income. High Court Judges, and lawyers and doctors in the front rank of their professions, do not have incomes approximating those of merchants, industrialists and men of business of the front rank.

Was Bengal Aggrandized at Bihar's Cost?

Some time ago the *Searchlight* of Patna wrote that the revenues of Bihar had been utilized to aggrandize Bengal, when Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed one province. In reply to this allegation Mr. Bimal Ray wrote in the *Behar Herald* of the 20th April last:

The total revenue of Bihar at present is in the neighbourhood of five crores including the Government of India grants. It was a little more than two crores when Bihar was a part of Bengal and the whole of it was spent to meet the cost of administration of Bihar. The expenditure on education in Bihar and Orissa in 1910-11, i.e., the year just before partition, amounted to Rs. 20,62,000. The total expenditure on education in the same year in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa put together was Rs. 55,21,000. The expenditure on educa-

tion in Bihar and Orissa alone therefore was 37 per cent, while the total income of Bihar and Orissa (Rs. 24,19,600) was 35 per cent. of the total income of the three provinces (Rs. 6,80,92,000). It will thus be seen that the new province of Bihar and Orissa got more than her due share for expenditure on education. Where then is the room for the cry that Bihar was squeezed dry, her needs in respect of education were neglected and holding Bengalis responsible for the imaginary wrongs supposed to have been done by them to Bihar?

By way of supplementing this correspondent's contention the editor quotes the following statistics from the commemoration issue of the *Patna College Magazine*:—

Cost of education per student:

1863-64—Presidency College, Rs. 185; Patna College, Rs. 361.

1864-65—Presidency College, Rs. 159; Patna College, Rs. 338.

1865-66—Presidency College, Rs. 295; Patna College, Rs. 563.

When the institution at Patna was changed into a College the average expenditure per student at the Patna College was almost (sometimes more than) double that spent for Presidency College. Perhaps the Bihar Revenues were not double Bengal's contribution!

Workers For Renaissance in Bihar

Principal Bathoja of Bihar, who is neither an Englishman nor a Bengali, said in the course of his Patna College Commemoration address:

"It is curious to reflect that this renaissance in Bihar should have been brought about by a band of scholars and teachers who were not even natives of Bihar but hailed either from the neighbouring province of Bengal or from distant Greater Britain. I trust Bihar in its hour of rejuvenation will not forget the great debt which it owes to those sons of Bengal and England who have laboured for its uplift for the last hundred years."

Sino-Japanese War

Lovers of freedom all over the world must be glad that for some time past the Chinese armies are on the whole getting the better of the Japanese in their fight with the latter, though their casualties have been staggering. Their morale has vastly improved.

A Diabolical And Horrible Concomitant of War

That in the civil war in Spain and in the Sino-Japanese war the Spanish insurgents and the Japanese bombed the civilian population of many towns and villages and slaughtered large numbers of children and women has shocked the humane section of the civilized world. But another concomitant of the Sino-Japanese war, and of many another war, too, is apt to be lost sight of. And that is the wholesale ravishment of women.

The China Weekly Review writes:

An American mission hospital located in a large city now under Japanese military control reported that venereal disease contracted by Chinese women who had been raped by Japanese soldiers constituted a most serious problem, necessitating an expansion of clinical services to take care of it and provide free treatment. The hospital report stated that in addition to the venereal problem the hospital was faced with an entirely new predicament by Chinese mothers, chiefly from rural and village areas, who were bringing their unmarried daughters to the hospital to have abortions performed. Upon the hospital's refusal to perform such operations, the mothers in desperation resorted to primitive methods of abortion which seriously endangered the health of the young women.

This is followed by a paragraph in which the last word cannot but make Indians ashamed:

Aside from these reports, the annual health statistics of the International Settlement disclosed that the Japanese ranked third in numbers of applications for free clinical treatment for venereal infections at the venereal disease clinics maintained by the Settlement, the Japanese being exceeded only by Russians and Indians.

The Chinese are wreaking vengeance on the aggressors.

While the foreign newspaper reading public is more or less familiar with the authenticated reports of rapings of Chinese women by Japanese soldiers in all sections of the country which the Japanese have occupied, the Chinese newspapers have begun to publish accounts of retaliatory measures whereby the helpless Chinese populace has wreaked terrible vengeance on the aggressors. The *United Press* told one such instance at the village of Hsuanchang in southern Anhwei, where a Chinese woman, while pretending to kiss a Japanese soldier bit his nose and cheek so severely that he was reported to have bled to death. Another report, published by a Chinese translation service, stated that while the Japanese are accustomed, in their homeland, to take liberties with their womenfolk, without fear of retaliation, their activities in this regard in China had, in some cases, resulted in the Japanese receiving a costly lesson. There then followed an account of an alleged happening in Hopei province where a detachment of Japanese soldiers, "as they had done in hundreds of other towns, demanded 100 Chinese women." The village elders, following consultation, complied with the Japanese request by rounding up the most notorious prostitutes, who were attired in fancy dresses and introduced to the Japanese soldiers at a social function where much wine was served. The Japanese soldiers, unaccustomed to the strong Chinese wine brewed from millet and kaoliang, quickly became drunk and the expected happened—also the unexpected—for the Chinese women, or at least some of them took the heavy lead wine-pots and beat out the brains of the intoxicated Japanese soldiers.

Hitler's Designs on Czechoslovakia

Hitlerite Germany has annexed Austria, which is inhabited by German-speaking people. If the Germans in Sudetenlands in Czechoslovakia could be similarly brought within the fold of the German Reich, the German-speaking state in Europe would undoubtedly become most

powerful in Central Europe. So it is easy to understand that Hitler has eyes on Czechoslovakia. The Czechs, who are the majority community in that republic, know this and want to conciliate their German fellow-citizens. According to the issue of *Foreign Policy Reports*, March 15, 1938, dealing with "Strife in Czechoslovakia: The German Minority Question":

Mutual distrust is one of the chief obstacles in the way of German-Czech rapprochement. Czechs fear that if they make too many concessions to the Germans, they will merely be strengthening their potential adversaries. It is understandable that the Czechs are anxious to safeguard the independence for which they fought so long. They realize that an armed conflict with Germany would mean a struggle for their very existence.

It would not be possible for Czechoslovakia to preserve its independence if the Sudetic areas inhabited by its German citizens were sliced off from it. So, "strategic reasons require the inclusion of the Sudetic areas if Czechoslovakia's independence is to be assured." But,

If the Germans are to remain permanently within the Czechoslovak Republic and to become co-operating citizens, the basic attitude between the two races must change. Permanent internal peace can come to Czechoslovakia only when the German, Hungarian, and other minorities are satisfied through receiving a greater degree of cultural and political autonomy and a greater participation in the affairs of the Republic.

Although the economic distress in the Sudetic areas is not Czechoslovakia's fault, it is its misfortune. A moderate, statesmanlike policy will be necessary to convince the dissatisfied minorities that they have more to gain by loyalty to the Czechoslovak state than by irredentism. The first twenty years of the Republic's existence have not effaced century-old hatreds, but this does not mean that rapprochement is impossible. Viewed in the long run, if the Germans' economic condition is improved, and if they see continued evidence of the state's desire to secure their co-operation, they will become better citizens of Czechoslovakia. As such, they will not look so much to the Reich for support and will refuse to be an instrument for the realization of possible Reich aims. A policy of repression at present would involve the danger of straining to the breaking point the relations between the Czech state and the German minority, as well as between Czechoslovakia and the Third Reich. Further Sudetic "incidents" might easily become the "provocation" leading Germany to take a step that would prove disastrous for all.

In the relations between the Germans and the Czechs, somewhere the circle of mutual distrust must be broken. Instead of being a wedge separating the two countries, the Sudetic minority, if it is given its proper place and accepts its responsibility, could form a cultural bridge between Germany and Czechoslovakia.

The annexation of Austria by Germany has increased the difficulties of Czechoslovakia.

The abrupt consummation of Austro-German union has put Czechoslovakia in an unenviable position. Surrounded on three sides by a powerful and aggressive nation of 72,000,000 people, the country seems to be caught in a vise. The Sudetic minority was included in the 10,000,000 Germans beyond the Reich's frontiers over

whom Hitler claimed a protectorate in his speech before the Reichstag on February 20. Now that the Fuehrer has incorporated 6,500,000 Austrians in Germany, will he put pressure on Czechoslovakia to obtain "freedom" for the Sudetic Germans? Austria he took without a shot. Unable to mobilize foreign assistance and not even assured the support of a majority of Austrians, the Schuschnigg regime capitulated before a show of force.

But to seize Czechoslovakia would be a tough job. Its man power, resources and determination to remain free are greater than those of Austria.

If faced with a similar threat, Czechoslovakia would undoubtedly fight. The Czechs and Slovaks are devoted to maintenance of their hard-won independence at all cost. They are resentful of foreign intervention in their internal affairs. They have a modern, well-equipped army capable of offering staunch resistance. Yet their ability to withstand attack will depend on the help given by France and Britain. Both these powers did nothing to prevent or undo the *fait accompli* in Austria. Today both are alarmed over Germany's advance into Central and South-eastern Europe. France is ready to come to Czechoslovakia's assistance provided Britain lends its support. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 14, Prime Minister Chamberlain gave no indication that Britain would be prepared to join France in an unequivocal warning to Hitler that they would tolerate no attack or even overt pressure on Czechoslovakia. Only when freed of the menace of attack, will the Czechoslovak government feel safe in making those concessions which would put the Sudetic Germans on a plane of genuine equality with the other nationalities in the country.

Sikh Pronouncement on Shahidganj Issue

According to an Associated Press message, Master Tara Singh, president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, says in a statement to the press regarding the Muslim League decision on Shahidganj:

"Not a single Sikh of any position or influence has said that he is in favour of some settlement of the Shahidganj affair with the Muslims. Even after the statement of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan in the Punjab Assembly, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that no settlement of Shahidganj was possible and forbidding Sikhs from taking part in negotiations.

"I repeat, on behalf of the Sikh community, that the Sikhs are not prepared for even negotiating on the matter. There is no need to recount the reasons for this, for the community has decided upon this course once for all."

Not being able to imagine what settlement is possible which would be just to the Sikhs and which they could accept honourably, we are unable to blame them for their decision.

The Muslims tried to take possession of Shahidganj by force. Then they tried to have it by litigation. Litigation failing, they attempted initiating legislation to upset the judgment of the highest appellate court in the

land. That attempt was frustrated by their own premier Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. Civil Disobedience has not been unutilized. And now Sir Sikandar is to bring about a peaceful settlement.

Strange methods these of making up a quarrel peacefully. If the Muslims had a genuine spirit of compromise, its indications would have been different all along.

About "India in Bondage"

The following questions and answers are taken from an Associated Press summary of the proceedings of the U. P. Assembly on the 20th April last:—

Thakur Sadho Singh asked if the Government had under consideration the cancellation of the order banning the publication of Dr. Sunderland's book "India in Bondage"?

Hon'ble the Premier informed that the Government of India had banned the foreign edition of the book under the Sea Customs Act and the Government of Bengal had banned its vernacular edition, and that the U. P. Government could not cancel the Bengal Government's order.

Pandit Harish Chandra Bajpai enquired if under provincial autonomy the orders of one provincial Government were applicable to another province, to which the Premier replied that an order banning a book in one province cannot be cancelled by another.

There are two inaccuracies in the U. P. Premier's replies. No "vernacular" edition of the book was ever published. Two editions of it appeared in India and one in America. The Indian and American editions were both banned by the Government of India.

Almost the whole of the Indian edition had appeared before in *The Modern Review* in the form of separate articles. Its editor was not even warned, not to speak of being prosecuted, for publishing any of them. The eight chapters which were added in the American edition also appeared in India, in the now defunct newspaper, *The People*, of Lahore. Its editor, too, was not prosecuted for publishing these chapters. The first Indian edition, published by R. Chatterjee, was sold to the last copy, without his being either warned or prosecuted. It was when about half the number of copies of the second edition had been sold that he was arrested, prosecuted and convicted. When all these circumstances are considered, it may be believed that there is some truth in the rumour heard at the time of the prosecution that there was some difference of opinion between the Calcutta and the New Delhi authorities as to whether the publisher of the book ought to be prosecuted, and therefore the matter was referred to the authorities in London, who ordered his prose-

cution. That was why there was so much delay in starting the prosecution.

Professor Karve's Eighty-first Birthday

The celebration in different parts of India of Professor D. K. Karve's eighty-first birthday brings back to my mind pleasant memories of my visit to Poona in June, 1932, in the company of the venerable reformer's son, Mr. Bhaskar D. Karve. I had the honour to take the midday meal on that occasion with the professor. It was prepared and served by Mrs. Kamalabai Deshpande, principal of the Poona College of the Indian Women's University. Daughter of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the Poona nationalist leader, she had taken the highest degree of the Indian Women's University and, proceeding to Europe, had won the Ph.D. degree of the University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. She seemed to typify the ideal of the Indian Women's University—expert practical knowledge of domestic duties combined with the highest modern liberal education.

Our interest in Prof. Karve's work is of long standing. The very first issue of *The Modern Review* contained an illustrated article on his Hindu Widows' Home. That was in January, 1907.

I found Professor Karve hale and hearty in 1932. From Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's recent character-sketch of him I am glad to find that, though now 80, he is physically and intellectually quite fit. That is no doubt due partly to heredity, but perhaps mostly to the pure and simple life he has lived. May he be spared to India for many a year to come.

Mahatma Gandhi on Interview with Mr. Jinnah

Shri Mahadev Desai issued the following to the "Associated Press" from Wardha on the 23rd April last :—

Gandhiji asks the press to kindly publish the following statement :—

"I observe that the forthcoming interview between Shri Jinnah and me is not only attracting very wide attention but it is also inducing high hope amongst some. Then there are friends who gravely warn me against this visit and against building any hope on the interview. It is better, therefore, for me to take the public into my confidence and tell them why and how I am waiting upon Shri Jinnah on the 28th instant.

Mahatma Gandhi at 1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta.
From a pencil sketch by Bhunath Mukherji

"He has himself published my first letter to him showing my attitude on the question of communal unity which is dear to me as life itself. In that letter I clearly stated that all before me was darkness and that I was praying for light. If anything, the darkness has deepened, and the prayer become intenser.

"Add to this the fact that for causes, some of which I know and some I do not, for the first time in my public and private life, I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and *Ahimsa*. I am going through a process of self-introspection the results of which I cannot foresee. I find myself for the first time during the past fifty years in a slough of despond. I do not consider myself fit for negotiations or any such thing for the moment.

"There is no need for any speculation as to the cause of my despondency. It is purely internal. It comes from

within. It must be now clear that if I regarded the forthcoming interview as between two politicians, I should not entertain it in my present depression. But I approach it in no political spirit. I approach it 'in a prayerful and religious spirit, using the adjective in its broadest sense.' Hinduism is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best: in Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism. I approach politics as everything else in a religious spirit. Truth is my religion and *Ahimsa* is the only way of its realization. I have rejected once for all the doctrine of the sword. The secret stabbings of innocent persons, the speeches I read in the papers are hardly the things leading to peace or an honourable settlement.

"Again I am not approaching the forthcoming interview in any representative capacity. I have purposely divested myself of any such. If there is to be any formal negotiation, it will be between the President of the Congress and the President of the Muslim League. Nor do I approach it as a Hindu. Orthodox Hinduism will most assuredly repudiate me. I, therefore, go as a lifelong worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It has been a passion with me from early youth.

"I count some of the noblest of Muslims as my friends. I have a devout daughter of Islam as more than daughter to me. She lives for that unity and would cheerfully die for it. I had the son of the late Muazzin of the Jama Masjid of Bombay as a staunch inmate of the Ashram. I have not met a nobler man. His morning *azan* in the Ashram rings in my ears as I write these lines during midnight. It is for such that I wait on Shri Jinnah. I may not leave a single stone unturned to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. God fulfils himself in strange ways. He may, in a manner least known to us both, fulfil himself through the interview and open a way to an honourable understanding between the two communities. It is in that hope that I am looking forward to the forthcoming talk. We are friends, not strangers. It does not matter to me that we see things from different angles of vision. I ask the public not to attach any exaggerated importance to the interview. But I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that God of truth and love may give us both the right spirit and the right word and use us for the good of the dumb millions of India."—(A. P.)

It is to be noted that Gandhiji has stated very politely that he will *wait upon* the President of the Moslem League, and that that personage is *Shri Jinnah*.

Viceroy's Recognition of Person, Not of Institution

Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, has had interviews with Mahatma Gandhi, but neither with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he was president of the Congress, nor with Sri Jut Subhas Chandra Bose when he is president. Therefore, it is a person who is recognised, not the Congress as an organization.

So the interview with Mr. Jinnah will be with Gandhiji, not with the Congress president.

Similarly, Lord Irwin as Viceroy had interviews with Gandhiji, not with the Congress president.

We do not in the least suggest that

Gandhiji is not the fittest man to represent the Congress or carry on negotiations on its behalf. What we wish to be noted is that British autocracy recognizes the autocratic element in the Congress, not its democratic element or character. Congress-minded people also seem to have that kind of mentality.

Shri J. B. Kripalani on Some Modern Indian Movements

Navavidhan quotes two passages from Shri J. B. Kripalani's book, *The Gandhian Way* (which we have not seen) and criticises them.

In the first piece he points out that we are to adjust ourselves to a double revolution. "The first began with the advent and establishment of the British Raj * * * Fired with zeal, we with hard cruel strokes produced a bastard, which could be distinguished from the west by its inferiority, by the colour of its skin and the blood in its veins. Like the mule it looked strong and serviceable but uncreative."

We are not inclined to comment on this coarse, if not vulgar, passage. The writer of the article in *Navavidhan* in which it has been quoted says that the reference in this passage is to the Brahmo movement, and that Mahatma Gandhi has done the author the honour to write a foreword to his book.

The second passage quoted is :

"I shall take some example from Bengal to make my point clear * * * The first western impact in a religious people produced a religious ferment resulting in the establishment of a new sect, the Brahmo Samaj. But it could not create a movement India-wide or permeate the masses or draw the busy world's attention to itself. This was done by a purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Sri Ramkrishna unfolded by the genius of Swami Vivekananda."

We will not comment on this passage also. Perhaps if the author studies the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, which goes by the name of Ramakrishna *Mission* even in the Bengali language, he will discover that it is not a narrow and parochial nationalist movement, which a "purely Indian movement" would be.

For his information, we quote the following passage from Sister Nivedita's *Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda*, edited by the Swami Saradananda, authorized edition, 1913, page 19 :

"It was here, too, that we heard a long talk on Ram Mohun Roy, in which he [Swami Vivekananda] pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's [Ram Mohun Roy's] message, his acceptance of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism, and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu. In all these things, he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out."

Perhaps Shri J. B. Kripalani does not know that the Congress took up anti-untouchability work at the suggestion of Mr. V. R. Shinde, a Brahmo missionary of Maharashtra, who is the founder of the Depressed Classes Mission in Bombay Presidency, and that a Brahmo organization conducts 400 schools among the masses in Assam and Bengal.

Women in Soviet Russia

We read in *The Month* for April, 1938 (Longmans):

Miss Helen Iswolsky, whose work on *L'Homme 1936 en Russie Soviétique* was recently rendered into English, has now turned her attention to the problem of man's partner under the same regime. In *FEMMES SOVIÉTIQUES* (Desclee de Brouwer: 9.00 fr.) she studies the position of women under the Soviets. More women are employed in industrial concerns, this is true: but it is a shallow basis for the boast that the Russian woman is now emancipated. This supposed emancipation was accompanied in the first years of the Revolution by an attempt to "liquidate" family life and by open encouragement given to immorality and abortion that the despised "bourgeois" sanctions and feelings of restraint might be forgotten. But the appalling consequences of this "integral communism" have forced even the Soviet rulers to re-establish anew the idea of marriage and the family. The Soviet woman has in a sense won through and recovered something of the position and respect which is her womanly due. Miss Iswolsky's book is well documented with references to legal enactments and the Russian Press.

Philippine Independence and Japan

The Living Age for April, 1938, notes that

"For good or ill, the Philippines are to be completely independent of the United States in 1945. For some time following the adoption of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which established a transitional period of ten years during which the Islands were to be prepared for independence, some Filipinos agitated for a shortening of the period and others for immediate independence. Since the summer of 1937, however, these voices have subsided, for the Philippines lie very much in the shadow of Japan, and what happened to China might happen to them."

"The Filipinos are watching the struggle in China from a box seat, and they are not enjoying the spectacle."

The same periodical asks:

"Would the United States go to the defense of the Philippine Republic if it were to be attacked by Japan? Many Americans believe that we should not do so; but a far from negligible factor in determining the attitude of the United States is the extent of American interests in the Islands. In 1934, American investments totalled \$257,000,000, or nearly twice the stake in China. Even after the United States 'withdraw' from the Philippines, these economic interests—among the most binding of ties—will remain, and must never be neglected in formulating American policy."

In other words, the call of world freedom and humanity need not or may not be

responded to, but "economic interests" "must never be neglected in formulating American policy."

This observation applies to the formulation of British and other great powers' policy also.

What Is Ethics Among Nations?

Another American periodical, *The Catholic Herald*, discusses the question, What is Ethics Among Nations? in its editorial comment in the April issue. The editor writes:

I think it was the late Stuart P. Sherman who said "No government ever had an ethical ideal." When the statement first appeared in print I was young enough and naïf enough to be shocked at its apparent cynicism.

But if the Professor had explained that he was dealing with fact rather than theory, and if he had modified his statement to read "No government follows an ethical ideal," we might have to confess, now after a lapse of some twenty or twenty-five years that his contention seems unanswerable. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in an address delivered two weeks ago, speaks of "an unparalleled public immorality in regard to practically everything which relates to national and international life and relations"; an echo, as it were, of Anthony Eden's complaint, "we are in the presence of a progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations." The man-in-the-street would say it more simply: "The nations don't give a continental for solemn oaths, pledges, treaties. International morality is hopelessly on the rocks."

The editor continues:

The *Manchester Guardian* warns Mr. Chamberlain that the Dominions and the United States are gravely shocked by the revelation that England has no more moral principle than the Fascist or the Communist nations. It is true: even the most fervent Anglophiles on this side of the ocean have been grieved and—let it be said though it will sound pharisaical—scandalized at the discovery that "democratic" England which in 1935 cried aloud to heaven against the "rape of Ethiopia" could in 1938 come to terms with *Il Duce* whom she had a thousand times denounced as a brigand, a robber, a murderer, and whom she had held even beyond Hitler a threat to European peace and civilization.

Close on the heels of the Chamberlain-Mussolini *rapprochement* came the debacle in Austria, and once again the confirmation of the fear in Europe and America that, as Mr. Eden had said, "We are in the presence of a progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations."

The maintenance of the independence of Austria was an international obligation of Britain, France and other signatories to the Versailles peace treaty, which has been treated in this respect as a scrap of paper.

Whitewashing Premier Chamberlain

A defence—is it quite serious?—of Premier Chamberlain of Britain has appeared in the editorial columns of *Unity* of Chicago, edited

by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, to whom the world is indebted for the dictum that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest man in the world. Says he:

Nothing so completely explains the policy of the English Premier, Chamberlain, as the desire at almost any price to gain time. Time is a solvent of many problems, as it is a cure of all woes. Why should it not be trusted to solve this European problem of war and peace? Few problems have to be solved upon the instant—why not leave them to solve themselves in course of time? In the case of Britain, it is assumed that the government is playing for time, in order to allow for the building of armaments of such size and power as will once again enable the Empire to dominate the world. But such assumption is superficial, since the time has passed when any nation can hope to rule sea or land again. Furthermore, there remains the stern realistic fact that all the great states are today arming themselves as rapidly and terribly as possible, and thus making time a negligible element except as all are affected together. No, Chamberlain is basing his policy on other and surer considerations. What he sees is that time is working against Italy and Germany in the sense that they are inwardly weak. These countries have no resources upon which they can indefinitely feed. Their very exertion to arm themselves is itself exhausting. Their intense aggression is a measure of their instability. Sooner or later, something has got to happen! It may be war, in which case it must be met, and can be met as effectively tomorrow as today. But it may be—collapse! The Fascist powers, if given time, may simply overplay their hands, strain themselves to the breaking point, blow up. Also, if given time, all sorts of things may happen. A dictator may drop dead, an assassin may run wild, an army corps may revolt—who knows? So—play for time! Anything to keep things going, anything to avoid a war in the possibility that what is not fought today may not have to be fought tomorrow! This may not be the most heroic attitude in the world, but it is wise. The British lion may yet save us all not by his claws and fangs but by his cool head. At any rate, there is a pacifist maxim about “peace at any price,” and this present price, as named by Chamberlain, seems not too heavy.

The Problem of India's Safety

Mr. Richard Freund writes in the *Spectator* of London :

Very few Indians have grasped the need of India to think of her safety. Even at Congress headquarters I found an incredible indifference to questions of defence. The British Army, they say, must go because it is too expensive [and a symbol of India's bondage?—Ed., *M.R.*] and quite unnecessary. A national militia can do the job just as well. Now it is just conceivable that a national militia, if the whole Punjab joined it, might check the frontier tribes; but who is to check Italy or Japan? ‘Airplanes can be bought,’ they say glibly. Who is to fly them? And can battleships be bought as well? If so, from whom?

It would be unfair to blame Indians for inexperience, but there can be no excuse for indifference, on the part of people who hope to rule a free, sovereign India within five years or so. . . . As long as the problem of Indian defence, which is serious and complex, is not even tackled by the Nationalist leaders, it is hard to be sanguine about their struggle for freedom.

No pleasure and consolation can be derived from the fact that we are unable to defend ourselves owing to the facts that Britain has demilitarized the bulk of the people of India by recruiting the sepoy army from only a few limited areas, that the Royal Indian Navy (not manned by Indians) is a standing joke even to fifth-rate South American States, that for a vast country like India the number of military airplanes is quite insignificant and even they are not manned by Indians, and that the British Government is very reluctant to teach Indians even civil aviation, not to speak of military aviation.

Are we to believe that, if a foreign enemy invades India after Britain's withdrawal from it, and if the above-mentioned facts and the fact that we are friendly harmless ahimsaists are displayed before that enemy printed in very big type on large posters, the enemy will quietly withdraw, being frightened by our formidable facts?

Before the days of non-violent non-co-operation, Congress leaders used to agitate for recruiting soldiers from all parts of India, for admitting Indians to Volunteer Corps, and the like. But Congress does not do these things now. It is perhaps possible to guess some of the reasons.

The creed of *ahimsa* or non-violence is perhaps one. Personally and individually this writer is a *ahimsa*-ist. But we do not think that at the present stage of human civilization any nation can do without a police force and a defensive army, navy and airforce. Hence the people of all provinces of India ought to learn all about all means of defending the country. Even as individuals men must be prepared to use force even to the death on some occasions. For instance, if a man sees a brute trying to ravish a woman, he must attempt prevention even by killing the scoundrel if necessary, or himself being killed.

Just as in the case of individuals, so in that of nations, non-violence can be considered genuine only when the parties practising it are strong and brave, not when they are helplessly weak and cowardly.

Perhaps another reason why Congress does not press for a really efficient and sufficiently large native army, navy, and airforce, is that these will under present circumstances strengthen British imperialism, and the British Government will use them for imperialistic purposes. But may they not be used for our national purposes as well—at any rate when India is free or practically free? In any case,

it is the bounden duty of our nationalist leaders to point out in what other way India can have a sufficiently strong defensive army, navy and airforce, or, in the alternative, to demonstrate how mass-*ahimsa* can prevent armed invasion.

We can imagine that for the promotion and realization of the ideal of non-violence by nations in their collective capacity, some nation may have to risk its independence and even lose it. But such supreme sacrifice, to be genuine and effective, must be made by a powerful and brave nation.

It may also be that Congress does not pass any resolution urging Government to make adequate provision and preparations for India's defence by India's sons, for fear of being guilty of following a "mendicant" policy. But cannot the resolutions moved by members of the Congress party in our legislatures be construed as begging? For Congress has not been and is not able to *force* the Government to give effect to any resolution carried by the most overwhelming majority. It is a humiliating fact, but a fact none the less, that we have to depend on the good sense of the foreign rulers for the carrying out of our resolutions in the legislatures.

Governors and Ministers' Responsibility re Release of Politicals

Bengal continues to be exercised over the question of the release of her politicals. The Bengal Civil Liberties Union has been assiduously rendering the only service which it can render in the matter—it has been giving detailed accounts of the woes of the politicals and detenues—still in detention or released—and of the relatives of some of them. Public anxiety can end when all of them are released and when the released persons can feel that they are like other members of the public who have never been deprived of their personal liberty.

Owing to the number of the politicals in Bengal being larger than elsewhere, the question of their release is more serious here than in other provinces. It is also a serious matter that a considerable number of them still remains to be released. Who is responsible for their non-release? The Governor, or the Ministry? A passage in Lord Lothian's lecture on "Impressions of the Working of the Constitution in India" given at a meeting of the East India Association of London held in March last, as published in the *Asiatic Review* for April,

seems to afford a clue to the answer. Said he:

"The only other point is about the political prisoners. One of the oldest controversies in the British Commonwealth is the degree to which in the early stages of self-government full responsibility should be transferred to Ministries and the degree to which the Governor should exercise over them a veto or controlling force. If you look at the history of Cape Colony or Australia, you will find equivalent disputes of this kind going very far back, and I think the "crisis" [over the resignation of the Bihar and U. P. Ministries] which has just arisen has cleared the air and been of benefit to everybody. It has made it clear that the primary responsibility for law and order must rest with the responsible Ministers; that is the key to the whole business. But it has also made it clear that the responsible Ministry must discuss with the Governor each individual case. My own view is that the right course is that in doubtful cases the Governor should leave the responsibility with his Ministers, but warn them of what he believes to be the consequences of their action. If he then finds that he is right and they are wrong, he then is in a position to invoke his special responsibility with a reasonable chance of getting the support of public opinion. I think that it is the lesser evil to run the risks involved in that course than to do anything which will undermine the responsibility of Ministers themselves. Further, I believe that in the future more and more the question of whether a Governor can use his special responsibilities will depend on whether his exercise of them commends itself to dispassionate and independent public opinion in the community itself."

Lord Lothian is not a radical or a labourite in politics. He defends the Government of India Act of 1935 and advocates federation as laid down in it. His view of the respective share of the responsibility of the Governor and his Ministers is, therefore, most probably, the official view. That being the case, it would not be unfair to conclude that the reason why Bengal politicals have not yet been all released is, not that the Governor is opposed to their release, but that the Ministers have not shown any strong determination to release them and to take the responsibility of their release on their own shoulders.

Mr. Jinnah at the Muslim League

In the course of his presidential speech at the special session of the Muslim League held in Calcutta last month to consider the Shahidganj affair, Mr. Jinnah advised the Sikhs to rise above prestige and *amour propre* and the Muslims to realize that the way to settlement is not achieved by dictation from one community to the other. To those who do not know the history of the Shahidganj affair, this piece of advice and its giver may appear very reasonable and considerate. But considering that the Muslims have tried every means, non-legal and legal, to obtain possession of Shahidganj

and failed, the appropriateness and acceptability of the advice to the Sikhs would appear very doubtful. And as regards the advice to the Muslims, it would have been timely if it had been given before they had begun to take non-legal and legal steps to gain their object.

But assuming that his advice was quite appropriate and timely, we wonder why he did not and does not follow it himself in a matter far more important and involving far wider interests—we mean bringing about a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress. If a settlement cannot be achieved by dictation from one community to the other, neither can it be achieved by fulminations against the Hindus and the Congress, with which his speech was mainly taken up.

We wonder when the leaders, or rather the misleaders, of the Muslim community will allow it to wake up to its internal weakness and to realise that its backwardness is due to a great extent to the absence in its midst of progressive religious and social reform movements started and conducted by Muslim reformers themselves, regardless of their personal interests, comfort and safety. If the Hindus have made a little progress, it is due not a little to the efforts of reformers who risked their all, including their lives, for the good of society.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq at the Muslim League

If Mr. Jinnah did not acquit himself well at the Muslim League session, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq perhaps did worse. As fellow-Indians and fellow-Bengalis we are ashamed of his speech. In his own characteristic way he indulged in worse than childish braggadocio. What sense was there in saying that the Muslim League was worth a thousand Congresses? Does he expect anybody to take such assertions seriously? And how can one characterize the jealous complaint that the Viceroy has recognised the Congress by asking Gandhiji to see him but had not extended the same recognition to the Muslim League?

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq declared that the members of the Muslim League were all lions and tigers ready to shed the last drop of their blood! The speaker need not be reminded that these royal animals are more famous for shedding the blood of others than for shedding their own blood. The strength of organizations—particularly of those whose *modus operandi* is unsanguinary—lies, not in tigerly

qualities, but in gregariousness and the team-spirit.

The Bengal Premier contrasted the happy lot of the Hindus in Bengal with the oppression of the Muslim inhabitants of Hindu majority provinces under Congress ministries. Mr. Huq seems to be incorrigible.

Let us take the allegation that Muslims are oppressed in Hindu majority provinces.

Some months ago he mentioned what he considered a specific instance of oppression on Muslims in Bihar. He was corrected by Dr. Syed Mahmud, a Bihar minister. Mr. Huq was unable to substantiate his charge.

Again, some time later, he publicly declared that he could give numerous instances of Muslims being oppressed in Congress-governed provinces. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad asked him to publish these instances, and the Maulana's challenge was published in the press. The Bengal Premier was silenced for the nonce. He could not mention a single instance.

But he has again repeated his charge!

As regards the happy lot of Hindus in Bengal, since the days of Sir John Anderson there have been specific public complaints of the oppression and persecution of Hindus. Recently 19 such cases have been publicly described in Pabna district alone. If there have not been many riots, it is because the Hindus—particularly the Bengal Hindus—are not a dynamic people. The recent sanguinary riots in some places in the United Provinces were authoritatively ascribed in the U. P. legislature to the writings in the Urdu press and the Muslim League was stigmatized in that connection. There were people in the U. P. who wanted to discredit the Congress government. As in Bengal there is no Congress government to discredit, they or their confreres here had no reason to engage in a similar game.

Madras Muslim Women's Conference

The Guardian of Madras writes :

The proceedings of the Madras Muslim Women's Conference offer a pleasant contrast to the effusions at the Special Session of the Muslim League at Calcutta. In declaring that their interests were the same as those of other Indian women, Madras Muslim women have made a statement which the leaders and gatherings of Muslim men have not had the courage to declare, though true. Recognising this main fact, they offered an apology for holding a communal conference and as proof of their good spirit invited Hindu ladies to participate in their proceedings. The position is understood well by the public who will therefore extend their full sympathy to

such efforts. The Muslim League on the other hand find suppression of the fact of identity of interests as necessary to sustain their indignation against Hindus. It does not suit the temper of the League to admit that it can have only limited aims of the type mentioned at their Women's Conference.

The Madras weekly continues:

The Women's Conference protested against the exemption of Muslim girls from the scheme of compulsory primary education. For this favour done to the community, they must thank their men Councillors, who in all corners of India talk as though compulsion of girl pupils would be an outrage. It is interesting to note that disapproval was expressed of the dowry system and expensive marriage customs. Other resolutions speak of several measures of Social Reform necessary for the community, whether they affect women in particular or apply to the men as well. On another page we have referred to the lack of reform movements in the community. It seems that the defect will be remedied through the efforts of Muslim women without the help of or even against the wishes of their men. We doubt if in a League Conference, the Madras resolutions would all of them be passed or if any of them would secure unanimous approval. An impartial public will conclude that Muslim women are building on better foundations than their men.

Lord Lothian On The New India Act

In the course of an article in the *Observer* on "The New India" Lord Lothian expresses the opinion that the Government of India Act of 1935, "with all its defects and anomalies, corresponds far more closely to the present-day realities in India than its Indian critics are willing to admit."

If by "realities" Lord Lothian means the actualities brought about and sought to be brought about after the "command performance" given by the Aga Khan in the form of the Muslim deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Minto in the first decade of the present blessed century, we fully and quite readily admit that Lord Lothian is right.

Unemployment Among Lawyers

Increasing unemployment among lawyers has been noticeable in many—perhaps in most or all—provinces. Part of this unemployment may be due to overcrowding in the profession. But it is due in part also to measures like those aiming at debt conciliation and debt cancellation, which have brought in their train the evils of bribery and the loss of credit of farmers and peasants. Lawyers have done and are still doing their bit in the national struggle. While it would be undesirable for lawyers to flourish at the expense of the general public—particularly of the masses—by increased litigation, their

legitimate grievances should be enquired into and remedied.

Premature Release of a Ravisher in C. P.

We shall await the publication of Sir M. N. Mukherjee's decision on the point referred to him by the Congress Working Committee, namely, whether Mr. Shareef, minister of justice in C. P. and Berar, "committed a grave error of judgment amounting to a miscarriage of justice" in releasing prematurely Khan Bahadur Jaffar Hussain who had been convicted for committing rape upon a girl.

In the meantime we feel bound to say that the reference was entirely unnecessary, as the Working Committee have several members who have sufficient intelligence and knowledge of law to decide the point themselves. Did they want not to incur the responsibility and the odium of a decision themselves?

It is necessary also to give wide publicity to some facts mentioned in *The Servant of India*, April 14, 1938, which are printed below.

The facts of the case are well known to the public by now. But it seems to us that the gravity of the offence in all its heinousness is not sufficiently known. Jaffar Hussain was a highly placed officer in charge of education of a whole division in the C. P. viz., Berar. He was promoted to that office over the heads of many seniors, probably to satisfy the so-called Muslim claims. It was revealed during the trial that the offence committed was the culmination of a carefully arranged "party." So much so that Jaffar Hussain, who was stationed at Amraoti, was summoned by telegram to Wardha for the purpose after the hapless girl was enticed to the police inspector's house. Jaffar Hussain's offence was not the lustful outburst of a suddenly inflamed mind, but a deliberate, planned and cruel enterprise of sexual pervers. Pleas for mercy in such cases ought to be rejected ruthlessly. There can be no excuse for indulgence or prevarication, nor can there be any question, not only of a grave error of judgment, which the Minister has admitted, but of a miscarriage of justice in its ultimate effect.

The fact of the matter is that both the C. P. ministry and the Working Committee find themselves in a difficult position on account of their desire to truckle to the Muslim element in the provinces.

The facts of the case, as already known to us previously, had led us to conclude that a man of Jaffar Hussain's character was entirely unworthy of clemency, and that the minister of justice who had shown clemency to him, being incapable of forming a correct idea of the heinousness of that man's crime, was unfit to hold the office he held. That conviction of ours is strengthened and confirmed by the facts narrated by the Poona weekly.

Working Committee's Resolution On Ravisher's Release Case

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the release of Jaffar Hussain concludes with the following sentence :

"The Working Committee appeal to the public and the press not to give the case communal character and assure women who are rightly agitated over the case that the Committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they."

As regards giving "communal character" to the case, the members of the Working Committee must have read with great interest the following sentence in the statement of Sir Mohamed Yakub on the coming Gandhi-Jinnah unity talks, issued by the Associated Press from Bombay on April 25 last:

"The impeachment of the Congress Muslim Minister of C. P. by the Congress High Command, may be considered as the limit of aggressive communalism."

The Working Committee have assured "women who are rightly agitated over the case" that the committee hold dear the honour of womanhood. Perhaps the Committee, too, may be assured that *men* also are agitated over the case, provided of course they are men, not beasts.

"Congress Working Committee Hold The Honour of Womanhood Dear"

The Congress Working Committee have assured women that the committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they. Whether the comparison here indicated is correct or not, we will not say. Nor do we challenge the sincerity of the committee's declaration. What we are here concerned with is to enquire what practical proof members of the Working Committee of the Congress and other Congressmen have given of their anxiety to safeguard the honour of womanhood.

We do not know the details of all the activities of Congressmen even in Bengal, and certainly not of Congress members in other provinces. But so far as Bengal is concerned, we have an impression that, from Deshbandhu C. R. Das downwards, no leading Congressman has taken any part in the efforts made to prevent crimes against Muslim and Hindu women in the province and to bring to justice those guilty of such crimes. Bengal has become notorious for such crimes. They still go on. So there are several organizations here to combat the evil. We shall be very glad to know that Bengal members of the present or past Congress Working Committee or of the present or past

All-India Congress Committee, or some of them, or any other Congressmen, are or have been members of any of these organizations for the protection of women and their honour, no matter to what community or caste they may belong. It is possible for Congressmen to help in the good work without joining any such organization. If they have done so, the facts require publicity.

How A Congress Woman Held Woman's Honour Dear

The following paragraph is taken from *The Servant of India*:

Incidentally the same situation is responsible for the grotesque ruling which Mrs. Kale, the Deputy Speaker of the C. P. Assembly, gave when she presided over the Thana Women's Conference last week. When a resolution condemning the release of Jaffar Hussain was sought to be moved, Mrs. Kale ruled it out of order. This is the same Mrs. Kale who led the agitation against the action of Mr. Shareef. Probably the alarmed High Command had rapped her on the knuckles with the rod of discipline for creating an embarrassing situation for her party in the province. But not only did Mrs. Kale cease to take part in the agitation which she had led, but gave a ruling which muzzled others. And thus the honour of women is sacrificed for political exigencies!

Some Congressites Exhibit Lack of Soul-Force in C. P.

It appears that some meetings were held in Nagpur by Hindu Sabha people to condemn the premature release of criminals guilty of crimes against women in C. P. and N.-W. F. P., and that these were broken up by some Congressmen—of course by the opposite of soul-force. The Hindu Sabha people, too, could not have recourse to soul-force. Some of them used offensive, defensive, or retaliatory violence.

Some meeting or meetings convened by the Congress party had the same luck.

So, the two parties are quits, in a way.

"What State Is This?"

The Servant of India writes under the above caption:

Newspapers give the news that, immediately after his release from jail, Jaffar Hussain crossed into an adjoining Indian State and is now employed in the Education Department of that State. If the story has any truth in it, it is the duty of the men and women in the State concerned to rise in protest against the employment of this criminal in a responsible post. The Indian States have been the asylums of many persons from British India, pensioners, superannuated politicians and pampered civil servants from British India. But if the Princes are going to assume the role of protectors and friends of known sexual perverts, the limit of the endurance of even the States' people might be reached sooner than the Princes think possible.

We have no desire to pursue Jaffar Hussain with a vendetta and do not wish that the man should be starved. What we object to is his employment in a department where he is bound to come into daily touch with young boys and girls. There are other ways of providing employment for a released convict than placing him in a position of responsibility.

An Offender Against Womanhood Patronized

The following news appeared in *The Tribune* of the 29th March last and continues to agitate at least a section of the public:

Bannu, March 28.

Master Mir Abdullah Shah, a teacher of the Government High School who was convicted under Section 368, I.P.C. for wrongfully concealing an abducted Hindu girl, has been re-instated in his old post of schoolmaster.

The kidnapping of this minor Hindu girl was the cause of Hindu-Muslim tension and tribal operations. Both the Sessions Court and the High Court rejected the appeals of Master Abdullah.

The Frontier Government has now accepted his application, re-employed him in his old post and paid him for the period of one month spent in jail.—A. P. I.

The Hindu Outlook of Delhi has recapitulated the facts of the case. The girl in question was Ram Kumari, whose abduction caused great excitement at the time and obliged even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to issue a statement on the subject. For keeping the girl concealed Abdullah Shah got two years' imprisonment and a further term of two years for getting the mother of the girl to sign a false declaration that she had got back her daughter. His appeal against the conviction was rejected. He petitioned the Judicial Commissioner to reconsider his case. This, too, was rejected. So, the man was held guilty of serious offences by three successive judicial authorities. The release and the re-instatement in the post of teacher of such a criminal and the payment to him of his salary for the period he was in jail, is a scandal of the first magnitude and a defiant outrage on public decency. Why has not the Congress Working Committee taken any notice of this case or referred it to Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee for his opinion?

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

When the matter came to our notice a fortnight ago, we referred to the Frontier Province Prime Minister for light. He has not cared to reply!

Bengal Hindu Sabha's Request to Gandhiji

The Bengal Hindu Sabha has asked Gandhiji not to accept any terms of settlement

with the Muslim League as formulated by Mr. Jinnah without previous consultation with representative Hindu organizations. We consider this request reasonable. In the past we have more than once made similar suggestions.

Sir Mohammad Iqbal

In Sir Mohammad Iqbal India has lost one of her greatest poet-philosophers. A poet's tribute to a brother poet is worthy of the greatest note. Rabindranath Tagore speaks of him as a man whose death has created a void in our literature that like a mortal wound would take a very long time to heal and as a poet whose poetry had such universal value that India, whose place today in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss him. It has been said that he infused masculinity into Urdu poetry and brought into the literature of India the strength and vigour and the freedom of the desert air of Arabia.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who is unsurpassed in his devotion to Urdu literature, has spoken of him as one of the greatest poets of the world at the present time and a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry whom he has admired for the last thirty years as a poet and thinker of the first magnitude.

Hindu and Musalman leaders of political organizations and parties, like Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Raja Narendranath and Sir Gokal Chand Narang, have also bestowed unstinted praise on the departed great litterateur. The official world, too, has paid its tribute of homage through the Governor of the Panjab. Sir James Addison, the acting Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court has said, "The Panjab to-day mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live through the ages, and a great man."

These encomiums prove the universality of the appeal of his poetry and encourage the hope that he will go down to posterity as a brother-man whose real features participation in communal politics in the closing years of his life could not effectively and permanently conceal.

Some of his Urdu nationalistic songs are very popular for their genuine ring of patriotism.

K. Nageswara Rao

With the passing away of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao on the 11th of April last, Indian nationalism has lost one of its fervent devotees and Indian journalism one of its worthy workers and champions.

He was a successful man of business, who placed "Amritanjan" in the market. He spent his wealth for the promotion of journalism, national literature and art and for advancing the cause of the country's freedom. He suffered and sacrificed much for the Congress cause. He started the *Andhra Patrika* (first a weekly and afterwards a daily). To it were added a pictorial weekly, the cultural Telugu monthly *Bharati*, and a sumptuous Annual published on every Telugu New Year's Day. He was the editor and publisher of the Telugu Encyclopaedia. His Durga Kalamandiram is a beautiful theatre. He was a friend and patron of scholars and of learning in different branches. The Andhra University bestowed on him the honorary degree of "Kalaprapurna". The Andhra Mahasabha conferred on him the title of "Viswadata" for his generosity and that of "Deshoddharaka" for his patriotic services to the country. We have been told that, if Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the Brahmo religious and social reformer and litterateur, was the maker of modern Andhra social life, K. Nageswara Rao may be rightly described as the maker of modern Andhra political and public life.

Swami Vijnanananda

With the passing of Swami Vijnanananda, President of the Ramakrishna Mission, the Mission loses another direct disciple of Paramahansa Ramakrishna Dev. He started life as an engineer in Government employ but, after a few years, renounced the world and became a sannyasin. He lived for the most part in Allahabad, where he had founded a *Matha*, a charitable dispensary and a hospital. He translated the Sanskrit astronomical work, *Suryasiddhanta*, into English, and was the author of two Bengali books, *Engineering-Siksha* (or Elements of Engineering) and *Jal Sarbaraher Karkhana* (or Water Works). The last book, profusely illustrated, and the translation of *Suryasiddhanta* were published from the Panini Office, Allahabad, by his friend, the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. The Swami had much to do with designing and constructing

the Belur Matha and its superb temple dedicated to Ramakrishna.

His demise brings sad thoughts to the mind of this writer. We were classmates together in St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. It is a melancholy satisfaction to recall that our relations were cordial and genial to the last. So long as Major Basu was alive not a year passed without our meeting Swamiji at least once a year in Allahabad. Latterly also whenever we went to Allahabad we tried to see him if he happened to be there. Of us two he was the younger in age. So many of our classmates, younger in years, have gone beyond mortal ken, leaving a few older friends behind stranded on the shores of this world!

A Memorial of the Bengalis of Orissa

We have received a copy of a memorial addressed by the Bengali inhabitants of Orissa to the minister of education of that province. Substantially, what the memorialists ask for is that Bengali school-boys and school-girls in Orissa may continue to enjoy the facilities they have hitherto enjoyed of receiving education and being examined through the medium of their mother tongue in all those subjects and up to those standard in and up to which their Oriya brothers and sisters will be educated and examined through Oriya. This is a legitimate minority right.

We hope in this matter the Orissa ministry will exhibit that wise statesmanship which they have been displaying in so many other matters.

Hardwar Calamities

The terribly destructive conflagration at the Hardwar Kumbha Mela which has been the cause of the loss of so much property and so many lives, has cast a gloom over many a home in all parts of India. The railway disaster at the same place of pilgrimage has been an additional cause of sorrow. We deeply sympathise with the sufferers.

The Bihta Railway Disaster

The enquiry into the Bihta Railway disaster has been carried out by the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court with a thoroughness and impartiality which is deserving of all praise. The type of locomotives

which has been condemned should be scrapped without delay and Government should lose no time in compensating the sufferers and the relatives of those who lost their lives owing to the disaster.

Communal Riots in Bombay and Lucknow

It is very depressing to record that there were communal riots again in Bombay (between Hindus and Moslems) and in Lucknow (between the Sunni and Shia sects of the Muslim community). When will there be an end of the foolishness and fanaticism leading to these disgraceful doings?

It is some consolation that both in Bombay and Lucknow the police got the situation under control with commendable promptitude and efficiency.

Centenaries of Great Authors in Bengal

Bengal has been celebrating the centenaries of two of her great authors, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the great novelist, and Hem Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, the poet. In addition to being a novelist, Bankim Chandra was an essayist, a humorist, a poet and a theologian. He wrote on political subjects, too.

Hem Chandra is not much known to non-Bengalis, as none of his works has been translated into any Indian language. Though he wrote an epic, *Britra-samhar*, he is best known as the author of the stirring, patriotic poem, *Bharat Sangit*, which in our boyhood we used to recite with zest. His satirical and humorous poems are free from venom and quite enjoyable. He was in his day the Grand Napoleon in the realms of rhyme.

A poet of the name of Krishna Chandra Majumdar was born 103 years ago in a village called Senhati in the district of Khulna. The people of that village celebrated his centenary last month. They have erected a memorial pillar in his honour on the banks of the river Bhairab which flows by. Though he was not a great poet, there was genuine poetic fire in him. He is best known as the author of *Sadbhab-Shatak*, a collection of poems many of which are adaptations in Bengali of some poems of the Persian poet Hafiz. He composed many fine religious songs. He was an erudite Persian and Sanskrit scholar. By profession he was

a teacher. He was very truthful and dutiful and was possessed of an unbending spirit of independence. Entirely free from the lust of gold, he had the unique distinction of having petitioned the education department to cancel an increment to his pay, as he said he was already getting good value for his work! He retired on a pension of only Rs. 8-6-3, and continued to teach many boys privately without any remuneration.

Bratachari Dances For Girls

Last month the Bratachari Training Class for girls in Calcutta was closed for the summer vacation. The girls gave a demonstration on the occasion of what they had learned. Though we were not able to attend the meeting, we can form some idea of what the girls showed, from a picture of the demonstration, from the words of appreciation spoken by some orthodox Hindu and Moslem ladies, and from what we have seen of Boys' Bratachari dances.

On account of the tendentious dances of professional danceuses in India and their imitators, voluptuousness and sensuousness—if not occasionally lasciviousness—have come to be associated with dancing. Bratachari dances are entirely free from such objectionable features. They are characterised by vigorous rhythmical movements, are health-giving, and promote a team-spirit.

Some Muslim girls also have joined the Bratachari class.

The Germans in Czechoslovakia

The German inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are restive. When we were in Prague in October, 1926, we came to know that they had some reasons to be discontented. That discontent has come to a head.

Carlsbad, April 24.

Declaring that the policy of the Sudeten Deutsch Party was inspired by principles and ideas of National Socialism, the leader Herr Henlein, in an aggressive speech at the party Congress here, said:

"If Czech statesmen want to reach a permanent understanding with us, Germans and the German Reich, they will have to fulfil our demand for a complete revision of the Czech foreign policy, which has hitherto ranked Czechoslovakia among the enemies of the German people."

Herr Henlein made the following demands on behalf of his two and a half million followers:—

"Firstly, full equality of status between the Czechs and the Germans; secondly, guarantee thereof by the

recognition of the Sudeten Deutsch Party as a legal entity; thirdly, determination and legal recognition of German regions within Czechoslovakia; fourthly, full autonomy to these regions; fifthly, legal protection for every citizen living outside the region of his own nationality; sixthly, removal of injustices inflicted on the Sudeten Deutsch Party since 1918 and reparation for them; seventhly, recognition of the principle of German officials for German region; eighthly, full liberty to profess German nationality and political philosophy.

These practically amount to a demand that the Germans in Czechoslovakia should be allowed to form a State within a State.

Herr Henlein's announcement has come as a profound shock, his demands being far beyond anything expected.

President Benes, in an interview at Prague yesterday, asked the Chairman of the National Council, hitherto an entirely Czech organisation, to collaborate with him for the pacification of nationalities in Czechoslovakia.—*Reuter*.

Another Menace to Czechoslovakia

Budapest, April 24.

The Hungarian Revisionist League, previously banned, held its first meeting for five years and unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of breaking up Czechoslovakia.

A large crowd of ex-servicemen and delegations from all over the country demonstrated in sympathy outside the hall.—*Reuter*.

Anglo-French Talks "Re" Czechoslovakia

London, April 24.

The Czechoslovak question is likely to be one of the principal subjects of discussion during the forthcoming Anglo-French talks, says *Reuter's* Diplomatic Correspondent.

It is understood that Dr. Benes is doing his utmost to reach an amicable settlement with the Sudeten Germans and Britain and France are ready to give their advice or assistance in smoothing the approach to the problem.

At the same time a possibility of trouble in Czechoslovakia cannot be excluded and the British Government are anxious to know exactly how France will react towards it. It is expected that M. Deladier will explain the measures which the French Government will take to implement the Franco-Czech Pact if necessary.

There is reason to believe that and he will probably be informed of the policy which the British Government intend to follow at present.

Herr Henlein will not be called on by Germany to press his claims to extremes at present and thus a breathing space for a few months at least may ensue in that part of Europe.—*Reuter*.

Does Germany Want Hegemony Over Central Europe?

Paris, April 25.

Herr Henlein's demands have caused anxiety in the Paris Press. Dormesson writing in the "Figaro" says:

"Germany is willing to allow nominal independence for Czechoslovakia as a State but conditionally she becomes its guardian. In other words, Germany is beginning to organise a German hegemony over Central Europe. The truth is that Europe is already embarking on the greatest diplomatic trial of strength for twenty years.—*Reuter*.

Anglo-Irish Agreement

Though the Anglo-Irish agreement recently signed does not bring about the ending of partition and the restoration of the unity of Ireland which, according to Mr. de Valera, was "the essential foundation for the establishment of real understanding and friendship between the two peoples," it settles the question of land annuities completely and of defence to a great extent, and will end the economic war between Britain and Eire and establish more profitable commercial relations between the two countries. The goodwill and amity now established between the two peoples will make it possible later to think of measures to end partition in a calm atmosphere.

Firing on Mysore Villagers with Fatal Results

According to the Associated Press:

Bangalore, April 26.

Thirty-two persons were killed and 48 seriously injured in a police firing last night at Vidurasvatam village in Kolar district (about fifty miles from Bangalore), when villagers, who were assembled at a public meeting in a garden, moderately estimated at ten thousand, defied the ban on hoisting the National Flag and making public speeches.

The gathering was declared an unlawful assembly by the District Magistrate, who gave five minutes for the meeting to disperse. On the expiration of the five minutes the meeting did not disperse and the police opened fire, with the above result.

The official account of casualties varies, the estimate being between six and ten killed and some injured.

Enquiries made in official circles show that a crowd exceeding five thousand in Vidurasvatam village last night was very violent and refused to disperse despite orders of the District Magistrate, who along with the police and revenue sub-divisional officers were hemmed in by the mob. The police thereupon opened fire in self-defence, as the result of which seven persons were killed and some injured.

Whatever the technical justification for the steps taken by the District Magistrate, the result cannot but be deplored.

The Mysore authorities will be held responsible for it by the public. There is no ban on the hoisting of the "national flag" or "Congress flag" in British India. In fact, it flies even on government buildings in Bihar,

The Mysore Government's banning of it is an example of being more royal or loyal than royalty itself.

Annexation of Ethiopia and The League

Britain is not contented with merely herself recognizing Italy's conquest of Ethiopia but will try to get the League of Nations to recognize this act of international brigandage. Among the great powers perhaps Soviet Russia will raise a voice of protest. Some small nations may also do so. And if the United States of America had been a member of the League, there would have been another protester. Of course, if protest were likely to affect the political or economic interests of the potential protesters adversely, their attitude would be different.

The Emperor of Ethiopia would have his say, either in person or through a representative. But he would be crying in a wilderness where the law of the jungle prevails.

Major Yeats-Brown's Caricature of India

Major Yeats-Brown's caricature of India, printed in this issue on another page, will be read with amusement mixed with some resentment. A caricature must bear some resemblance to the reality. To that extent the Major is truthful.

The reader will be able to spot the exaggerations and the falsehoods in his lectures without much difficulty. So we will content ourselves with only some words of comment on a few points.

India and Britain "Continuously Ruled by Foreigners"

Major Yeats-Brown has said that "India has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries," and the first conquerors were the Aryans, the next the Moslems, and the last the English. So India has never been independent!

The prevalent theory, of European origin, is that the Aryans came from outside India as invaders and conquerors and settled in the country. But there is another theory which makes the Aryans autochthons. But assuming the correctness of the first theory, the Major's contention is that, in spite of the Aryans and

their descendants living in India for centuries and getting mixed with non-Aryans, they continued to be foreigners. He also holds that the Arabs, Pathans and Turks (known as Mughals) who conquered parts of India, settled there and converted numerous non-Moslems to Islam and got mixed with them, their descendants continued to be foreigners though living in the country for centuries.

Taking it for granted that his theories and contentions are correct, it would be quite easy to prove that "Britain has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries" and has never yet been free and independent!

According to the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,

"Geologists are not yet agreed when and by whom Britain was first peopled. . . . Real knowledge begins with two Celtic invasions, that of the Goidels in the later part of the Bronze age, and that of the Brythons and Belgæ in the Iron Age. . . . By the age of Julius Caesar all the inhabitants of Britain, except perhaps some tribes of the far north, were Celts in speech and custom."—Vol. 4, pp. 158-159.

So the inhabitants of Britain whom the Romans conquered were themselves foreigners, and their descendants, pure or mixed, are still foreigners today (May 1, 1938).

When the Romans withdrew from Britain, it was conquered by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, who settled in the country and ruled it for centuries, *of course as foreigners*.

This conquest was followed by the Danish, Norwegian and, again, Danish conquests. These foreigners also settled in the country and ruled the parts they had conquered for a good many years, *and certainly as foreigners*.

Then came the Norman conquest of England. With the conquerors came numerous Normans who settled in the country. Some of the descendants of the Norman Kings were known as Anjevin and Plantagenet. These are foreign names. William of Orange, who came over from Holland to reign over Britain, was a Dutchman. The first four Georges, the Hanoverians, were Germans, as the name of the dynasty shows. The descendants of Queen Victoria, whether ruling kings or mere princes and princesses of the blood royal, were and are Germans by descent, as her husband, Prince Albert, came from Saxe-Coburg Gotha.

However, even if there had not been any admixture of foreign blood in the veins of the Kings and Queens of Britain after the Norman conquest, its rulers must be considered foreigners according to the theory applied in the case of India by Major Yeats-Brown.

"Tyranny" of the Provincial Governments

According to Major Yeats-Brown, the provincial governments, particularly the Congress governments, are tyrannous. If so, why do not the Governors intervene? They have ample powers and "special responsibilities".

"Hundreds of agitators, trained in Moscow, are working among the people." If so, why are they not rounded up?

In the opinion of this major "the advocates and the money-lenders are being given opportunities to oppress the farmers"! But the landlords bring forward proofs to show that they are being expropriated in order to favour the Kisans, the farmers. As for the advocates, there is increasing unemployment among them. The money-lenders consider themselves fortunate if they can get back what they have lent—such is the operation of the debt settlement, conciliation and cancellation laws passed within the last year or so. Even if all the alleged grievances of the advocates and money-lenders be unfounded, it is a travesty of the truth to say that the Government of India Act of 1935 has given them opportunities to oppress the farmers.

Growth of Population in India

Major Yeats-Brown said in Germany that the population of India was increasing "at a surprising rate." As India is a large country its increase of population is also large. But the rate of increase is not surprising. There are many other civilized countries of which the population has increased faster and at a more surprising rate than that of India. If Government educated the people and taught them scientific agriculture, and made adequate arrangements for irrigation and short-term loans, India would be able to fully feed a larger population than now.

Form of Application for a Certificate of Domicile in Bihar

Most of our readers have not seen the form of application for a certificate of domicile in Bihar and the documents and various particulars an applicant has to submit. So, these are given below, as per typed copies sent by a correspondent. It is to be noted that it is only

Bengalis who are required to obtain domicile certificates.

FORM NO. D.

(Referred to in Rule 7.)

Application for a Certificate of Domicile.

1. Name of applicant and father's name.
2. Place in which domicile is claimed.
3. The number of generations for which the family has been domiciled in Bihar.
4. Whether he or any member of his family has made an application previously for a domicile certificate. If so, whether the certificate was granted.
5. The purpose for which the applicant requires certificate.
6. Whether the applicant or his parents possess a residence in the Province. If so, the situation and date of acquisition must be stated.
7. State all the educational institutions at which the applicant has been educated.
8. Grounds upon which a certificate is claimed.

Note :—Applicants are warned that all particulars stated in this application must be given in full and that if any incorrect statement is made in the application any privilege or appointment given in consequence to the applicant will be liable to be cancelled summarily.

Documents and particulars an Applicant is required to submit.

He is required to file the municipal rent receipts as also the title deed of his house. He should also file the original domicile certificates granted to his father and brother as also furnish the following data. In this connection his attention is drawn to the foot-note of the prescribed form of application for domicile certificate.

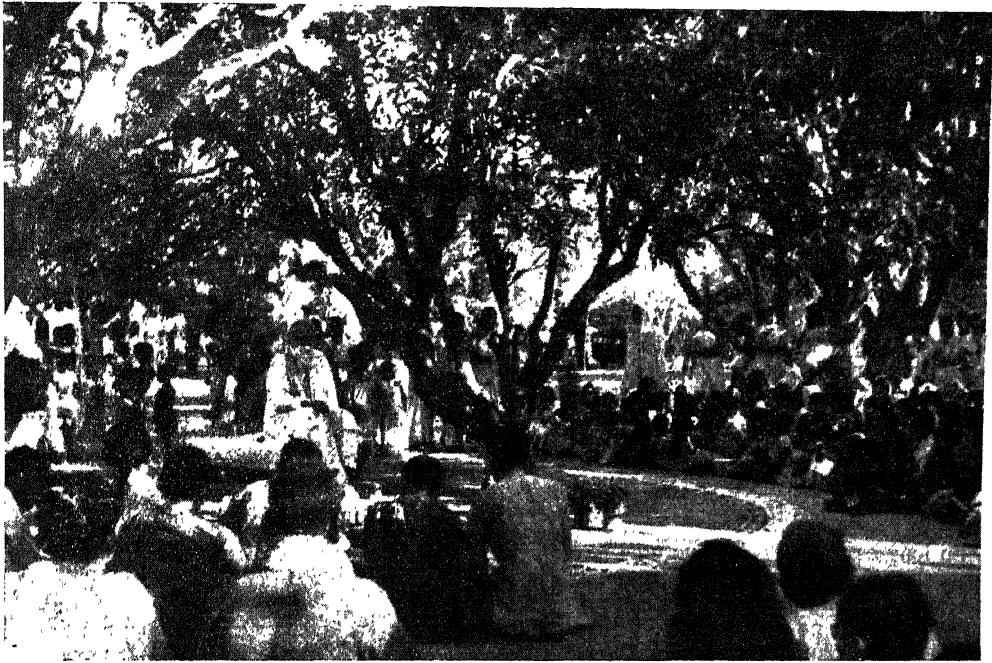
1. The full particulars, Post Office, Pargannah, Police Station, Sub-Division, etc., of his ancestral native place after consulting his elders and relations.
2. The name with full particulars of the place if any where his ancestors possessed any real property at the time of living at or leaving . . .
3. The name and numbers of brothers, paternal cousins and the number of sisters with their occupation and full address. If married, the name and full details of the place where they have been married and the names of relatives living there.
4. The full particulars of the place where the applicant himself is married and the name of his relatives living there.
5. The full particulars of the place where he usually spends and used to spend his vacation with nature and degree of relationship and the name of relative living there.
6. The name and number of paternal uncles with their occupation and full address.
7. The name and full address of the relatives who have obtained domicile certificate of Bihar with nature and degree of relationship.
8. The immediate purpose for which he requires the domicile certificate.
9. Whether he has received his education wholly or partly outside Bihar? If so, the reason why, and the name of relations, if any, with nature and degree of relationship, with whom he stayed during the course of study.
10. Whether he, his father, mother or any member

of his family own any real estate at his ancestral native place or anywhere within or without this Province in their own names or in the names of their relations jointly or solely.

Birthday of Rabindranath Tagore

According to the European Christian month and day, the birthday of Rabindranath

Indian people. The articles on tuberculosis in Bengal, the treatment of diabetes, filarial infection and high blood-pressure are of special interest at the present time. Physical culture has received due attention. These are only a few of the notable features of the number. The coloured and other plates and the general get-up are excellent.



Celebration of Rabindranath Tagore's birthday at Santiniketan

Tagore falls on the 8th May. But as this year he had to go up to the hills earlier for reasons of health, his 78th birthday was celebrated at Santiniketan on the 14th April. He delivered an inspiring address on the occasion, of which the authorized version will be published in the next number of *Prabasi*.

"Calcutta Municipal Gazette"

Health Number

The health number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, issued last month, is as attractive and instructive as its predecessors. It contains a good many articles on public health, hygiene, and the prevention and eradication of the diseases which are sapping the vitality of the

Appointment of Officiating Orissa Governor

The announcement that when the present Governor of Orissa goes on leave, Mr. Dain, I.C.S., who is employed in that province and takes his orders from the Ministry, will officiate as governor there and will occupy an official position superior to that of the ministers, has met with public criticism and been condemned by the Congress Working Committee. It may precipitate a ministerial crisis. What the ministers will do has not yet (April 28) been announced.

A solution would be to give the officiating job to some senior Civilian from some other province. Or, why not appoint some leading Indian nationalist public man to the office?

That would be very popular and would not be contrary, we believe, to any law.

The Press in Indian States

Indian States, not even the most advanced, do not possess a strong press. And its growth is being hampered, checked, prevented by various restrictive and repressive devices in many states. It does not possess even the degree of freedom which newspapers have in British India. Autocracy and a free press cannot co-exist.

Jaipur and Sikar

Sikar, in Rajputana, is tributary to Jaipur in the same region. There is a dispute between the Maharaja of Jaipur and Rao-rajah of Sikar, in relation to the latter's son's marriage and education, in consequence of which the Rao-rajah has shut himself up in his walled town. Actual fighting between the two parties was apprehended for some days, but the latest news in the morning papers of the 28th April are reassuring.

We do not understand this affair at all.

Campaign Against Illiteracy

So long as Congress had nothing to do with governing the country, it had a non-"reformist" mentality and education of the people had either no place or a very subordinate place in its programme. But now Congress has become "reformist"—at any rate in this matter, and we read in the papers news of campaigns against illiteracy in C. P. and Berar, Bihar, U. P. and Orissa. We wish victory to these campaigns.

In Bengal, the non-Congress ministry has been gradually announcing the inclusion of more and more districts in the "free" primary education scheme and declaring that these districts will have to pay the prescribed education cess or rate. So "free" is to be understood in Bengal in a Pickwickian sense.

That the need for adult education is being increasingly felt in Bengal is evident from the numerous enquiries received at the Students Hall, College Square, office of the Bengal Adult Education Association. The Association, of which the Poet Rabindranath Tagore is

the President is conducted by a representative Council of officials and non-officials including S. J. Satish Das Gupta, Prof. Nripen Banerji, Dr. D. N. Maitra, S. J. Jnananjaney Niyogi, S. J. Nepal Roy, S. J. Sudhir Lahiri, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Miss S. B. Gupta, Rev. A. Cameron, S. J. Kamini Dutt, Syed Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan. The Association is non-political and non-sectarian and Professors A. N. Basu, H. Kabir, B. N. Banerji and B. C. Mukerji are the Secretaries.

Recently two training classes have been held for students who will use their vacation for the furtherance of the campaign and several centres have been opened.

Congress Claim to Represent

Indian Nation

At the second annual session of the Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, held in London on the 12th April, Mr. Palme Datt said :

Now it is alleged by British politicians that the Congress cannot claim to be representative of the Indian people as a whole, but we have before us certain controversial facts. At the last elections, with a restricted franchise, the Congress polled 20 million out of a total of 30 million votes cast. But the "National" Government of Mr. Neville Chamberlain claims to speak for the people of Britain and yet it polled but 11½ million out of 20 million votes at the last general election.

Chinese Patriotism

There are some 10,000 Chinese in India. They have contributed more than Rs. 1,50,000 to the war funds of their country up to date. Collections are still going on. Men, women, children—all are either contributing or rendering some service to their country.

Lepers in the British Empire

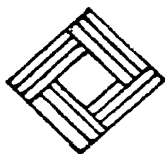
London, April 26.

There were at least 2,000,000 lepers in the British Empire, declared Sir William Peel, Chairman of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, speaking at the annual meeting at the India Office. He said that it was believed in some colonies that the disease was tending to increase. The Association had obtained the services of a number of young lay workers who were ready to go abroad to devote their lives on a bare subsistence allowance to the lepers of the Empire. The Association could not at present afford to send out more workers, though many places needed such workers.

Sir Curthbert Sprawson attributed the disappearance of leprosy from England to a country-wide campaign and said that "we should now try to arouse a similar interest throughout the Empire."—*Reuter*.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

WITHIN the compass of a magazine article it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the genius, personality and achievements of Rabindranath Tagore;—they are so great and varied. But, as owing to his serious illness last year, this year's celebrations of his birthday on the 8th May acquired special importance, an attempt is made in the following pages to give some idea, however inadequate, of his varied achievements, as a humble token of the participation of *The Modern Review* in the festive functions of the occasion.

The poet writes in one of his poems:—

“Do not in this way see from the outside—

Do not look for me in externals!

You will not find me in my sorrow and
my happiness,

Do not seek in my bosom for my
anguish.

You will not find me in my joy,

The poet is not where you seek him!

* * * * *

“You will not find the poet in his life-

story.”

(Free translation)

If he cannot be found in his biography, perhaps then he may be discovered in his works? True, but “the self-concealment of genius in literature” may baffle the seeker sometimes. The poet's autobiographical

Reminiscences are of some help. But as they cover only the first twenty-seven years of his life, they do not help one to understand the growth of his personality during the next fifty years. And few, if any, of his intimate friends are alive today from whom personal information could be obtained.

All this explains why the reader is not to expect here a vivid intimate pen-picture of Rabindranath Tagore the man.

He is our greatest poet and prose-writer. There is hardly any department of Bengali literature that he has not touched and adorned, elevated, and filled with inspiration and lighted up by the lustre of his genius. He has not written any epic poem. The age for epics is dead and gone. Difficult as it undoubtedly would be to give an exhaustive list of his multifarious achievements from early youth upwards, even the departments of literature and knowledge which he has touched and adorned would make a pretty long list. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., said of the poet in the course of his presidential address at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations:

He has tried all phases of literature—couplets, stanza, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, opera, *kirtans*, *palas*, and, last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded

in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us.

Tennyson, in his poem addressed to Victor Hugo, called that great French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears," "Lord of human tears," "Child-lover," and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken...." All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

By way of supplementing and elaborating what Pandit Haraprasad Sastri has written of Rabindranath's literary productions, it may be observed that he has written much on religious, educational, social, political, historical, economic, and philological subjects, and on music. He is an authority on metre. He is perhaps the greatest literary critic in Bengali. As a writer of letters he is unrivalled in Bengal in the number, volume and excellence of his epistles. In the production of charades in Bengali he perhaps stands alone. Then there is that unclassifiable work *Pancha Bhuter Diary* ("Diary of the Five Elements"), imaginary conversations which are like a transcript of his own talks in Bengali. He is the creator of some Dance-Plays, too. The aggregate of what he has done for the Bengali language and literature exceeds what any other author has done.

This he has been able to do, not merely because he is a man of genius but also because he is a scholar whose range of reading is very extensive and varied. In addition to what he has read in Bengali and Sanskrit, and of English literature proper and of the literature of other countries in English translations, he has read English books on the following and other subjects:

Farming, philology, history, medicine, astro-physics, geology, bio-chemistry, entomology, co-operative banking, sericulture, indoor decorations, production of hides, manures, sugar cane and oil, pottery, looms, lacquer-work, tractors, village economics, recipes for cooking, lighting, drainage, calligraphy, plant-grafting, meteorology, synthetic dyes, parlour-games, Egyptology, road-making, incubators, wood-blocks, elocution, stall-feeding, jiu-jitsu, printing.

Milton wrote in his day, when knowledge was neither so vast nor so varied and specialized as today, that the poet should take all knowledge as his province. Rabindranath Tagore seems to have followed that ideal.

An impression seems still to prevail in some quarters that Rabindranath Tagore's genius was not recognized even in Bengal before he won the Nobel Prize. It is quite wrong. On his completing the fiftieth year of his life, all classes, all professions and ranks, the representatives of the spirituality, character, culture and public spirit of Bengal, combined to do him honour in the Calcutta Town Hall in a way in which no other author in Bengal had been honoured before, or, has been since. There were also other magnificent celebrations of the occasion. And all this took place before the Nobel Prize in literature had been awarded to him. The fact is, he became famous outside Bengal after winning the Nobel Prize, but was already famous here before that event.

Many works and some kinds of works of Rabindranath in Bengali, e.g., those which are full of humour and wit, have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages. In the translations, moreover, much, if not all, of the music, the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the original has been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and dramas—particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations. But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations as well as his original works in English, like *Personality*, *Sadhana*, *The Religion of Man*, etc.

His hymns and sermons and some of his other writings on spiritual subjects let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him. His hymns and other writings in a spiritual vein have, therefore, brought healing to many a soul in anguish.

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers, too, thither. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature. Currents of universal thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

In philosophy he is not a system-builder. He is of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. His position as a philosophical thinker was recognized by his selection to preside and deliver the presidential address at the First Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925, and also when he was asked to deliver the Hibbert Lectures, which appeared subsequently as *The Religion of Man*. Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy.

But he is not simply a literary man, though his eminence as an author is such that for a foreigner the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone.

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he is not an *ustad* or "expert" in music, as that term is usually understood, though he was trained in Indian classical music. He has such a sensitive ear that he appears to live in two worlds—one, the world of visible forms and colours, and another, which one may call the world of sound-forms and sound-colours. His musical genius and instinct are such that his achievement in that art has extorted the admiration of many "experts." This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and the tunes to which he has himself set them, or to his thrilling, sweet, soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life, but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He is not only the author of the words of his songs, possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but is also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes.

It is said that among European musicians Franz Peter Schubert holds the record for the number of songs composed by him.

".....his special and peculiar eminence lies in the department of song writing, in which he reached the highest limit of excellence,.....although his years were fewer than those of any other masters of the first rank, he composed more than 500 songs, ten symphonies (including two left unfinished), six masses, a host of sonatas and other works for the pianoforte, a number of string quartets, as well as several operas, cantatas, and overtures."—*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Eleventh Edition) says of Schubert that "He was the greatest songwriter who ever lived." His songs "number over 600, excluding scenes and operatic pieces."

According to a rough estimate Rabindranath Tagore has composed more than 2,000 songs, all of which he has set to music. I do

not know how many songs have been composed by each one of the other famous musicians of India of modern times or of ages past.

About twelve years ago, I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and Czechoslovakia where he recited some of his poems. His recitations were such that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the audience, he had to repeat them several times at their earnest request. Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters. No wonder, he shines also as a conversationalist.

He is a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art. Those who have seen him appear in leading roles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be. From the prime of his manhood upwards he has been in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles. On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents come into play.

If it is true that the credit of reviving the performance of music in public by respectable women goes to the Brahmo Samaj, that credit belongs in great part to the Tagore family and Rabindranath Tagore. They have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act in public. The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play. The new dances he has created, in which he has personally trained many girl students of Santiniketan, are entirely free from the voluptuousness and worse features of many prevalent dances.

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic. They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting. Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthroned the Motherland as the Adored in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one; but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal more than three

decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the *Katha-O-Kahini* ballads which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins.

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs. Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations. Rabindranath's songs and ballads—the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of her people, literate and illiterate, town-dwellers and village-folk, and their culture and civilization.

But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he has taken part in the Swadeshi movement. His socio-political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organized by him, are part of the same national service. He has worked earnestly for the revival of weaving and other arts and crafts of the country—particularly village arts and crafts, and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate.

His scheme of constructive "non-co-operation," or, properly speaking, of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, village reconstruction, etc., as outlined in some of his writings and addresses more than thirty years ago, was part of his Swadeshi movement politics. It is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, delivered on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal provincial conference at Pabna, 1908. The "no-tax" movement adumbrated in his plays *Prayaschitta* ("Expiation") and *Paritran* ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by its hero, Dhananjaya Bairagi, embody his idea of what the attitude of leaders and the rank and file should be on such occasions. Both plays are dramatic renderings of an earlier work, a historical romance named *Bou-Thakuranir Hat* ("The Bride-Queen's Market"), published in 1884. Of these plays *Prayaschitta* is the earlier one, published in May, 1909. Free translations of some portions

of its dialogues and of some of its songs are given below.

Dhananjaya Bairagi, a Sannyasi, and a number of the villagers of Madhabpur, going to the King.

Third villager.—What shall we say, Father, to the King?

Dhananjaya.—We shall say, we won't pay tax.

Third villager.—If he asks, why won't you?

Dhananjaya.—We will say, if we pay you money starving our children and making them cry, our Lord will feel pain. The food which sustains life is the sacred offering dedicated to the Lord; for he is the Lord of life. When more than that food—a surplus, remains in our houses, we pay that to you (the King) as tax, but we can't pay you tax deceiving and depriving the Lord.

Fourth villager.—Father, the King will not listen.

Dhananjaya.—Still, he must be made to hear. Is he so unfortunate because he has become King that the Lord will not allow him to hear the truth? We will force him to hear.

Fifth villager.—Worshipful Father, he (the King) will win, for he has more power than we.

Dhananjaya.—Away with you, you monkeys! Is this a sample of your intelligence? Do you think, the defeated have no power? Their power stretches up to heaven, do you know?

Sixth villager.—But, Father, we were far from the King, we could have saved ourselves by concealment,—we shall now be at the very door of the King. There will be no way of escape left if there be trouble.

Dhananjaya.—Look here, Panchkari, leaving things unsettled in this way by shelling them, never bears good fruit. Let whatever may happen happen, otherwise the finale is never reached. There is peace when the extremity is reached.

Let us take next what passes between Dhananjaya, the Sannyasi, leader of the people, and King Pratapaditya.

Pratapaditya.—Look here, *Bairagi*, you can't deceive me by this sort of (feigned) madness of yours. Let us come to business. The people of Madhabpur have not paid their taxes for two years. Say, will you pay?

Dhananjaya.—No, Maharaj, we will not.

Pratapaditya.—Will not? Such insolence!

Dhananjaya.—We can't pay you what is not yours.

Pratapaditya.—Not mine!

Dhananjaya.—The food that appeases our hunger is not yours. This food is His Who has given us life, how can we give it to you?

Pratapaditya.—So it is you who have told my subjects not to pay taxes?

Dhananjaya.—Yes, Maharaj, it is I who have done it. They are fools, they have no sense. They want to part with all they have for fear of the tax-gatherer. It is I who tell them, "Stop, stop, don't you do such a thing. Give up your life only to Him Who has given you life (that is, die only at the Lord's bidding, but not by depriving yourselves of the food which He has given you); — don't make your King guilty of killing you (by allowing him to take from you the food which is necessary for keeping your bodies and souls together)."

I do not wish to add to the length of this article by quoting similar passages from the play *Paritran*, based on the same story. Let me take some other passages from *Prayaschitta*.

Pratapaditya.—Look here, Bairagi, you have neither hearth nor home; but these villagers are all householders — why do you want to lead them into trouble? (To the villagers) I say, you fellows all go back to Madhabpur. (To Dhananjaya). You, Bairagi, have to remain here (that is, he will be arrested and jailed).

Villagers.—No, that can't be so long as we are alive.

Dhananjaya.—Why can't that be? You are still lacking in sense. The King says, Bairagi, you remain. You say, no that can't be. But has the luckless Bairagi come floating like flotsam (that is, is he not master of himself with a will of his own)? Is his remaining here or not to be settled by the King and yourselves?

(Sings)

Whom have you kept by saying, 'he remains'?

When will your order take effect?

Your force will not endure, brother.

That will endure which is fit to endure.

Do what you please—

Keep or kill by bodily force—

But only that will be borne which *He* will bear

Whom all blows strike.

Plenty of coins you have,

No end of ropes and cords,

Many horses and elephants,—

Much you have in this world.

You think, what you want will happen, that

You make the world dance to your tune;

But you will see on opening your eyes,

That also happens which doesn't usually happen.

(Enter Minister.)

Pratapaditya.—You have come at the nick of time. Keep this Bairagi captive here. He must not be allowed to go back to Madhabpur.

Minister.—Maharaj—

Pratapaditya.—What! The order is not to your liking;—is it?

Udayaditya (Pratapaditya's son and heir).—Maharaj, the Bairagi is a saintly man.

Villagers.—Maharaj, this cannot be borne by us! Maharaj, evil will follow from it.

Dhananjaya.—I say you all go back. The order has been given, I must stay with the King for a few days; the fellows can't hear this (good luck of mine)!

Villagers.—Did we come to petition his majesty for this? We are not to have the Yuvaraj (heir-apparent), and are to lose you, too, to boot?

Dhananjaya.—My body burns to hear what you say! What do you mean by saying you will lose me? Did you keep me tied up in a corner of your loin-cloths? Your business is done. Away with you now!

Owing to an accidental conflagration, the jail where Dhananjaya was imprisoned is reduced to ashes. He has come out.

Dhananjaya.—Jai, Maharaj, Jai! You did not want to part with me, but from where nobody knows, Fire has come with a warrant for my release! But how can I go without telling you? So I have come to take your order.

Pratapaditya.—Had a good time?

Dhananjaya.—Oh I was so happy. There was no anxiety. All this is His hide-and-seek. He thought I could not catch Him concealed in the prison. But I caught him, tight in my embrace; and then no end of laughter and songs unending. I have spent the days in great joy—I shall remember my Brother Prison.

(Sings)

O my chains, embracing you I enjoyed

The music of your clanking.

You kept me delighted, breaking my pride.

Playing games with you,

The days passed in joy and sorrow.

You encircled my limbs

With priceless jewellery.

I am not angry with you,—

If anybody is to blame, it is I,

If there be fear in my mind,

I regard you as terrible.

All night long in the darkness

You were my comrade.

Remembering that kindness of yours

I salute you.

Pratapaditya.—What do you say, Bairagi! What for were you so happy in prison?

Dhananjaya.—Maharaj, like your happiness in your kingdom was my joy in prison. What was lacking (there)? (The Lord) can give you happiness, but can't he give me any joy?

Pratapaditya.—Where will you go now?

Dhananjaya.—The road.

Pratapaditya.—Bairagi, it strikes me at times that your way is preferable, my kingdom is no good.

Dhananjaya.—Maharaj, the kingdom, too, is a path. Only, one has to be able to walk aright. He who knows it to be a path (to the goal), he is a real wayfarer; we sannyasis are nothing in comparison with him. Now then, if you permit, out I go for the nonce.

Pratapaditya.—All right, but don't go to Madhabpur.

Dhananjaya.—How can I promise that? When (the Lord) will take me anywhere, who is there to say nay?

All the passages quoted above are free translations from the original. It is to be noted that the poet has named the leader of the people in these two plays "Dhananjaya", which means, "He who has conquered (the desire for) riches." One may take that to indicate the poet's idea of the essential qualification of a leader of the people.

As the poet has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement at the expense of other peoples, by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of what is, not quite appropriately, called Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland, both as expressed in words and as manifested in action, has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers. But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created, know that he loves his land

"with love far-brought

From out the storied Past, and used

Within the Present, but transfused

Thro' future time by power of thought."

His penetrating study of and insight into the history of India and Greater India have

strengthened this love. Especially noteworthy is his essay on the course of India's history.

The origin of what is called his Internationalism has sometimes been traced to his revealing and disappointing experiences during the Anti-partition and Swadeshi movement of Bengal of the first decade of this century. Such experiences are not denied. But his love of the whole of humanity and interest in their affairs are traceable even in the writings of his boyhood when he was in his teens. And in maturer life, this feature of his character found distinct expression in a poem, named *Prabasi*, written thirty-eight years ago, which begins with the declaration that his home is in all lands, his country in all countries, his close kindred in all homes there, and that he is resolved to win this country, this home and these kindred.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt of the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence.

He writes in "Our Swadeshi Samaj":—

"The realization of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety—that is the inherent, the *sanatana*, Dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none, she abjures no methods, recognizes the greatness of ideals, and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony."

Again :

"In the evolving History of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity; nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right."

Tagore's ideal is the same as that of Rammohun Roy, who, he says, "did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and the West."

This statement of India's ideal is supported by Mr. C. E. M. Joad in the following passage in his book, *The Story of Indian Civilization*, published, much later, recently:

"Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and of peoples, to create, in fact, unity out of diversity."

The poet has never denied that other countries, too, may have their own special messages and missions. He does not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but respects it for its spirit of enquiry, its science, its strength and will to face martyrdom in the cause of truth, freedom and justice (now alas! gone to sleep), its acknowledgement and acceptance of the manness of the common man (now also alas! not manifest), and its activities for human welfare, and wishes the East to take what it should and can from the West, not like a beggar without patrimony or as an adopted child, but as a strong and healthy man may take wholesome food from all quarters and assimilate it. This taking on the part of the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than or rather than learning, borrowing or imitation. The West, too, can derive advantage from contact with the East, different from the material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter. The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing, self-possessed and self-respecting, no longer requires any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reach out to the West and the East, to all humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salute. He is, by his literary works and travels, among the foremost reconcilers and uniters of races and continents. He has renewed India's cultural connection with Japan, China, Siam, Islands-India, Iran and Iraq by his visits to those lands.

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted on India by the British nation, and whilst condemning such wrong-doing unsparingly, he has never refrained from being just and even generous in his estimate of the British people.

It will be recalled that he was the first to publicly condemn the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre, and that he gave up his knighthood in protest.

His politics are concerned more with the moulding of society and character-building than with the more vocal manifestations of that crowded department of national activity. Freedom he prizes as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is full and fundamental. To him the chains of inertness, cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, of

superstition and lifeless custom, of the authority of priestcraft and letter of scripture, constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger, which is largely a consequence and a symptom. He prizes and insists upon the absence of external restraints. But this does not constitute the whole of his idea of freedom. There should be inner freedom also, born of self-sacrifice, enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. This point of view has largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wishes to set the spirit free, to give it wings to soar, so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere of activity. He desires that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merge in each other.

Age and bodily infirmities have not made him a reactionary and obscurantist. His spirit is ever open to new light. He continues to be a progressive social reformer. His intellectual powers are still at their height. His latest poetic creations of the month—perhaps one may sometimes say, of the week or the day—do not betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility, nor are there in any of them signs of repetition. He continues to be among our most active writers. This is for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loves his kind, and human intercourse is dear to his soul. His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of-the-way sciences and crafts, and his travels in many continents enable him to establish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the conscious master in the realms of the unknown—himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual prospectors and explorers.

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protests of her people, he threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self-expression of the people in all possible ways. But when popular resentment and despair led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to violence, though, as I understand him, abstention from the use of force under all circumstances is not with him a religious principle. He has been equally unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts

and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety. He has never believed that war can ever be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof. The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men. Hence the poet-seer has repeatedly given in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the *Isopanishad*:

"All this whatsoever that moves in Nature is indwelt by the Lord. Enjoy thou what hath been allotted to thee by Him. Do not covet anybody's wealth."

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet has expressed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he holds that private property has its legitimate uses for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self-creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he sees and states clearly the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his following cabled reply to a query of Professor Petrov, of V. O. K. S., Moscow:

"Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity."

How the poet feels for the humblest of human beings may be understood from many of his poems and utterances; e.g., the following from *Gitanjali*,

"Pride can never approach to where thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the poorest, and lowliest and lost."

"My heart can never find its way to where Thou keepest company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost."

"He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and His garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil."

Twenty-eight years ago he wrote a poem, included in the Bengali *Gitanjali*, addressed to the Motherland, referring to the treatment accorded to the "untouchables." Its first stanza runs as follows (in translation):

"O my hapless country, those whom thou hast insulted—To them shalt thou have to be equal in thy humiliation. Those whom thou hast deprived of the rights of man. Kept them standing before thee, not taking them in thy lap, All of them shalt thou have to equal in humiliation."

As regards the poet's ideal of womanhood, the passage in *Chitra*, beginning,

"I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

is well known. But to get a complete idea of what he thinks of Woman, many other poems and prose writings of his have to be read. For instance, among poems, "Sabalā" ("The Strong Woman") in *Mahua*, not yet translated, written with reference to the word "Abalā" ("The Weak"), a Sanskrit word denoting woman.

Regarding our unfortunate sisters, stigmatized as fallen women, though their betrayers, ravishers, and exploiters are not fallen men, read the poet's "Patitā" ("The Fallen Woman") in *Kahini*, and "Karunā" ("Compassion") and "Sati" ("The Chaste Woman") in *Chaitali*. These, too, have not yet been translated into English.

As an educationist, he has preserved in his ideal of Visva-bharati, the international university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the *tapovanās* or forest retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open-air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The poet's mental outlook is universal. He claims for his people all knowledge and culture, whatever their origin, as their province. Hence, while he wants the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance therefrom, while he has been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permits, he has also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well. China's response has taken the concrete shape of the Cheena-Bhavana for the study of Chinese culture. Chinese, Tibetan and Islamic studies—and, of course, the study of Hindu and Buddhist culture and of the teachings of the medieval saints of India, have long been special features of Visva-bharati. All this has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wants that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution.

Visva-bharati stands neither for merely literary, nor for merely vocational education, but for both and more. Tagore wants both man the knower and man the maker. He wants an intellectual as well as an artistic and aesthetic education. He wants the growth of a personality equal to meeting the demands of society and solitude alike. Visva-bharati now comprises a primary and a high school, a college, a school of graduate research, a school of painting and modelling and of some crafts, a music school, a school of agriculture and village welfare work, a co-operative bank with branches and a public health institute. Here students of both sexes have their games and physical exercises. The poet's idea of a village is that it should combine all its beautiful and healthy rural characteristics with the amenities of town life necessary for fullness of life and efficiency. Some such amenities have already been provided in his schools. There is co-education in all stages. It is one of the cherished desires of the poet to give girl students complete education in a woman's University based on scientific methods, some of which are the fruits of his own insight and mature experience.

When he is spoken of as the founder of Visva-bharati, it is not to be understood that he has merely given it a local habitation and a name and buildings and funds and ideals. That he has, no doubt, done. To provide funds, he had, in the earlier years of the school, sometimes to sell the copyright of some of his books and even temporarily to part with some of Mrs. Tagore's jewellery. His subsequent efforts to collect funds are well known. In the earlier years of the institution, he took classes in many subjects, lived with the boys in their rooms, entertained them in the evenings by story-telling, recitations of his poems, games of his own invention, methods of sense-training of his own devising, etc. Many a day at that time would Mrs. Tagore regale the boys and their teachers with dishes prepared by herself. In those days when the number of teachers and students was small, the institution was like a home for them all. Even more recently the poet has been known to take some classes. And he continues to keep himself in touch with the institution in various ways.

Tagore is an independent thinker in education. This has been recognised. But one of the group of institutions constituting Visva-bharati, namely, Siksha-Satra, has not received due public attention, and is perhaps practically unknown even to Indian educationists. It was

founded in 1924. Its origin and principles were stated when it was founded, and re-stated by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst in *Visva-bharati Bulletin* No. 9, December, 1928, from which I make a few extracts below.

"To dig our own cave in the earth, where we could creep out of sight, much to the disgust of the matter-of-fact gardener, to chop sticks with a real axe, to be given a pair of boots to polish, a fire to light, or some dough to knead and bake—these were our keenest joys; yet only too often had we to be content with toy bricks, toy houses, toy tools or toy kitchens; or, if serious work was provided, it was in the nature of sweated labour, which fatigued without giving play to our creative instincts.

"The aim, then, of the *Siksha-Satra*, is through experience in dealing with this overflowing abundance of child life, its charm and its simplicity, to provide the utmost liberty within surroundings that are filled with creative possibilities, with opportunities for the joy of play that is work,—the work of exploration; and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences; to give the child that freedom of growth which the young tree demands for its tender shoot, that field for self-expansion in which all young life finds both training and happiness."

As regards the age at which the child's education at the *Siksha-Satra* should begin, it is stated:

"It is between the ages of six and twelve that the growing child is most absorbed in gathering impressions through sight, smell, hearing and taste but more especially through touch and the use of the hands. From the start, therefore, the child enters the *Siksha-Satra* as an apprentice in handicraft as well as housecraft. In the workshop, as a trained producer and as a potential creator, it will acquire skill and win freedom for its hands; whilst as an inmate of the house, which it helps to construct and furnish and maintain, it will gain expanse of spirit and win freedom as a citizen of the small community."

Some of the crafts which the pupils can learn are mentioned in the *Bulletin*. It is stated that, "from the earliest years it is well to introduce to the children some special craft, easily grasped by small hands, which is of definite economic value. The product should be of real use in the home, or have a ready sale outside,..." "In the carrying out of every one of these crafts, again, some art, some science, some element of business enters in."

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens. He has often written with terrible directness. In years past the poet successfully edited several monthlies and contributed, and still contributes, to numerous more. He has written for many weeklies, too. He is the only man in Bengal I know who was capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required.

I have been privileged to publish perhaps a

larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc., from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor. It has been a privilege without any penalty attached to it, as he is regular, punctual and methodical, and as it is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting. As an editor, he was the making of many authors, who subsequently became well-known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work.

His beautiful handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that I, who have had occasion to see it so often, cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from its imitation.

There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems. That is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of *The Modern Review* in 1912. This is how he came to write in English for publication. Some time in 1911 I suggested that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb. So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr. Lokendranath Palit, r.c.s. Of these *Fruitless Cry* appeared in May and *The Death of the Star* in September, 1911, in *The Modern Review*. When I asked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and unwillingness and tried to put me off by playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, 'On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears?', the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a school-boy, take kindly to school education and its concomitant exercises. But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily. So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his translations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam school-master I considered them up to standard. These appeared in my *Review*. These are, to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions. Their manuscripts have been preserved.

I have referred to his beautiful hand. All calligraphists cannot and do not become painters, though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as a painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural. I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings. They are neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern European

paintings. They are unclassed. One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonalty understanding and appreciating them is that they seldom tell a story. They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say. He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home. Nor did he want to imitate anybody. So, he is literally an original artist. If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools of painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional. In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact. In the Bengali *Santiniketan Patra* ("Santiniketan Magazine") of the month of Jyaistha, 1333 B.E., published twelve years ago, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, the famous artist, described (pp. 100-101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art. Summing up, Abanindranath writes:

"Bengal's poet suggested the lines of Art, Bengal's artist (*i.e.*, Abanindranath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day—" (Translation).

It was my happy privilege some twenty years back to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch. During one such period, my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two-storied cottage in which he then lived—only a field intervened between. During that period I could never at night catch the poet going to sleep earlier than myself.

And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was very early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the East, but usually I found that his devotions were already over and he was busily engaged in some of his usual work. At mid-day, far from enjoying a siesta, he did not even recline. During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer. And the sultry summer days of Santiniketan are unforgettable!

His late serious illness and the infirmities of age have necessitated changes in his habits. But even now he works longer than many young men.

I have all along looked upon him as an earnest *Sadhak*. He is not, however, an ascetic—nor, of course, a lover of luxury. His ideal of life is different.

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation," he has said in one of his poems.

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.

"Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim.

"My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flame and place them before the altar of thy temple.

"No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.

"Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love."

BUILD ME A TREE

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

II

Build me a tree! My eyes are tired...

Blurred with cement and needled spired

Towers and warrens...Hutch and den,

Tier upon tier; all filled with men

Coppered with sweat, unkempt and soiled

Covered with grime, where they have toiled

Grooved in the mesh of cogs and gears

Harnessed to lathes and drills and shears—

Bound to the wheels! The vast machine

Grinds down their souls... Let them be

Healed from the scald of labour's yoke—

Cleansed from the stench and belch of

Spewed from a foundry, fouling skies...

Barring the sun from weary eyes.

Build me a tree! Resilient...

Mystical symbol, heaven spent

Arches of beauty. Sprung delight,

Ichored with sap to give it might.

Then let it flourish, bud and swell

Wrought to great music! Plant it well

Anchored to earth and rooted deep—

Cabled and clawed, to sway and sweep

Plenteous branches, bend and form,

Tempered to thunder, gale and storm...

Forked and crotched for birds in spring;

Bless it with sunlight—let it swing

Cadenced to hope! Give the command—

Call on the gods to guide your hand;

Build with a vision... Build inspired—

Build me a tree! My soul is tired—

A LETTER TO AN INDIAN FRIEND IN JAPAN

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

DEAR ANANDMOHAN,

You will know from the following extract from a paper I read to my fellow-countrymen who were living in Japan how deeply my mind was attracted to the Japanese people when I came into personal touch with them during a short visit to Tokyo on my way to U. S. A.

"I have come to discover something very great in the character of Japan. I am not blind to their faults. You may remember that when I first came to this part of the world I wrote a number of lectures upon Nationalism, which I read in the United States of America. The reason why these thoughts came to me in Japan was because it was here that I first saw the Nation in all its naked ugliness, whose spirit we Orientals have borrowed from the West.

It came vividly before my eyes, because on the one hand there were the real people of Japan, producing wonderful works of art, and in the details of their life giving expression to inherited codes of social behaviour and honour, the spirit of Bushido: On the other hand, in contrast to the living side of the people, was the spirit of the Nation, arrogantly proud, suffering from the one obsession, that it was different from all other Asiatic peoples.

Japan was faced with the most difficult trial of suddenly being startled into power and prosperity and had begun to show all the teeth and claws of the Nation, which have been demoralising the civilised world, spreading far and wide an appalling amount of cruelty and deception. I could not specially blame Japan for this, but I heartily deplored the fact that she, with her code of honour, her ideal of perfection and her belief in the need for grace in everyday life, could yet become infected with this epidemic of selfishness and with the boastfulness of egotism.

I frankly confess that I was then deeply mortified. For, though the people of Japan, on this first occasion, accepted me with enthusiastic welcome in the beginning, yet directly they came to know the ideas that I had, they felt nervous. They thought that idealism would weaken their morale; that ideals were not for those nations who must be unscrupulously strong; that the Nation must never have any feelings of disgust

from the handling of diplomatic filth, or of shrinking from the use of weapons of brutal power. Human victims had to be sought, and the nation had to be enriched with plunder.

Nevertheless, I did not blame Japan for considering me to be dangerous. Though I felt the hurt of this evil, yet at the same time I knew that beneath the iron mailcoat of the Nation the living spirit of the People had been working in secret. Today I feel sure that these people have the promise of a great future, though that may not be evident in the facts of the present. Truth is often hidden behind the obstacle of facts.

I deem myself fortunate in having noted certain characteristic truths in the Japanese race, which I believe will work through their subconscious mind and one day produce great results in a luminous revelation of their soul. It fills me almost with envy at their profound feeling for beauty, their calm sense of perfection, that is expressed in various ways in their daily conduct. The constant exercise of patience in their daily life is the patience of a strength, which revels in the fashioning of exquisite behaviour with a self-control that is almost spiritual in its outward expression. It has required strenuous discipline and centuries of civilisation. I shall have to confess that the Japanese possess a monopoly of certain elements of heroism,—a heroism which is one with their artistic genius. In its essence, it has a strong energy of movement; in its form, it has that perfect proportion which comes of self-mastery. It is a creation of two opposing forces, that of expression and that of repression.

These people have come to believe in a heroism which is not in self-exaggeration, but in a resigned spirit that can quietly accept either action or inaction as honour or duty might dictate. Therein lies the beauty of their strength; it is in that detachment of mind, which does not forget the ideal of excellence in its greed and hurry for result. Their perfect heroism finds its inspiration in the music of truth which is in beauty.

Japan must prove to the world that the present utilitarian spirit may be wedded to beauty. If Science and Art, necessity and joy,

the machine and life, are once united, that will be a great day. At present, Science is shamelessly disassociated from Art. She is a barbarian, boastful of her immense muscle and superficial nature. But has she not come at last to the gate of the truth, which gives us the mystery of the beautiful? Has she not proved that it is in Rhythm itself which is in the heart of Reality? She has suddenly stumbled upon the dance-music of creation. It has been revealed to her, that every atom is a ring-dance of light round a luminous centre. Only a difference in their dance measure is responsible for the difference in elements. It is through the chain of these varied dances, which are the cadence of beauty, that this universe of reality has its play in the courtyard of time and space. Any torture of the chain of beauty, any break in it, is evil; because it hurts the very spirit of reality, which is one in its physical appearance and in its moral and spiritual meaning. By killing the best expression of reality, which is beauty, we enfeeble its soul which is moral and spiritual.

Though we often find in Japan of today a hysteria of violence in her politics, an unscrupulous greed in her commerce, and an undignified lack of reticence in her public life, which makes us anxious for the moment, yet let us feel certain that all these have been borrowed from the outside, that they have no deep root in her mind. Let us hope that the truth which they have in their inner being, will work through all contradictions and express itself through unaccountable ways in some sudden outbreak of revelation.

Great periods of history are periods of eruption, unlooked for and seemingly against the times, but they have all along been cradled in the dark chamber of the people's inner nature.

The ugly spirit of the market has come from across the sea into the beautiful land of Japan. It may, for the time, find its lodging in the guest-house of the people; but their home will ultimately banish it. For it is a menace to the genius of her race, a sacrilege to the best that she has attained and must keep safe, not only for her own salvation, but for the glory of all humanity."

This was in 1916 when some of the great nations in Europe went mad in their mutual destruction, and I fondly hoped that such a defamation of humanity could never happen in that beautiful country inhabited by a people who had inherited their ancient tradition of heroism that is chivalrous, a perfect combination of beauty and manliness. Though I had my glimmer of doubt yet I felt sure that the whole mind of this people would indignantly reject the hideousness that shamelessly unmasked itself in Europe at that murderous moment, the ruthless display of barbarity indulging in indiscriminate manslaughter, using torturous weapons finished in laboratory, cowardly in their mechanical efficiency and soulless ravage, revealing a diabolical callousness in their deliberate destruction of centres of culture with scientific abominations rained from the sky. I could never dream in those not very distant days that I should ever have woefully to revise my estimate of the greatness of this people whose co-operation we had eagerly expected in building up of a noble future in Asia by their sympathy and true love of freedom at this period of changing scenes in world's history when the lamp of Europe in its last flicker seems to produce more poisonous fume than flame.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



SYMPOSIUM ON RIVER PHYSICS

[Held under the joint auspices of the Indian Science Congress, the National Institute of Sciences and the Indian Physical Society at the Senate Hall, Calcutta University on January 10, 1938].

In his opening address, Professor M. N. Saha, President of the National Institute of Sciences for India, pointed out that from the dawn of civilisation and probably even earlier, rivers have formed, in India as well as elsewhere, the main centres of civilised life and in India particularly, most of the cities famous in history and civilisation arose on river banks.

This was due to the fact that rivers supplied all the main needs of early communities whose existence depended upon agriculture, and whose civilisation depended to a large extent, upon maintenance of lines of communications. Since time immemorial, rivers have been used in India as well as elsewhere, for irrigation and navigation, but here, owing to the vast extent of the country, all types of irrigation have been practised, e.g., flood time canal irrigation in the precarious areas of the Punjab, and Sind, tank-storage irrigation in the Deccan Plateau, and perennial irrigation in the plentiful areas of the lower Ganges and other river basins, with other minor forms of irrigation in particular areas. The ancient and medieval rulers of India took particular care for the construction and proper maintenance of irrigation works.

The classical use of rivers has been for irrigation and navigation, but since the advent of the railway (1857) navigation has been very much neglected. Most of the rivers have within the last hundred years been spanned by a large number of railways at different crossings, and embankments have been constructed to protect these railways. This has led, in certain regions, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, to a total dislocation of the natural system of drainage, resulting in the deterioration of rivers, formation of swamps, frequent outbreaks of malaria in epidemic form, and great damage to rural prosperity. A critical analysis of the past happenings showed that much of these evil effects could have been avoided by proper planning, but in most cases, interest of the rural population were sacrificed to the needs of railroad expansion.

DEFECTIVE PLANNING

The effects of defective planning have been most apparent in the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (Bengal) and in the delta of the Mahanadi river (Orissa). After the opening of the East Indian Railway in 1859, the Burdwan division of Bengal was practically ruined by the dislocation of the drainage system, a fact which is now admitted officially. Another glaring illustration of defective planning is the Hardinge Bridge over the Lower Ganges at Sarah, which, at the risk estimate, was to have cost Rupees one crore and a half (1.2 million pounds). It cost actually about four and half crores of rupees (3.6 million pounds), when it was completed nearly 25 years ago; but even with such huge expenditure the bridge is not considered safe. The Ganges

river had several times shown a tendency to cut through the flanks, open a new channel, and leave the bridge on dry grounds. To combat the destructive action of the river, the Government of India had to spend over several crores of rupees on several occasions and it cannot be said that the danger is over. Sir F. Spring, the engineer, who was entrusted nearly forty years ago with the task of making preliminary survey of the river and drawing up plans for the construction of this bridge openly expressed the opinion that the time allotted to him, and to other engineers was too short to arrive at a working knowledge of the life of the great Indian rivers without which no proper planning can be done. These problems are unique, as in spite of their rather comparative shortness, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra carry, next to the Amazon, the largest volume of water. The maximum discharge of the lower Ganges is, according to Spring, several hundred times that of the Thames, seven times that of the Nile, and exceed that of the Mississippi near South Pass. The maximum discharge of the Brahmaputra is estimated to be one and half times as much. Spring strongly recommended in 1903, the establishment of a river physics laboratory where all data regarding Indian rivers would be collected and analysed, and on the basis of such knowledge, model experiments should be carried out before any engineering project which may interfere with the existing rivers (such as spanning a river by bridges, cutting a canal from a river, putting an embankment to keep out floods), is actually put into execution.

But in spite of strong representation by Sir F. Spring, Mr. Reakes and other persons who have studied the problems of river changes in the lower Ganges delta first hand, neither the Central nor the provincial Governments of India have shown any inclination to establish properly equipped River Physics Laboratories excepting the Punjab Government, which has the largest length of irrigation canals to maintain. There also, the official mind was first directed to the necessity of having research laboratories from the fact that a large part of the irrigated land was turning alkaline, and when engineers found themselves baffled by this problem, they referred it in 1927 to some pure scientists, including Dr. Wilsdon, then Professor of Physical Chemistry at the Government College, Lahore. In course of his investigation, Dr. Wilsdon and his successor Mr. Mackenzie-Taylor gradually found that the problems were multifarious and complicated enough to require services of physicists, mathematicians, statisticians, and physical chemists. In course of the years, the Irrigation Research Laboratories of the Punjab have grown up into a very useful organisation. The Central Board of Irrigation has established a hydraulic research laboratory at Poona, where small scale model experiments on rivers are being carried out under the guidance of Mr. Inglis. But India is a vast country; not only is her area and population equal to that of Europe minus Russia, but the length of her watercourses is almost the same, and the problems of one region are quite distinct from those of another. It is therefore obvious that one or two research laboratories cannot serve the interests of the whole country. More laboratories are required in different regions. Nowhere is the need of a river physics laboratory more actually felt than in the lower Ganges and Brahmaputra

Delta (Bihar, Bengal and Assam) which is intersected by a labyrinth of watercourses, which are constantly changing their channels, eroding cities and villages, causing destructive floods, and by their frequent change of course, forming swamps which turn into beds of malaria. Even the existence of the great city of Calcutta is threatened. As a port, the Hugli river on which stands Calcutta is receiving, for the major part of the year, no fresh supply of water from the Ganges, while tidal water from the Bay of Bengal rushes up the Hugli estuary, twice a month, and forces back the silt, and cause it to be deposited along the river bed. If this process goes on, sea-going vessels would not be able to reach Calcutta at no distant future, and her fate as a seaport would be sealed like those of other old cities in the deltaic regions (Pataliputra, 500 B.C.—500 A.D.). Gaur (500 A.D.—1575 A.D.) and Tamralipti. As a city, the level of Calcutta has relatively gone down, within the last hundred years of its existence, by two to four feet, the sewerage does not flow freely by gravity, but has to be pumped out artificially, and the once tidal river (Bidyadhari) which once used to carry the Sewerage, is checked up by silt, and is for all purposes dead. If the situation is not remedied, Calcutta may be buried in its own sewerage at no distant epoch. It has often been urged, said the lecturer, that the problems of any particular region can be tackled in a Central Irrigation Research Laboratory situated thousands of miles away, say at Delhi or Poona. According to Professor Saha, such proposals were rather unwise, for if a particular problem, concerning a region is ever to be successfully tackled, there should be constant and frequent contact between workers in the field, and the research workers in the laboratory. The research workers must in addition possess a background of knowledge of local conditions which are widely different in different regions of India. How can all these conditions which are necessary for a successful solution of the problem be secured when the laboratory is situated thousands of miles away from the region whose problem is to be attacked? The speaker therefore strongly opposed the idea of a Central Irrigation Research Laboratory, and advocated the establishment of regional laboratories, one for the Panjab, one for the United Provinces and Bihar, one for Bengal, Assam and Orissa, and two for Southern India.

In the further part of the address, the problems of poverty and unemployment of the Indian masses were analysed, and it was pointed out that the only solution was large scale industrialisation of the country. It was also pointed out that by virtue of her natural resources India was eminently fit for industrialization. One of the greatest impediments to successful industrialization was the high price of power, and total neglect of the problems of development of the power resources of the country by the state. The speaker pointed out that the average price of power in India was nearly four times that of European countries, and the consumption of electricity per capita was only seven units in the year. The average Indian is poor because the average production of work per capita in India from all sources (manual, animal, steam oil, electricity) is only 90 to 100 units; while in the modern world, it ought to be nearly 2,000 units. These figures show lack of organisation, planning, and need of beneficent legislation. The speaker pleaded strongly as a first step towards successful industrialization for the establishment of a power survey and research laboratory on the lines of the Krizhanovski Power Survey And Research Institute at Moscow established by the Soviet Government. The concluding parts of the speech shows the impatience of the modern Indian mind with the existing state of affairs. The speaker quotes a passage

from Dr. Vera Anstey who in her *Economic Development of India* remarks :

'Here is a country of ancient civilization, with rich and varied resources, that has been in intimate contact with the most materially advanced countries of the West, but which is still essentially mediæval in outlook and organization, and which is a byword throughout the world for the poverty of its people.' Then she quotes Mr. M. L. Darling:

'The most interesting thing about India is that her soil is rich and her people are poor' and asks herself:

'Can India be called "Mediæval" when it is organised under a modern form of constitutional Government, possesses a great system of mechanical transportation, a unique system of irrigation, no less than seventeen modern Universities, and has several large-scale industries producing with the most up-to-date machines that have yet been invented?'

The answer, however galling to our pride, must be that in point of poverty, ignorance and disease, India of today can only be classed with China and Abyssinia, countries which are still steeped in mediævalism, and have paid the price for continuing mediævalism.

If we desire to fight successfully the scourge of poverty and want from which 90% of our countrymen are suffering, if we wish to remodel our society and renew the springs of our civilization and culture, and lay the foundations of a strong and progressive national life, we must make the fullest use of the power which a knowledge of Nature has given us. We must rebuild our economic system by utilizing the resources of our land, harnessing the energy of our rivers, prospecting for the riches hidden under the bowels of the earth, reclaiming deserts and swamps, conquering the barriers of distance and, above all, we must mould anew the nature of man in both its individual and social aspects, so that a richer, more harmonious and happier race may people this great and ancient land of ours. Towards the realization of this ideal, we must adopt ourselves to the new philosophy of life and train the coming generations for the service of the community in scientific studies and research.

D. N. WADIA—ON THE RECENT GEOLOGICAL CHANGES IN THE COURSE OF INDIAN RIVERS

Mr. D. N. Wadia of the Geological Survey of India spoke on changes in course of Indian Rivers during the latest geological epochs. According to Mr. Wadia, whose opinion reflects that of the Geological Survey, the continent of India, particularly of the Gangetic plains, has been subject to great tectonic movements in the past geological epochs, and even now the movements appear to be operative.

In the early Pleistocene times, there appear to have existed in India north of the Vindhya range a great river, called Indobrahm by Pascoe, and Siwalik river by Pilgrim, which comprised the waters of the present Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. This river appears to have taken its rise in Eastern Assam, and flowed north-west through the Punjab and Sind into the Arabic sea. Later, the Indus separated owing to rise of the eastern Punjab watershed, and the Ganges and the Brahmaputra through other upheavals. The Soan, a small river in Rawalpindi district, is the sole remnant of the Indobrahm. In historic times too, the rivers have changed greatly. The Saraswati river, famous in the Vedas, was

once a large stream and flowed through the Eastern Punjab to the sea; it is now represented by a small stream which rises near Simla, and gets lost in the desert sands. Probably the Jumna used to flow into it, and the degeneration of the Saraswati is due to several courses, notably the deflection of the Jumna river to join the Ganges in the east. Throughout historical times, the Hakra river (or the Great Mihran), which was probably a continuation of the old Saraswati, used to carry the waters of the Sutlej and flow in a channel parallel to the Indus to the Run of Cutch there an inland Area. This river according to C. F. Oldham dried up between the 12th and the 13th centuries. The Beas and other Punjab rivers have wandered widely within the plains of the Punjab, most probably due to surface deposition of heavy silt during floods.

On the east, the Himalayan rivers have a tendency to work backwards, and capture other river systems. It is surmised that the Brahmaputra was originally a comparatively small stream, unconnected with the Tsangpo of Tibet. This river presumably discharged itself eastwards either into the Salween or at some lake in western China. But the Dihang, a tributary, cut its way backwards, captured the Tsangpo thus rendering the Brahmaputra the mighty stream it is now. These tendencies are still at work. It is stated by Sven Hedin, that the Kali Gandak, a tributary of the Gandak, a river which after traversing the Himalayas flow through north Bihar and discharge itself into the Ganges above Patna, is near its source perilously near the Tsangpo, and if left to itself, may capture in course of a few thousand years, the Tsangpo. This process, according to Sven Hedin, may be achieved even by ordinary engineering process, at no prohibitive cost. The consequences of the Brahmaputra flowing through the Gandak into Bihar may be easily imagined. In Bengal, the river changes are more rapid, probably owing to the soft nature of the soil, (on this point Mr. S. C. Majumdar had a separate paper), and the Geography of the country changes so rapidly, that the map prepared by Major Rennell in 1786, is entirely different from the present map of Bengal.

DR. S. L. HORA, ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA—ON EVIDENCE OF RIVER CHANGES FROM EXAMINATION OF FAUNA OF DIFFERENT RIVERS

Dr. S. L. Hora, of the Geological Survey of India spoke on changes in the drainage of India as evidenced by the distribution of fish fauna, and the light they throw on the paleogeographical problems. He said:

The position of the main river during the mesozoic period can be inferred to some extent from the occurrence of ancient fish fossils (e.g., of the Dipnoan and Ganoid fishes) in the Upper Gondwana beds of Kota Maleri. The Sea was then probably not far removed from the trappean beds of the Central Provinces and covering the whole of northern India. This state continued till the Eocene times when the lava overflow covered Southern India, forming the Deccan trap, and obliterating the channels forming the existing drainage of India of those times. But from fish remains at several

intertrappean beds in the Central Provinces, it is inferred that the main drainage channels in the Eocene Age was the same as during the Mesozoic epoch, but the predominantly Ganoid fauna was replaced more or less during the intertrappean periods by modern bony fishes.

As practically all the principal genera of bony fishes had already appeared during the Tertiary, further changes in the drainage of India are adduced from the Geographical distribution of the modern fishes. The orogenic movements that gave birth to the Himalayan chain of mountains produced a succession of changes in the drainage pattern of India. The distribution of fishes shows that for a considerable time, the longitudinal basin formed as a foredeep at the base of the Himalayas served as the main drainage channel. This channel was discovered by Pascoe and Pilgrim simultaneously and designated as 'Indobrahm' or 'Siwalik River' respectively. This river is believed to have flowed from east to west and carried the combined waters of the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Indus. In the author's opinion its headwaters were probably in Southern China, and in support of this contention several instances are cited from the distribution of allied general of fishes.

Certain localized orogenic movements resulted in the dismemberment of the 'Indobrahm' into at least three drainage systems the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Indus. In this process the once continuous fish-fauna became segregated into definite regions. A detailed study of some of the elements of this fauna showed that the Brahmaputra portion was the first to be separated and that the Ganges and the Indus flowed together as a combined river for a considerable time afterwards. The fish-fauna of the Ganges and the Indus are almost identical and this would indicate that the two rivers probably became separated, geologically speaking, not very long ago. Attention is here directed to the fact that the Jumna river, a tributary of the Ganges, was a tributary of the Sutlej within historic times.

One remarkable fact of distribution of Indian freshwater fishes is the close similarity between the fauna of the Eastern Himalayas and that of the hills of the Peninsula in the extreme south. This is explained in terms of the geological changes that may have occurred at the time of separation of the Brahmaputra from the 'Indobrahm' of the Tertiary period.

The probable mode of evolution of the present-day drainage pattern of the Himalayas is discussed and evidence is adduced to show that it has developed from a consequent drainage, e.g., rivers draining north and south of the crest.

The fish-fauna of India is probably derived from that of Southern China and Indo-China and its transference towards the west and south appears to have been facilitated by longitudinal valleys, river-captures, etc. In South-Eastern Asia, the southern and western portions appear to have been sinking and this has made the north fauna migrate towards the south and west. The present-day distribution of fishes strongly supports such a hypothesis. The eastward flowing rivers of the Peninsula probably assumed their present direction after the rise of the Western Ghats; their antiquity is apparent from their broad valleys.

NATIONALISM AND MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome).

NEVER has the Czechoslovak Republic passed such anxious moments over its national sovereignty and territorial integrity since its foundation (29th February, 1920) as during the few weeks following the *anschluss*. The new political order which emerged in Europe from the devastations of the Great War has received a rude shock at the gradual rise of Germanism under the leadership of Herr Hitler, and the boundaries of Central European States, drawn according to the principle of self-determination by President Wilson, are threatened once again under the Nazi cry of *Drang nach Osten*. The heart of European peace is palpitating at Prague.

Historians will differ as to the soundness of the policy of self-determination (a phrase borrowed from the Bolsheviks), so far as its consequences in Central European politics are concerned. The principle was indeed a just and laudable one, but it led to the erection of five new States of questionable stability for it involved large transfers of territory and population at the expense of the Teutonic and Magyar races. The reduction of Austria to a proportion in which she could hardly maintain her existence as an independent State is one of the prices that has sometimes to be paid for the wrong application of a good principle. But the vindication of Czech nationalism which had been suffocated for centuries under alien rule and the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, as much as the independence of Poland, are some of the moral victories that were bought by the huge wastes of war. Prof. H. A. L. Fisher¹ thus describes the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic :

"Czechoslovakia is the child of propaganda. How two able exiles, Masaryk, the son of a Slovak coachman, and Benes, the son of a Czech peasant farmer, set alight an agitation for the liberation of the Czechs and the Slovaks, with what wholesale desertions from the Austrian army their efforts were rewarded, how French and English brains were enlisted in their cause, with what enthusiasm the evangel of Czech liberation was received in Chicago and with what sympathy by President Wilson, how 45,000 Czech war captives in Russia formed themselves into an army, marched across Siberia, and were then transported into their native country—the narrative of these events constitutes one of the most surprising chapters in modern history."

The Czechoslovak Constitution which was determined by the National Assembly of the

Czechoslovak Republic on 29th February, 1920, declares that this democratic Republic is a unified and not a federative State. This principle has subsequently become a source of great misgivings among the German minorities of the Republic. At the head of the Charter of the Constitution stands the motto : "The people is the sole fountain of State authority in the Czechoslovak Republic." The unity of the State is recognized *inter alia* in Article 10 of the Treaty of St. Germain, and the oneness and uniformity of citizenship is recognised for all members of the State in the Constitutional Charter with full political and civic rights. A special section (Part V) of the Charter of the Constitution is devoted to the so-called fundamental rights and liberties of citizens. Privileges derived from birth, sex or calling are not recognized, private ownership is declared inviolable, and a Supreme Administrative Court guards the administration against any breach of these rights. Part VI of the Constitutional Charter deals with the protection of racial and religious minorities, and the stipulations of the Treaty of St. Germain in regard to the question of minorities have not only been ratified by the Czechoslovak Constitution, but also Articles 131 and 132 of the Charter have been declared as fundamental constitutional articles, although the above Treaty in no way required this. The Czechoslovak language was adopted as the State language, although provisions were made for the teaching of other languages spoken by the minorities.

In order to have a precise idea of the present crisis it is necessary to be familiar with the way in which the State has, during the twenty years of its existence, tried to reconcile the interests of the minorities with those of the political integrity of the Republic. The percentages of minority populations in Czechoslovakia, according to the 1930 census, were as follows:—

| | | | |
|----------------------|----|-----------|--------|
| Czechoslovaks | .. | 9,688,943 | 62.92% |
| Germans | .. | 3,231,718 | 22.32% |
| Magyars (Hungarians) | .. | 692,121 | 4.78% |
| Ruthenians | .. | 594,043 | 3.79% |
| Jews | .. | 186,474 | 1.29% |
| Poles | .. | 81,741 | 0.56% |
| Other nationalities | .. | 49,645 | |
| Foreigners | .. | 250,031 | |

¹*History of Europe*, p. 1155.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA



"Aussig", one of the principal cities of "Sudeten" Germans. In the distance is seen the frontier of the Reich



A wayside halt in a Czech village



Gay scene in a Slovak village : picturesque costumes of Slovakia

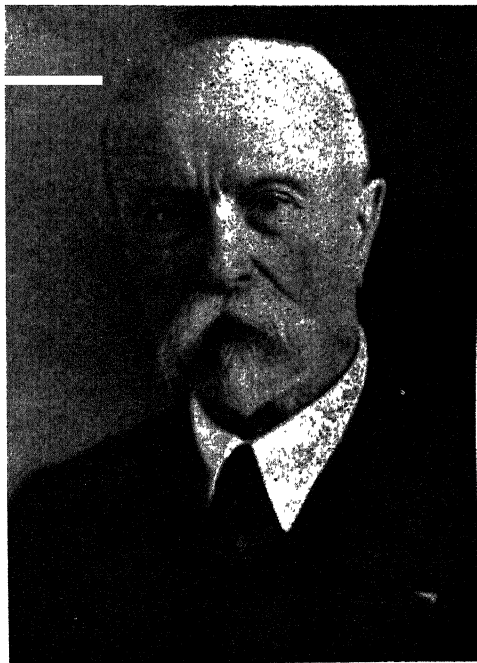


A village procession in Carpathian Ruthenia, near the Rumanian frontier

Thus it will be seen that in a population of 14,732,644, there are as many as five different nationalities, of whom the Germans constitute the most formidable single minority. But it is not only in Czechoslovakia that national minorities have been constituted as a result of the revision of boundaries in Europe according to the Peace Treaty. There are nearly two million Hungarians (Transylvania) who are under the Rumanian rule, more than half a million under Yugoslavia. There are Germans in the Polish Corridor and Danzig. Then there is the subjection of some 230,000 German Tyrolese and 1,300,000 Yugoslavs to Italian rule. Yet the new political frontiers of Europe were considered to be more satisfactory than any previous ones; they were so drawn that only three per cent of the total population of the continent live under alien rule.

The Government at Prague became alive to the baffling nationality problems of the Republic as soon as it came into being. While on the political side Czechoslovakia was successful in making alliances with the other two new States that had profited by the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, that is, with Yugoslavia (August, 1930) and with Rumania (April, 1921), thus forming what is known as the Little Entente, the Republic was faced at home just at the outset with two urgent problems, namely, religion and nationality. Memories of the Hussite past were revived, the conviction that Habsburg Vienna in its hostility to the Czech nation had had an ally in Papal Rome led to a mass secession from the Catholic Church, and many thousands adopted Protestantism. How these movements embittered the early relations of the Republic with the Vatican, to which not a little was contributed by the dispute as to the commemoration of the Huss Day as a national holiday, and how a new religious brotherhood called "Protestant Church of Czech Brethren" came into being, how a Protestant Church was established in Silesia, Moravia and Bohemia, is quite familiar. The national minorities, on the other hand, adopted a negative attitude towards the State, and a healthy collaboration towards the evolution of a united Republic was completely lacking. Germans in Silesia had their eyes turned towards the west, Hungarians in Slovakia were hoping for their redemption through the restoration of Hungarian monarchy and the violent propaganda for Hungarian revisionism, and the Slovaks too were hungering for autonomy. The principle of federation with autonomy of the different nationality groups

was being urged from all quarters. Over and above that, there were factions in the population in regard to their allegiance to different political ideologies, and there emerged a large number of political parties. The Czechoslovak Republic seemed to be threatened with all forces of disruption just from its very inception. But the selfless personality of Masaryk, the far-sighted political genius of Benes (pronounced Benesh) and the most clean dealings of the leaders of Prague with the minorities, con-



T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)
First President of the Czechoslovak Republic

tributed to the survival of the storm. The Czechoslovak Chamber of Deputies, which consists of 300 members, was composed of the representatives of different national minorities exactly according to their proportions to the total population. Thus the Germans who constitute 22 per cent. of the total population have 66 deputies in a Chamber of 300. Even in the Cabinet, representatives of the national minorities were given their respective importance in the body-politic, and thus as early as 1926 the Germans have been represented by two members of their race in the Czechoslovak Cabinet. As the political parties were organized rather on a national and not racial

basis, they were a source of strength for the Government since they created divisions among racial groups which could not offer a united front to the central authority. The alignment of political parties in the present Chamber will give an idea as to the complexity of the situation. The following figures relate to the situation prior to the recent changes.

| Coalition Parties:— | | Deputies |
|---------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Czechoslovak Agrarians | .. | 45* |
| .. Social Democrats | .. | 38 |
| .. National Socialists | .. | 28† |
| Popular Catholic Party | .. | 22 |
| Small Employees Party | .. | 17 |
| United National Party | .. | 17 |
| | Total | 167 |
| German Parties:— | | Deputies |
| Sudeten German (Henlein) Party | .. | 44 |
| German Agrarians | .. | 5 |
| German Christian Socialists | .. | 6 |
| German Social Democrats | .. | 11 |
| | Total | 66 |
| Other Parties:— | | Deputies |
| Communists | .. | 30 |
| Slovak Popular Party (Catholic) | .. | 20 |
| Magyar Party (Hungarian) | .. | 9 |
| | Total | 59 |
| Others | | |
| Grand total | | 300 |

From the above table it will be seen that when the German parties are united they become the largest single party in the Czechoslovak Republic. If Czechoslovak democracy would have been merely a play of political parties there would have been little concern for its future. When in spite of the French party system, the French Republic has survived many major crises of post-War Europe, Czechoslovakia too could have assured itself of its national sovereignty for the future irrespective of the instability of Cabinets inherent in the multiple party system. But the real menace to the integrity of Czechoslovakia as a European State lies in the different racial minorities who feel themselves subjected to foreign rule and refuse to co-operate with the Government. Thus Czechoslovakia offers the most complex experiment of democracy in the heart of Europe, and its survival or effacement will decide one of the most debated political questions of the present century. While the different national minorities of Czechoslovakia

has been looking forward at one time to the Swiss ideal and the prospect of federation, the Sudeten Germans under the leadership of Herr Henlein have formulated their demands at their last conference at Carlsbad a week ago which surpass the limits of that ideal.

Today with the redemption of Austria by the Third Reich there is a general irredentist cry in Central Europe which concerns greatly the future of Czechoslovakia. The Sudeten Germans want to secede from the Republic, Poland wants to redeem her minorities in Czechoslovakia, and even Hungary is beating an anti-Czechoslovak drum. But the most imminent problem to solve is that of the Germans who have not only demanded autonomy, constitutionally recognized by the State, but have openly professed their spiritual allegiance to the Nazi *weltanschauung* (or world-outlook). Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten Deutsche Party, declared at Cheb on the 21st of June 1936 :

"It is essential that Prague should create a new, decent relationship with the entire Germanic race and particularly with the German Reich.... I prefer to be hated in company with Germany than to draw any advantage out of hatred for Germany."

Now it is reported from Berlin (*Times*, April 27, 1938) that at the recent Carlsbad meeting of the Sudeten Germans (23rd April), Herr Henlein would have gone farther to declare their membership of the German National Socialist Party and to demand a plebiscite on the issue of union with the Reich had he not been dissuaded by Berlin which could not take any direct responsibility in the matter. The demands of the Henlein Party formulated at Carlsbad as a basis for negotiation with the Government at Prague and their reactions at home and abroad, which constitute, till today (27th April) the latest phase of Czech-German relations, will be discussed immediately.

It should be made clear at this stage that the Czechoslovak Government have tried with scrupulous care to give effect to their undertakings in regard to minorities. The economic development of Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia undertaken by the State by means of improving communications and gradual industrialization bears witness to this fact. On the other hand, in the matter of elementary and technical education, in the matter of taxation relief, in the matter of participation by all sections of the population in administrative services, the executive and the judiciary, the State has had always a vigilant eye. The lengthy accounts of these achievements may be

*M. Hozda belongs to it.

†President Benes belongs to this party.

found in the official publications of the publicity department at Prague and cannot be summarised here for reasons of space. But a few facts may be cited here. On the 18th of January, 1937, the Government passed a resolution by which the rights of different minorities for a proportional representation in the administrative services of the State were statutorily recognized. Prior to the February resolution, the State employees pertaining to the minority groups did not in all sectors represent such a proportion of posts as would correspond with their numerical share in the entire population of the country, but sometimes the proportion was more than what would be legitimate according to the new law. For example, among the judges and public prosecutors the German proportion was 22·6 per cent; among the district school inspectors for Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia the German proportion was 34·11 per cent, although among professors, teachers and other staff of the schools and institutions pertaining to this department only 21·11 per cent were Germans. In the matter of tax remission the Germans have profited more than any other national groups, since the largest amount of tax remission was granted in the industrial areas which are, as is well known, inhabited by Germans. In another respect the Germans have received more than what their proportion would entitle them to. In Moravia-Silesia the German secondary schools received a far larger share of State grants than they would be entitled to according to the "proportion" principle. Of the expenditure on technical schools the German institutions in 1936 and 1937 received in Bohemia 31·9% and 30%, in Moravia-Silesia 27% and 27·3%, in Slovakia 1·8% and in Carpathian Ruthenia 0·01%. In these cases too German education received a higher share, except in the case of Slovakia where technical education is less important since industry declines as one goes eastwards. Since the February resolution, however, the Government has been trying to achieve in all departments of the State a balance of the different nationality groups according to their proportions in the population, but when minority rights are used as pretexts for political propaganda, that balance, often reached at the cost of efficiency, does not serve to pacify agitation.

Czech-German relations in Czechoslovakia have been in the past, as at present, largely subject to psychological influences and have been rather chequered. Both sides admit

having made mistakes in the past; the Germans by splitting up their ranks into numerous political parties which were playing a game of tug-of-war among themselves instead of presenting a united front and the Czechs by accepting this state of affairs as a permanent feature which did not call for any special efforts



Dr. Eduard Benes
President of the Czechoslovak Republic

on their part. The advent of the Hitler regime in Germany, the consequent rallying of the Sudeten Germans under Herr Henlein's leadership, and particularly the incorporation of Austria in the Reich, have fundamentally changed the situation. Up to 1926 all the German parties remained in opposition. In that year the German Agrarians and the German Christian Socialists joined the Government. In 1929 the German Social democrats also entered the Government ranks. All the three parties remained in the Government until the last general election in May, 1935. After the election the German Christian Socialists for a short time remained outside the Government ranks, but later on all the three parties came to be represented by a Minister each in the Czechoslovak Cabinet. During the end of March last, after the *anschluss*, the German

parties resigned from the Coalition Cabinet, although the German Social Democratic Party is expected to support the Government in its policy of bridging the differences between Czechs and Germans. Thus at the present moment there are no German *Activist* parties, and the Coalition is much narrowed down. The Czech parties are combined, and attempts are being made to win over the Slovak Clerical Party, which demands autonomy for Slovakia, and the Czech Fascist Party. In the meantime, in spite of the friendly declarations of policy to the Sudeten Germans made by President Benes and Premier Hodza, the Henlein Party have been gradually becoming more insistent on their demands which betray a curious inspiration drawn from the west. On March 28th last, Dr. Milan Hodza, the Prime Minister, declared in a broadcast that the Government was preparing a 'Minority Statute' (which is now being called 'Nationality Statute' in compliance with the desire of the Henlein Party who maintain that the Germans are not a minority in Czechoslovakia), which would meet any reasonable demands within the framework of the Constitution, provided the minorities show their loyalty to the State. The State will have ample scope for the legal regulation of innumerable minor questions, such as local self-administration, proportional employment in the public services, and share in proportion of Government contracts, and guarantees for the just administration of its provisions might be given by the appointment of mixed commissions of supervision. The minority policy of Czechoslovakia is based on the spirit of its constitution and was emphatically reiterated by Dr. Hodza before the Budgetary Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the 17th November, 1937. He said:—

"The Czechoslovak Constitution is broad enough that in it is easily to be found a place for every just, moral, national and social interest. If the spirit of the Czechoslovak Constitution were to express itself in the concrete characteristics of our nationality policy it would be formulated approximately in the sense that Czechoslovakia does not desire, indeed rejects, every kind of denationalization, that she guarantees in this respect all her inhabitants their own particular process of development supported by all the primary conditions of cultural, moral and economic advance. The Czechoslovak Republic does this on the basis of its sovereignty as a State. A nation which in the course of its history has had to overcome so much oppression as we have, will never lend itself to conduct that wrongs others, and will always be conscious of the fact that the strength of the State and its own position in the State will be the more permanent and durable the more organically it works into the fabric of the State as

a sense of justice and of equal rights for all, irrespective of differences of nationality, class or religion."

After the promise of the Nationality Statute came an amnesty for political and other minor offenders, which was proclaimed on the 16th April last, including the discontinuance of political prosecutions under the Defence of the Republic Act. The amnesty applied to all political offenders except those who were convicted of military treason. Of the 2,867 persons benefiting by the President's clemency over 1,200 are Germans, some 900 are Czechs and Slovaks, about 500 Hungarians, 200 Ruthenes, and 30 Poles; and after their release nearly 1,300 persons still remain in prison having been condemned for or charged with military treason and being outside the scope of the amnesty. President Benes, after promulgating the amnesty, appealed to all parties and races to make their contribution to general peace. He claimed that nowhere on the Continent do minorities enjoy greater freedom than in Czechoslovakia. The Sudeten Germans, within the limits of a mild censorship, have liberty of the Press, of speech, and of assembly, and use it freely to criticize the Czechoslovak Government. The Hungarian minority have enjoyed, at least until the last few months, more political rights than their brethren in Hungary itself. Czechoslovakia is certainly the most liberal State in Europe apart from the Western democracies and the Scandinavian countries. But what was the reply of the Sudeten Germans to President Benes's "change-of-heart" gesture and appeal for truce in Czech-German relations? Although they were sensible enough not to disturb the "Easter Peace," a time-honoured Czechoslovak Red Cross ceremony, they assembled at Carlsbad on the 23rd April last and formulated their demands "in order to pave the way for peaceful development." Herr Henlein made a speech which was enthusiastically received by the members of his party assembled there, and put forward the following eight demands as a basis for negotiation with the Government:

- (1) Full equality of status for Czechs and Germans.
- (2) A guarantee for this equality by the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body incorporate.
- (3) Determination and legal recognition of the German areas within the State.
- (4) Full self-government for the German areas.
- (5) Legal protection for every citizen living outside the area of his own nationality.
- (6) Removal of injustices inflicted since 1918 and reparation for the damages thereby caused.
- (7) Recognition of the principle: within the German area German officials.

(8) Full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy.

The Prague Cabinet rejected as a basis for negotiations the Sudeten German demands on April 26 last, although another attempt is being made to reach an agreement before drawing the Nationality Statute. The principal obstacles to an understanding are the avowal of Nazism by the Sudeten Germans in a country which has a democratic Constitution, and the attempt to alienate Czechoslovakia from her friends and allies, which would subject her entirely to German influence. The first point in the party programme of the German Reich is "the union of all Germans to form a Great Germany." The logical consequence of the adoption of the Nazi *weltanschauung* in Czechoslovakia would be an agitation for the union of the German-speaking parts with Germany; and the transfer of the Germans would, in the eyes of the Czech Government, be the beginning of the disruption of the State. The prospect of a solution on the basis of granting autonomy to the Sudeten Germans, implied in the second and fourth "points" of Herr Henlein, is not favoured by Prague, since besides the difficulty of reconciling a totalitarian theory of the State with the principles of democracy, there is another practical difficulty of putting together all Germans in one single area. The Germans are scattered all over the Republic, and the granting of territorial autonomy to the Germans of Bohemia (Sudeten Germans) would mean sacrificing 380,000 Czechs domiciled on territories peopled by a German majority, and sacrificing 730,000 Germans on the remaining territories of the State. Neither of this would appeal to the sense of democratic justice of the Czechs who love liberty. On the other hand, the present Czech-German frontier has been that of the historic Crown Lands of Bohemia-Moravia, which President Masaryk always intended to be the north-western boundaries of the State he was to create. The Germans have filtered into this land in the course of time as the Czechs had passed into Slovakia. The secession of Bohemia would also mean a great industrial loss for the country and would set a bad example before the other minorities which would finally lead to the disruption of the State. The autonomy move of the Slovaks is nothing but a remnant of Hungarian imperialistic propaganda and of the policy of donationalization of the Slovaks resorted by the Hungarians until they were masters of Slovakia. The Slovaks are only two and a half millions whereas the Czechs are seven millions in the Republic.

The attitude of the Reich press on the Czechoslovak question requires a brief mention here, although it cannot be taken for granted that their opinion is necessarily that of Wilhelmstrasse. The Czechoslovak question is considered very urgent in Berlin, and Nazi leaders want to see it settled before autumn. It is hinted that after twenty years of spiritual and cultural distress the Sudeten Germans are



Dr. Kamil Krofka
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia

in no mood to be patient, so that delaying tactics on the part of Prague must create an "intolerable situation" in Czechoslovakia. Although the German newspapers do not attempt to explain how the totalitarian and democratic systems are to operate side by side in the same State, they remark airily that if two nationalities can get on together, so can two *weltanschauungen*. In any event, it is pointed out, Herr Hitler is not likely to surrender the divine right of Germans to be National Socialist, or to permit Czechoslovakia to continue to exist as an "approach road" to Bolshevism in the heart of the German

Lebensraum (living space). The *National Zeitung* of Essen, believed to be the mouth-piece of Field Marshall Goering, took the London *Times* to great task a few days ago for its leading article which suggested a democratic solution of the minority problem. The Essen writer says :

"As for the usual democratic compromise suggested in the leading article, whereby one side would state its maximum demands and the other its maximum concessions, this is dismissed with the recommendation that the method be employed in Northern Ireland after its incorporation in the Irish Free State."

The annexation of Austria to the Reich has not only made the Henlein party's demands more insistent, but has placed Czechoslovakia in a disadvantageous economic position in regard to its trade with Germany. Germany now will be able to control the entire Danubian basin and Central European markets once she has established herself firmly at Vienna. Czechoslovakia runs the risk of being strangled economically if France and England would not furnish markets for those Czech goods which will not be bought any more by Germany. Much of Czechoslovakia's trade with Austria is likely to disappear, and it is extremely improbable that Austria will go on buying one million tons of coal a year from Czechoslovakia. Her finished goods will be replaced by goods of German origin. Moreover, the dependence on Germany of Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria, which are buyers of goods from Czechoslovakia, is so great that Austro-Germany is in a position to impose new clearing arrangements on these countries which will make it even more difficult than before for them to buy goods from Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia faces today the gravest of problems that have ever presented themselves since the foundation of the Republic, as was openly acknowledged by President Benes in his speech on April 16 last. He said:

"In our neighbourhood some changes have occurred which influence in a marked degree European policy, and particularly policy in Central Europe. We must not close our eyes to the fact that we are passing through the biggest political, social, and cultural revolutionary process in the history of Europe. The whole of Europe is asking whether this situation will lead to another European or world war."

But Czechoslovakia is not afraid to face the situation or to defend its own rights of State sovereignty and its popular institutions if they are attacked from outside. Czechoslovakia is heavily armed, and can boast of good soldiers too. France has reaffirmed her

Treaty obligations with Czechoslovakia, and the latter is allied also with Soviet Russia, the greatest and most powerful Slav State. Although there was nothing very categorical in the declarations of Mr. Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons in regard to Britain's attitude in the event of an aggression in Czechoslovakia by the Germans, his statement was very well received in Prague. Mr. Chamberlain said:

"The inexorable pressure of facts might well prove more powerful than formal pronouncements, and in that event it would be well within the bounds of probability that other countries besides those which were parties to the original dispute, would almost immediately become involved. That was true of two countries like Great Britain and France, with their long associations of friendship and common ideals they were determined to uphold."

The Little Entente stands discredited today, and the alliance of its three component States has become too weak to be of any useful assistance in favour of Czechoslovakia. But the Anglo-Italian agreement signed two weeks ago at Rome, and the Franco-Italian conversations that are since taking place in Rome, have brought great encouragement to the supporters of the Czechoslovak State, who believe in a peaceful solution of the Sudeten German problem. The powerful mediating influence of Great Britain may be of immense value to the cause of Czechoslovak independence. The cool reception that has met Herr Henlein's demands at Paris and London has encouraged the hope that their rejection by Prague would be regarded in those capitals as not justifying intervention by the Reich. That Czechoslovakia would resist with all her might such intervention and would defend her rights was very clearly laid down by Dr. Hodza in a speech before the two Chambers of Parliament at Prague on the 4th March, 1938. He said with a heroic optimism:

"The Czechs and Slovaks throughout their whole historical past have stood for truth and fought for justice. In the common State which we established twenty years ago we have no intention of betraying the aim of our endeavours in the past centuries. By virtue of the collective will of our whole people we are today as strong as we never were before in history. In the spirit of our history, in the spirit of the moral and intellectual qualities of our people, we are building up our restored State with all our forces as a real home for all its ethnical elements. It is in a consciousness of this that is anchored our calm, our certainty and our full determination to maintain and courageously to defend the heritage that has come down to us from our Kings who were the protagonists and defenders of peace and of agreement among the nations of Europe, who were determined champions and warriors of Christian culture in Central Europe. A thousand years

we have not been afraid, nor have we any fear today, certain as we are of the unity of heart and mind of all sections of our people and of collaboration with that Europe which like ourselves has no wish for conquest or aggression but desires tranquillity and peace."

But this does not mean that the Henlein propaganda will cease. The agitation of the



President E. Benes (left) with Dr. Milan Hodza (right), the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic

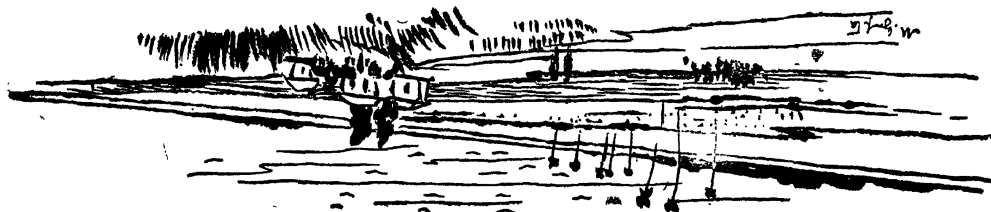
Sudeten German Party which is the greatest menace today to the integrity of the Czechoslovak State will continue its inspired movement for autonomy. There is going to be a general election in the Republic in May

and June, and a new Cabinet will come into power. Negotiations with the Henlein Party will wait till the elections are over. In the meantime Herr Hitler will be able to devote himself more deeply to the Czechoslovak question after he will have returned to Berlin from his Italian tour. The peace of Europe is depending on the attitude which Herr Hitler will finally take to this question, and a policy of peaceful negotiation suggested by Hitler to Herr Henlein would assure European peace in the same way as his provocations and ultimate intervention may disturb it with disastrous consequences. In front of that catastrophe the pretext of upholding minority rights in Czechoslovakia would provide the poorest consolation. But it must be admitted that the Germans of Bohemia constitute the most inflammable material in the hot-house of European politics. It is too early to blame the makers of Peace Treaties for this sore spot which they have left, and we can only speculate without forecasting. Prof. Fisher's remarks made in connection with the new national boundaries of Europe long before the present crisis arose, throw interesting light on the verdict that history has yet to give on the destiny of Czechoslovakia:

"It is too soon to pass a final verdict on the work of the treaty-makers. They will be judged by the success of the States which they brought into being or greatly augmented, by the new Poland, the new Czechoslovakia, and the new Greece. A hundred years hence the historian will know. We who are passing through the zone of maximum friction and uneasiness, when the war passions are still alive and the minorities are wincing under new masters, and before the oil of habit has begun to smooth the springs of the newly-made chariots of State, can hardly with any show of confidence formulate a guess."²

Rome, 27th April, 1938.

²A History of Europe. P. 1169.



AN INDIAN MATERNITY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.,

Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

REFERENCE to the Medical Science is found in the early literature of the Hindus, and, as a matter of fact, Ayurveda (literally, knowledge regarding longevity) belongs to the *Sruti* and is known as one of the *Upavedas*, i.e., the secondary *Vedas*. That this Science was highly advanced in India even as early as the sixth century B.C. is proved beyond doubt by the story of Dr. Jivaka who was a student of the Taxila University and is known to have cured the Buddha of a serious disorder of the bowels in no time. There were hospitals and *Pinjrapols* in India from very early times. The great Maurya emperor Asoka (273-32 B.C.), claims in his second Rock Edict to have established hospitals of two kinds, for men and for animals, not only throughout his own kingdom comprising almost the whole of India and Afghanistan, but also in the Tamil States in the southern border of India, in Ceylon, and in the countries of the Greek kings of Syria, North Africa and Greece. Asoka also claims to have caused to be imported and planted medicinal herbs, and roots and fruits, wherever they were wanting.

So long however we did not know if there were any thing like maternity in ancient India. I have recently noticed a reference to *prasūti-sālā*, i.e., maternity or lying-in hospital, in a thirteenth century record of Andhradesa. It

is the Malakāpuram stone pillar inscription which bears a date corresponding to Saka 1183 or A.D. 1262, and belongs to the time of the Kākātīya queen Rudrāmbā (1261-96 A.D.). The text of this record has been published in the Telugu work *Kākātīya-samcika*, Rajahmundry, 1935, inscription No. 31. It records the activities of a Bengali Saiva *ācharya* named Visvesvara who was a native of Cūrvyagrāma or Pūrvagrāma in Dakshinārādha in the Gauda country. Visvesvara was the Pontiff of a Saiva monastery called Gomulakīnatha, and was the *diksha-guru* of Kākātīya Ganapati (1199-1261 A.D.), father of Rudrāmbā, and also of the Chola, Mālava and Kalachuri kings. This Bengali Saiva Pontiff received from Kākātīya Ganapati and his daughter Rudrāmbā two villages called Mandara and Velangapudi, situated in the Kandravātī division of the Velivāda district, to the south of the great river Krishnavenī, i.e., the Krishnā. He divided the villages into three shares, the third of which he granted equally in favour of a Prasūti-sālā (maternity), an Ārogya-sālā (hospital), and a Satra (rest house) to be used by Brahmans. The maternity and the hospital were established either by the Pontiff himself or by one of his predecessors, and were evidently attached to the Saiva monastery of the locality.



CULTURAL INTERCHANGE AND MINGLING

Being the Presidential Address delivered at the Second All-India Cultural Unity Conference held in Calcutta
April 20, 1938

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The object of this conference is to stress the importance of cultural unity and promote it. It is not, therefore, necessary for me to define and discuss culture, or to differentiate between the various meanings of culture and civilization.

The subject of culture may be considered under three heads, anthropologically speaking: language (and literature); material culture, comprising arts and crafts; and moral culture, comprising such social institutions as religion, marriage customs and rites, ethical codes, government and laws, etc.

Anthropologists and archaeologists deal in detail with the material culture of the palaeolithic, neolithic and subsequent ages, as evidenced by their weapons of war and chase, their implements of agriculture and domestic economy and their decorations and dress, and the like. I presume this conference is not concerned with material culture of this description.

It should be the endeavour of the Association holding this conference to study material culture to the extent that it relates to the arts of music, painting, sculpture and architecture, and such crafts as require the aid of the last three. Though anthropologists include them technically under material culture, they have a notable intellectual and aesthetic aspect also. Music is correlated to dancing and the various forms of the mimetic and histrionic arts.

Coming to what has been technically called moral culture, we are struck with the great part which language plays in it.

Culture is a social inheritance. It is communicable intelligence. And the communication is made mostly by means of language. Each man's experience is at first locked up in his own mind. If he wishes to communicate it to another man—may be sometimes to evoke a response, he must choose and use a medium of communication, such as a gesture, a sound, or a piece of paper, leaf, leather, bark, etc., with marks on it—these last being what we call writing or script. I

use writing in a broad sense, including some kinds of drawings and pictures. If and when that is done, the other man, the man communicated with, is placed in a position to share the experience of the first man, the communicator, and can respond to the extent that he can translate into terms of his own consciousness the first man's outward sign, namely, his gesture, sound or writing.

The reason why man alone among animals has culture whereas other animals have none worth the name, is that their powers of intelligent intercourse are slight. Moreover, they can hold intercourse, by means of gestures and sounds, only with living animals and such as are near them. On the other hand, man can communicate his experience by means of language and writing to contemporaries living at a distance and to future generations also. Just as we can hold intercourse with posterity, so can we hold intercourse with the dead by reading and understanding what they have left for us in words orally transmitted or in writing. Thus is man able to defy time and space.

Literature in its comprehensive sense includes philosophy, history, science, and what we understand by literature proper.

Religion is vitally connected with philosophy and ethics, as also to some extent with science. The prevalence in ages past and present, and in various countries, of religious music, religious dances, and of religious play-acting of various kinds, such as our *jatras* and *kathakatas* and the mysteries and miracle plays of Europe, suggests a readily understood connection between religion on the one hand and music, dancing and some kinds of play-acting on the other.

What connection, interchange and unity there may have been between the material cultures—the arts and crafts, of the primitive and pre-historic races inhabiting different parts of the earth cannot properly be discussed here. And even if it were a relevant subject of discourse at this conference, I could not pretend to be competent to speak on it. But in order just to indicate how old may be the process of,

perhaps unconscious, cultural exchange and unification, or of independent evolution of similar types of culture in regions situated far apart, I may mention that some of the motifs of the decorations on some pre-historic ancient earthen vessels found in Bihar are very similar to those on such objects found in the south of Europe, and that seals of the Mohen-jo-Daro type have been found in what was ancient Sumer. That even so far back as 5,000 years ago or more, people used to undertake distant travel or migration, was brought home to me when Colonel Seymour-Sewell, late Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, showed me in the Indian Museum a skull, found among the ancient artifacts excavated on a site in the Indus Civilization region, which in his opinion was certainly of a Mongolian or Chinese type.

In later times Greek plastic art influenced Indian plastic art in Gandhara and its neighbourhood—though mainly in externals, as Sister Nivedita showed in *The Modern Review*, the motifs for the most part remaining Indian.

The very finely polished Asoka pillar, with its magnificent capital, found at Sarnath, has been the occasion for a discussion as to whether this branch of Mauryan art was indebted to Persian art, or *vice versa*, or whether there was mutual indebtedness for influence and consequent unification. I merely refer to this topic and pass on, as this is not the occasion to dwell longer on it, nor am I qualified to do so.

Art critics and historians of art will be able to say in what relation the frescoes at the Ajanta and the Bagh caves and those at Sigyria in Ceylon stand to one another, and in what relation again the frescoes in some monasteries in Tibet, which are distinctly Indian, recently discovered by Professor Tucci of Italy, stand to the Ajanta paintings. The paintings recovered from the sand-buried cities of Central Asia bear witness to ancient India's far-flung cultural influence.

That the ancient sculpture, painting, architecture and the drama of both China and Japan were influenced by ancient Indian art is an admitted fact. That many of the ancient specimens of art in Burma, Anam, Cambodia, and Siam, bear unmistakable signs of their direct or indirect Indian origin, is well known. I need not pause to dwell on the profound influence which was exercised on the culture of these countries by Hinduism and Buddhism.

I just refer in passing to the probable migration of some Buddhist Asiatics to Mexico

and some other parts of America in ancient times.

That the ancient cultures of Java, Bali, Sumatra and Borneo, including their architecture, sculpture, and some of their religious ritual, were of Indian origin, every school-boy ought to know now-a-days. Most of the people of Java have become Musalmans, but they have all kept their Hindu and Buddhist culture. Manuscripts of the Gita and parts of the Mahabharat have been found in Java. Its shadow-plays relate to episodes from the Mahabharat. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, the famous anthropologist, has told me that the *Chho* dance or masked dance of some Chota Nagpur aborigines may be genetically connected with the shadow-plays of Java. The story of the Ramayan is sculptured on the stone walls of some ancient monuments of Java and Cambodia. The ancient script of the Philippine Islands was taken from the Pallava script of South India.

All these show how Indian culture has travelled, co-operated with and influenced many foreign cultures.

Coming to more recent times, we find art critics dwelling on the origins of what has been called the Mughal school of medieval Indian painting, which was essentially Indian. Here, as well as in the edifices built during the Mughal period of Indian history, there was cultural unity and co-operation between the Hindus and Moslems. On this subject, writers like E. B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy are reliable guides. Besides Persian, some Chinese influence is also found in some of the water colours of this period.

In the paintings of Ravi Varma and his followers and of Bombay presidency painters in general, except those like Kanu Desai, the influence of European art is predominant. In what has been called the Bengal School of Painting, originated by Abanindranath Tagore, there was at first some Japanese influence. I am not competent to speak on this subject; but I believe that this influence has been shaken off. Ajanta paintings influenced our painters very much. But they are striking out new paths for themselves. Gaganendranath Tagore stood and stands by himself. So does Mr. Jaminiranjan Ray. In painting Rabindranath Tagore is unclassified and stands by himself.

There are various styles of dancing—Manipuri, Kathakali of Malabar, Kandian of Ceylon and the ordinary north Indian style. Rabindranath has been creating new dance-forms. I have seen some 50 photographs of

dance poses of Siam in the collection of Mr. Bireswar Ganguly, advocate of Maymyo, Burma. Some of them are very similar to Indian poses.

Ancient Indian music, with variations, is practised all over India by Hindus and Moslems alike. Some of its greatest exponents have been Musalmans. Bengali Kirtan songs are perhaps a special creation of Bengal. Baool, Bhatiali, and some other indigenous kinds of songs are Bengal's own. So are Rabindranath's numerous songs of various kinds.

Languages prevalent in areas very remote from one another influenced one another even in ancient times. In Sanskrit there are words of non-Indian origin. So in old foreign languages there may be words of Indian origin. From the mediæval age down to our own times, the languages of different countries have borrowed many words from each other. Modern Indian languages contain words of Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French, English and other foreign origin. Similarly English and other European languages have borrowed Indian words. For example, "loot" is an Indian word lifted from India.

Conscious borrowing from European languages has been going on in India in the field of scientific technological terms. All these show linguistic cultural fellowship.

In philosophy, the inter-relations of Hindu, Buddhist, Greek and Arabic systems of philosophy have been discussed by occidental and oriental scholars.

In science, the decimal system of notation has travelled from India to all parts of the world. This is not the occasion to discuss what other original scientific work was done in ancient India. In modern times, we are learning most things in science from the West, but also adding a little to the world's stock of scientific knowledge ourselves.

There has been, therefore, cultural fellowship in philosophy and science from ancient times.

There was a time when some European Indologists used to fancy and say that the ancient Indian theatre and playing were derived from Greek prototypes. But perhaps even they have given up that theory, as it is false and untenable.

From ancient times, literature in the form of fables has performed long and successful journeys. How the stories of Panchatantra and Kathasaritsagara have travelled to distant lands—sometimes *via* Arabia and in somewhat altered forms, is known to scholars. Other

kinds of literature have also migrated to distant lands. The stories which are known by the name of *The Arabian Nights* have been translated into all the principal languages of the world, including India. Some Persian works, like Firdousi's *Shah Nameh* and Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*, have been translated into many languages, wholly or in part.

Let me now confine myself to India, particularly to Bengal. Owing to Moslem influence, many Persian books have been translated into Bengali, such as Hatim Tai, Tuti-mama, Bahar Danesh, Gulistan, Laila-Majnuu, etc. Under Mughal influence many Sanskrit works, such as some *Upanishads*, the *Ramayan*, the *Gita*, were translated into Persian. Such work brought about cultural unity between the followers of two faiths to some extent.

In modern times, many books have been translated from one Indian language into another. As far as I am aware, the Bengali books so translated have been greater in number than the books from any other modern Indian language. But Bengal has not neglected the other Indian languages altogether. The *Ramayan* of Tulsi-das and his Dohas have been translated into Bengali, the *Abhangs* of Tukaram have been translated from Marathi, the *Kural*—that gem of Tamil literature, has been translated into Bengali, and so on.

So, there has been cultural fellowship in the field of literary effort.

As regards literary fellowship with the West, particularly with England, it may be stated here briefly that the modern Bengali novel, drama, short story and lyric are modelled on English patterns and are the indirect fruit of the deep-seated influence of English literature—though this influence has been so assimilated that there is nothing exotic in the works of the principal novelists, short story writers and writers of lyrics in Bengali.

Some English novels, short stories and dramas, some French short stories (mostly from English translations) and other works, and some Russian stories (all from English translations) have been translated into Bengali. Jyotirindranath Tagore translated some French works into Bengali. One of Selma Lagerlof's novels has been translated into Bengali from the original Swedish by Lakshmiswar Sinha and published in *Prabasi*.

We have thus established some sort of literary fellowship with Europe.

A few Japanese stories have also been translated into Bengali. Hence it is not in

painting alone that Japan has given something to Bengal.

I have spoken before of India's cultural influence on many countries and islands of Asia. In modern times Europe and America have been influenced to some extent by some of India's great Sanskrit and Pali works and by her Vedanta philosophy. That many Bengali books—notably those of Rabindranath Tagore, have been translated into English, perhaps gives some indication of India's literary and cultural influence, however small, on Britain. Tagore's works have been translated into some other principal European and some Asiatic languages also. Some books written in some other current Indian languages have also been translated into English.

I have already taken up much of your time. I shall now conclude with some words on cultural unity in the sphere of religion. I shall not dwell on other social institutions, such as government and laws, marriage, etc.

It cannot be said with truth that there was never any religious intolerance and persecution in ancient and medieval India ;—of modern times I will not speak. But this can be asserted with truth that the indigenous religions of India and their adherents were not as intolerant and as fierce persecutors as the followers of some other faiths abroad. When Indian kings had the power to prevent the ingress and permanent settlement in the country of foreigners from abroad, even then the Jews settled here, the Parsis settled here, the Nestorian Christians settled here, the Syrian Christians settled here, and some Armenians also came into this country. There were no anti-Jewish, anti-Parsi or anti-any-other-ancient-immigrant purges or riots. That shows the tolerant and hospitable frame of the indigenous Indian mind.

I like the thing denoted by the expression religious tolerance, but not the phrase itself. For we have often to tolerate people who make a nuisance of themselves. I could wish there were a short expression signifying appreciation of and respect for faiths other than one's own. Of this virtue India supplies perhaps the earliest historical example. We all know that the emperor Asoka enjoined and practised equal appreciation and treatment of Brahmans and Sramans (Buddhist monks) alike. It is also on record that when, periodically, the emperor Harsha gave away all that his treasuries contained, Brahmans and Sramans, Hindus and Buddhists, were alike the recipients of what he gave.

But a much earlier example may be given.

In the days of the Buddha we find various religious sects mentioned but no mutual persecution. Some of the sects mentioned are: Padaka, Latuka, Nigantha, Puppha-sataka, Tedandika, Ekasikha, Ajibika, Paribattaka, Siddhipatta, Kondapuggalika, etc.

In the medieval age, the emperor Akbar set an example of cultural fellowship in the sphere of religion. Dara Shukoh, eldest son of Shah Jehan, was also a very liberal-minded man. His is the credit for a Persian translation of some of the Upanishads.

In medieval times the spirit of cultural fellowship in the sphere of religion gave birth to a Dadu, a Kabir, a Rabidas, a Nanak, a Rajjab-ji, a Ramanand, and many another saint and sage of Hindu and Musalman extraction. Of Nanak it is on record that he said: "I am neither a Hindu, nor a Musalman; I am the servant of all." Of Kabir it has been said that when he died, Hindus and Muslims wanted to perform the funeral rites according to their respective faiths. But on removing the pall, only a heap of flowers was found. Perhaps that symbolizes religious and cultural fellowship and unity.

It is to be noted that though these medieval saints and sages were liberal and unsectarian in outlook, they were at the same time essentially Indian in spirit.

In modern times, there are records of Hindu-Moslem amity and fellowship. I will pick out only one. In Dr. Taylor's *Topography of Dacca*, published in 1839, Ch. IX, p. 257, the following passage is to be found:

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah."

Among individuals in India in modern times Rammohun Roy set the earliest and the most illustrious example of scholarly and deep appreciation of and respect for faiths other than his own. That as a Hindu he studied the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures in the original may not be surprising—though not many Hindus did it in those days or do it even now. But he studied the Jewish and Christian scriptures also in the original Hebrew and Greek, the Islamic scriptures in the original Arabic, and the Jaina scriptures in the original Sanskrit. As a boy of 16, he crossed the Himalayas to Tibet to learn all about Buddhism. He was acquainted with the teachings of the medieval saints of northern India in Hindi. When at Paris, he began to learn the language of the

Zoroastrian scriptures. He respected all sects alike.

With all his wide and deep scholarship in many oriental and occidental languages and his religious catholicity, he was a nationalist to the backbone. That there was no intellectual and spiritual Eurasianism in him is evidenced by his Bengali hymns, by the Sanskrit name, Brahma Samaj, chosen for the society of worshippers founded by him, by its order of divine service instituted by him, and by his editions of many Sanskrit scriptures, with translations.

The Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, deeply imbued with Upanishadic lore, was devotedly fond of Hafiz, too. So was Raj Narain Bose, first president of the Adi Brahma Samaj and grand-father of Sri Aurobindo. He was a Sanskrit scholar, too.

Keshub Chunder Sen gave the appreciation of other faiths an institutional turn, as it were. One of his co-workers, Bhai Girish Chandra Sen, was the first to translate the Quran into Bengali, and to compile character-sketches of Moslem saints. Bhai Pratap Ch. Majumdar wrote "The Oriental Christ." Bhai Gour Gobinda Upadhyay wrote the *Gita Samanvaya Bhashya*, Bhai Aghornath Gupta wrote a life of the Buddha, and so on.

The essentially national element in Keshub's spiritual constitution manifested itself in his adoption and popularization of Vaishnava kirtan and religious dance.

The late Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar, a missionary of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, translated the Sikh scriptures, *Japaji* and *Sukhamani*, into Bengali.

The teaching of Paramahansa Rama Krishna Dev. "यत् न स न स यत्," "As many doctrines, so many paths to the goal," has popularized the appreciation of faiths other than one's own. This doctrine and the spiritual attitude underlying it have been given greater publicity by his disciples than by any other body of religious men.

The Swami Vivekananda and his co-workers and disciples have combined the monism of the Vedanta with the practical philanthropy of the West to a greater extent than any other modern Indian group of religious workers.

The Theosophical Society has done much for the promotion of appreciation of all faiths.

May we be worthy of the teachings and example of all those teachers, sages and saints of all lands and ages who have stressed the importance of religious fellowship and cultural unity!

20th April, 1938.

THE BUDGET AND THE PACTS

By MAJOR D. GRAMAM POLE

I HAVE heard many Budget speeches in the House of Commons but none I think that was received with less enthusiasm than that of Sir John Simon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was delivered yesterday. The standard rate of Income Tax has been raised to five shillings and six pence in the pound and this rise has certainly startled many of the Government's supporters. When one considers that even at the end of the Great War the highest rate of Income Tax was six shillings in the pound, one realises what a heavy load on industry this tax is in peace time. During the present year it is expected that Income Tax alone will yield no less than three hundred and forty-one and a quarter million pounds.

At the beginning of the Great War the

Income Tax stood at one shilling and eight pence in the pound. So that a large potential source of revenue remained to be tapped by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the War. Accordingly it rose from one shilling and eight pence in the pound to the six shillings at which it stood at the end of the War. But if war should come now there seems to be little left for taxation from this source. And one has to remember that it is the principal source of revenue on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer relies.

Our total expenditure in 1913-14 was under two hundred million pounds a year. This compares with our budgeted expenditure for the current year of well over a thousand million pounds. One can only wonder how long this

can go on without radically lowering the standard of living of the people. And even the budgetted expenditure does not tell the whole story, as Sir John Simon intimated that various supplementary estimates would be brought in during the year for rearmament expenditure and these would be met by loan. This of course will add to the total of the National Debt which now stands at well over eight thousand million pounds.

The duty on petrol is increased slightly. Twopence a pound added to the duty on tea will make little difference to the more comfortably off people, but will hit the working classes and poorer people very keenly indeed. As one man remarked to me in the House of Commons last night, "it is certainly not an Election Budget."

Meanwhile the Prime Minister has been going ahead with his international pacts. The settlement with Ireland is indeed a distinct score for Mr. De Valera as he has settled over a hundred million pounds of annuities for a payment of ten million pounds. The Agreement, however, is all to the good as it allows trade to flow freely between this country and Ireland. That will help not only the Irish cattle trade but also the British coal trade.

The Agreement with Italy may or may not be a good thing ultimately. Certainly the benefits to Italy are greater than the potential benefits to Great Britain. Mussolini received such a slap in the face from Hitler by the latter's sudden appearance on the Brenner Pass, Italy's northern boundary, that he was glad—and certainly the Italian people were glad—to have an appearance of friendship with Great Britain. To a certain extent it has "saved his face" in Italy. This Agreement, however, does not come into effect until Italy removes her troops and munitions from Spanish territory and there is no indication that Mussolini is in any hurry to do this. Indeed from time to time he publishes in Rome the lists of Italian casualties on the Spanish front. (One Spanish report gave the total number of Italian casualties in Spain at no less than 25,000.)

But the Berlin-Rome axis is now operated from Berlin. And Mussolini has become practically a vassal of Hitler. The Italians have no reason to love the Germans, while the Germans despise the Italians. Indeed no sooner were the Germans established on the Brenner than they began to divert traffic from Trieste (which of course has been in Italian hands since the Treaty of Versailles) to Hamburg.

The next danger spot in Europe is Czecho-Slovakia. Hitler has so far managed to take

over the territory now comprised in Greater Germany without war. But it is extremely improbable that he could deal with Czecho-Slovakia in the same way. He can strangle her trade to a very great extent and perhaps force her to her knees in that way. But any direct attempt at incorporating any part of Czecho-Slovakia in the Greater Germany is likely to be met with armed resistance. The consequence of that no one can foresee. France has already said that he would go to the assistance of Czecho-Slovakia. If France is involved in war, as things stand at present, Great Britain would be almost immediately dragged in since, in Mr. Baldwin's words, our frontier is now the Rhine. Russia has also said that she would support Czecho-Slovakia. So that the World War that would ensue might well smash civilization. For the moment the outlook is very threatening. The claims of Herr Henlein on behalf of the Sudeten Germans are of such a nature, so one-sided and so presumptuous (even demanding a reversal of Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy) that they cannot and will not be conceded. But they seem to have the backing of the more or less official German press.

Disarmament, security, peace, all seemed to be possible, and indeed on the horizon, when the late Arthur Henderson was guiding the destinies of this country in the field of foreign affairs in 1931. The advent of the so-called National Government in that year changed the whole atmosphere and we seem ever since to have been drawing steadily nearer to war. And the present Budget, with an expenditure of over one thousand million pounds, is the price we have to pay for our National Government with its policy—or lack of policy—on foreign affairs. No one feels any sense of security now. The bombing aeroplane, for which we are in great part responsible, is an invention of the devil which may yet lay London, the finest target in the world, in ruins.

Great Britain still refuses to recognise Manchukuo as an "independent State" although Manchukuo is much more under the control of Japan than is Abyssinia under the control of Italy. The Italian conquest in Africa is by no means complete and so far is but dead sea fruit to Italy. But after the meeting of the League of Nations Council at Geneva early in May, Great Britain will recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, incomplete as it is, while still continuing to refuse recognition to Manchukuo.

It is a sad reflection that our principles have to be subordinated to our interests. But so it is.

Great Britain has asked the League Council, when it meets on May 9th, to put on its agenda an item to consider "the consequences arising out of the existing situation in Ethiopia." As the *Manchester Guardian* has rightly pointed out, the League is being used as a cover for the British negotiations with Italy. Abyssinia of course is still a member of the League and its representatives will attend the meeting. China also is a member of the League so that the decision about Ethiopia will not be unanimous. While China refuses to recognise Manchukuo, which was torn from her by force by Japan, she is not likely to recognise the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia, a situation also brought about by force.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle neither Germany nor Italy is at all averse to making money at the expense of their ally by supplying arms and munitions to her enemy. The position in China has very much altered in the past few weeks. Japan is by no means having it all her own way and her lines of communication are very vulnerable. China has an immense reserve of man power. Sixty per cent of all foreign war material going into China by way of Hong-Kong is of German origin and twenty five per cent of Italian origin. Russia has also been supplying some arms, although to nothing like the same extent. Japan's strength is gradually being weakened, while Russia is all the time getting stronger.

Italy fears that Germany may one day wish to seize Trieste and so have an important Mediterranean outlet. By her seizure of Austria Germany has alienated Italy and the greeting that Hitler will receive in Rome next week will be more on the surface than real.

Talks are at present going on in London between French and British Cabinet Ministers and their experts. France has inaugurated a series of talks with Italy in an endeavour to come to an agreement somewhat similar to the Anglo-Italian Agreement of last week. Mr. Chamberlain is anxious to have a similar agreement with Germany. But this may be more difficult to bring about and even if it were concluded it is doubtful how much reliance could be placed on the pledged word of Germany's present rulers. One of the most serious questions would be the withdrawal of the Germans and their armaments—and especially the latter—from Spain. France for safety established some of her principal munition works in the South and the Germans have placed heavy batteries along the Franco-Spanish frontier, although Franco has no obvious

enemy there for their guns. If Germany is to retain this stronghold on the French frontier it is a very serious menace to France and would mean her keeping there a very large number of troops and munitions that in ordinary circumstances would be employed elsewhere. This makes it all the more urgent for both France and Great Britain to come to an agreement with Germany so that this menace on the French southern frontier may be withdrawn.

To turn now from Europe to India. It is very significant that in newspapers like the *London Times* and *Observer* articles have recently been appearing suggesting that although Provincial Autonomy has been working very successfully so far, the real test will come when it is proposed to inaugurate Federation on the lines laid down in the Government of India Act. When one remembers the attitude of these newspapers, in particular at the time of the passing of the Act, it is interesting to read in the *Times* that the "essential weakness of the Federation as embodied in the Act is that it seeks to unite two different systems of polity in one Government. There are, on the one hand, the democratic Governments of the British Indian Provinces, with Legislatures elected on a wide franchise and Ministries responsible to them. On the other, there are the Indian States, the vast majority of which are governed under a system which is strictly personal and undemocratic. Such an association is without parallel. While it is true that there is no constitutional anomaly in it, there is an element of undoubted danger. In theory the danger could be for both parties, for democratic British India as well as for the undemocratic Indian States. But in practice it is only the States that will have to face a political problem. The reason is two-fold. Personal government in India is on the defensive, while democracy has all the prestige of a political theory in power. Further, the demand for democratic institutions is already gathering strength in Indian States and has to some extent the support (by example) of the Paramount Power. The danger of democratic pressure on the States is therefore inherent, whether the Federation comes into existence or not, and they have to face the problem of constitutional reform without delay."

The article goes on to suggest that the Rulers of the States will undoubtedly be courting serious trouble unless their representatives, one-third in the Lower House and two-fifths in the Upper House, are elected on a democratic basis as representatives of the people and not merely as nominees of the Rulers.

Lord Lothian, in his two articles in the *Observer*, makes much the same point and it is true enough that it would be as easy to mix oil and water as it would be to make a harmonious Legislature out of the elements, democratic and autocratic, as laid down in the Government of India Act.

Although no word of this has yet been raised in Parliament, it is very significant that feelers are being put out, without encountering much opposition, in the very newspapers that were most averse to these proposals while the Act was being hammered out in Parliament.

London,
27th April, 1938

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MONEY?

By RICHARD B. GREGG

II

NOW WE CAN UNDERSTAND OUR TROUBLES BETTER

WE all of us use money and we are all affected by its qualities. Since in our kind of civilization money is a means to power and economic security, the desire of practically all men for power and security makes them go after money. Since it is a store of value which all men recognize and also since it has all those other functions above-mentioned, it plays upon whatever tendency man has for acquisitiveness, and by frequent and prolonged repetitions of slight stimuli it makes that acquisitiveness grow. Growth is inevitable from a great many repetitions of suitable slight stimuli. That is a law of life, which applies to intangible qualities or powers as well as to living tissues. All of us have impulses towards selfishness. Money plays upon and develops them.

Frequent, regular and prolonged use of tools (tangible or intangible) constitutes the most highly effective way of forming definite habits, —for example, the military, industrial, scientific, and religious disciplines. So the steady use of money creates in us a strong habit of acquisitiveness, the less polite name of which is greed. This happens to the little man as well as to the great man. Other things being equal, the man who uses money most is subject to the strongest stimulus and tends therefore to have his acquisitive instincts most strengthened. Greed develops not because the rich man is bad but because the instrument we all use is defective. We are all directly affected by money in different degrees. In the absence of strong contrary stimuli, it affects us according to the extent of our possession and use of it. Some form of money is

necessary, but the present form is very dangerous.

FEW OF OUR ILLS ARE CAUSED BY WICKED RICH MEN. MUCH OF THE FAULT LIES IN THE MULTIPLICITY OF FUNCTIONS OF MONEY

Our troubles then,—community, class and national, both economic and social,—are not due to the original, inherent wickedness of scheming financiers and big industrialists, but rather to the defects of our economic counters and symbols. If those who do not possess much money could realize this fact, they could avoid any attitude of personal resentment against individual rich people, or the rich as a class. On the other hand, these same considerations should enable rich people to understand more easily how and why it is that they are blamed for the ill-effects of money. The fault-finding is not all due to envy. Further more, if some sensitive rich men are troubled by the effects of their wealth or by the grave faults of our economic system, they may better understand the causes of these evils and join with others to make effective improvements. Such realizations, if they can become widespread among all kinds of people, should help to lower the tensions of class feeling from both sides, and thus reduce danger of occasional violence.

Rich men are caught in and adversely affected by the same economic tool which we all must use. They are not to be personally blamed for the results, nor are they to be considered as devils. Of course not all rich people are noticeably affected adversely by their wealth. Some are very generous, simple, sensitive, and possessed of sympathetic imagination.

Nevertheless, with even the finest and strongest of them, money is a strain on their character, just as the sooty air of cities is a strain on the health of city dwellers, or as working in cold, damp places predisposes people to rheumatism.

I am not trying to excuse the abuses of power, the crimes and breaches of trust committed by some rich men; I am trying to explain the causes. Just as slum environment and impairment of family life are the predominant causes of some kinds of crime, so the defects of money are a direct and predominant cause of other kinds of crime. Of course the slums themselves and some impairment of family life are caused by the lust for money profit, and so we may say that indirectly or directly the desire for money profit is a cause of a very large part of all crimes.

Yet again, I am not saying that the acquisitive urge is wholly evil or that we should try to suppress it completely. Just as with most of our elemental urges, it is, within limits, natural and beneficial to mankind, excepting a few saints not subject to ordinary rules. But if any natural powerful tendency or activity of mankind,—for example, sex or eating,—is constantly over-stimulated so that it becomes gigantic or out of all proportion to the others, then there is trouble. That is our difficulty with money. It constantly over-stimulates the normal and healthy tendencies of man toward acquisitiveness, and develops an economic system which facilitates the exercise of every degree of avarice. It over-stimulates men's fears.

DON'T LOOK FOR A SCAPEGOAT

In this situation no good is done by trying to allocate blame and place responsibility upon any particular group of people. We are all of us jointly responsible for our failures to overcome our intellectual and moral laziness, for our failures to analyse more clearly, and to keep our judgment from being warped by selfish advantage. We ought to understand, to endure against temptation, to invent and apply economic instruments which will produce better moral results.

PRESENT FORM OF MONEY ORGANISES AVARICE

I used to think that money was the heart of our economic and social system. Now I would say that the essence of our system is not an exterior thing but an inner attitude, a set of sentiments, a complex of several elements dominated by acquisitiveness or greed. Money in its present form is the symbol and instrument that

stimulates and organizes acquisitiveness, makes it easy, certain, and limitless.

TROUBLE INCREASING

If we continue to use money in its present form, the continued concentration of ownership and of control of wealth and the consequent growth of monopoly are inevitable. In all business transactions there is the chance of loss, and in course of time losses come to all. The fellows with small capital can't stand big losses, and drop out. The fellows with much can weather the storm, and then they absorb the business of the little men. With our present kind of money, the mathematical laws of frequency distribution necessarily produce concentration of wealth and growth of monopoly.¹ This means, before long, the complete destruction of almost all small enterprizes and of the entire middle class in every country, together with suffering, violence, terror, tyranny and wars. Modern inventions including several new forms of money, have greatly accelerated this cumulative process within the last two centuries. And now in the United States we are painfully realizing, may be too late, that the desire for quick money profit has caused our farmers to use land in such a way that erosion by water and wind has destroyed and swept away vast areas of top soil, leaving a rapidly enlarging desert. This is a danger worse perhaps even than war.

EFFECT ON SPIRITUAL VALUES

The comprehension of these qualities of money helps us to understand why it has had such a regrettable effect upon the church, upon other religious organizations, upon spiritual values, and upon individual and group morality everywhere.² We can better understand why one cannot worship both God and Mammon, and why the rules of Buddhist monks and early Franciscans forbade them to use money and why the *Bauls* of Bengal are also reluctant to use it.

Money hurts truth because it is ambiguous in its meanings, because it makes men try to squeeze all values into its one form, and because it pretends to measure accurately an unmeasurable thing, namely, human trust and faith. It

¹ See L. Hogben—*Mathematics for the Million*, London, and W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1937, pp. 589-590.

² See J. A. Hobson—*God and Mammon*, Macmillan, New York and London, 1931; also R. H. Tawney—*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* by Max Weber, Allen and Unwin, London.

stimulates greed and fear, and hence is divisive. It creates superiority and inferiority complexes. It causes frustrations and barriers of envy and jealousy. It does not stimulate respect for personality, but frequently makes people humiliate and insult personality. It destroys the effectiveness of other values. Christian Church members follow the rest of men in behaving everyday as if they trusted money more than God or more than their fellow-men. Money makes people misconceive wherein their real and enduring security lies. Money tends to warp the imagination and to injure the sense of human unity. It shrivels love and often impedes its outward expression. It creates conflicts in standards and motives. Hence, in so far as purity of heart is synonymous with singleness of purpose, money greatly interferes with purity of heart. The use of money makes integrity of personal character difficult. Its multiplicity of functions operates to create intellectual doubts and indecision, both mental and moral confusion. These inner conflicts create suppressions with psychological and moral effects that we have learned in recent years to recognize.³

Though money gives power, this power is exterior, and because of the moral effect of money, its possession and use tends to take away as much inner power from men as it gives to them externally. Indeed it probably takes away more than it gives. And it deprives them of the awareness of inner power, and thus detracts from the sense of spiritual reality.

Money tends to create a certain kind of moral irresponsibility, partly because it creates barriers between people, partly because it operates over greater distances than can usually be bridged by human knowledge and sympathy, and partly because it makes its more thoughtless owners feel that they can do anything and then buy their way out.

MORAL LAG IN SOCIETY

In relation to ideals, money is the great inconsistency whose constant use warps all our efforts at improvement. Several years ago Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr in his book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*⁴ pointed out with great cogency that the individual man is capable of and fairly often does rise to great moral heights, but that groups and societies of men lag far behind in this respect. I believe that one cause for this is that money is the predominating tool,

energizer and binding force in the world today, and since it is so defective the group results of its common and constant use must be equally and indeed more defective. Since our civilization can be said to have money as one of its great foundation-stones, we can begin to see one important reason why our civilization is crumbling.

If all these considerations be true, we can readily understand why so many idealistic ventures have failed in the course of a few years. They are brought to naught by the character of the means which they use. We can see why so many men of high promise in their youth fail to make good morally, why their idealism seems to dry up.

RELATION TO DEMOCRACY AND TO NON-VIOLENCE

The believer in democracy must learn to realize vividly that the continued use of present forms of money will destroy his objective. Democracy is based on the belief that the opinion of every person has some value for the direction of the common life of the community and nation. It necessarily implies respect for human personality, a belief that personality, with its responsibility and initiative, is of the highest importance. Since the operation of money overrides respect for personality and promotes economic monopoly, it strangles both the social and political forms of democracy.

We feel helpless in the face of economic forces partly because of the momentum of our habits, but partly also because we are bound to the tools we have used so long that we now find them necessary. Money is the chief of those tools, and its defects make us impotent.

The believer in non-violence must understand the defects and deceitfulness of money, for if he remains ignorant of them he will be conquered. Since deceitfulness is a form of intellectual and moral violence, he must learn how to meet and overcome it in this particular manifestation as well as in the grosser form of physical violence.

Because of the confused way the different functions of money act upon one another and upon people, money is gradually destroying mutual trust among people and among nations. As that process goes on, violence increases, both the violence of individuals and of governments. The decrease of mutual trust and the increase of violence mean before long the end of civilization.

MONEY AND WAR

We all recognize that important causes of modern war are economic. Raw materials and

³ See *The Freudian Wish and Its Place in Ethics* by E. B. Holt, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1921, Chap. III.

⁴ Scribner, New York.

markets are needed in order to make money profit. Munitions makers obstruct peace proposals and fan war scares and general apprehension in order to make money. They realize vast sums out of war when it comes. Newspapers magnify international suspicions, jealousies and resentments in order to sell more papers. The money power of big advertisers warps the news. National prestige is measured largely in terms of money. Modern imperialism is largely motivated by desire for money power. Undue desire for money results in injustices and misrepresentations which in turn create resentments and hatred, with probable overt violence. On all but rare and relatively brief occasions the highly organized power of money and financial concepts dominates directly or indirectly all essential departments of the government. Hence the stimulus that money supplies to greed and excessive competition is considerably responsible for militarism and for the threat to civilization which modern war contains. Because of the ambiguity and diversity of the functions of money, its use does not clarify, resolve and settle conflicts. Instead, it confuses men's minds and ethical impulses, creates resentments, suspicions, jealousies, rivalries and hatreds. Thus it creates occasions for the use of violence.

All nations are now engaged in economic warfare with one another constantly, and within each nation economic warfare goes on between different groups. Occasionally when this economic warfare reaches a critical stage it changes its form to military war and thus comes more clearly into the open. The change is more of outer form than of inner purpose or motive. Hence in order to do away with military warfare and its disastrous effects we must somehow do away with or greatly lessen economic warfare. I believe that suitable modifications in our chief economic instrument and stimulus, money, would do a very great deal to accomplish this end.

A RELATIVELY SIMPLE REMEDY

When we come to consider possible remedies, we return to the point that a great many of the unfortunate effects of money come from the combination of several functions in one instrument. It is possible, then, that many of the defects of money in its present form could be eliminated by having a different kind of money for each of its present functions,—five or six separate kinds of money, —but linked together somehow so that transfers could easily be made from one form to another.

SEPARATING THE FUNCTIONS OF MONEY

As a matter of fact, this separation into different kinds of money according to function has already been done in part, and for the brief period it was in effect it worked well. I refer to the stamp scrip which was used in 1933 in over a score of towns and cities in the United States, also in Europe earlier. The English economist, Mr. J. M. Keynes, approves of it in principle.⁵ Professor Irving Fisher of America urges its adoption. He described it clearly and fully in a little book called *Stamp Scrip*.⁶

The best form of stamp scrip separated the function of medium of exchange from all the other functions of money. It was only a medium of exchange, and it proved able to make the communities where it was used blossom like a rose all through the worst of the depression. Yet it was connected with the other functions of money by a simple device described in Professor Fisher's book. Also it could be deposited in a bank and thus converted into a store of value in the hands of the bank to the equivalent value in ordinary money. But it could not be hoarded. The bank had to pass it on.

I am not arguing here for the use of stamp scrip in the exact form that has been used. But I do suggest that it is not past the wit of mankind to extend that idea and split up money into say five or six forms, corresponding to its five or six functions. Simple means could be devised for connecting these different forms and making each one transformable into another as need might arise. All of those modifications and devices are for the experts to work out.

ANALOGY OF BENEFITS FROM IMPROVEMENT IN OTHER KINDS OF SYMBOLS AND TOOLS

In all instances of a clarification or other improvement in a set of symbols, a great advance for mankind has resulted. For example, Arabic numerals in place of the clumsy Roman numerals and the limited alphabetic numeral system of the Greeks, constituted a great step forward. The Hindu invention of the zero sign and place values for numbers was another immense advance. Similarly the invention of the symbols of differential and integral calculus proved a vast boon to mathematicians, scientists and engineers. Another great step was made in botany when Linnaeus invented his system of

⁵ *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, by J. M. Keynes, Macmillan, London and New York, 1936, pp. 234, 257-8.

⁶ Published by the Adelphi Co., New York, 1933. See also *Men Without Money*, by W. Weishaar and W. W. Parrish, G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1933.

names to fit the classifications of plants. The same thing happened when new instruments were invented, such as the telescope, turret lathe, and spectroscope. The wide adoption and use of the steam locomotive caused great social changes.

Splitting complex substances into simpler forms has often yielded great benefits. For example, the fractional distillation of crude petroleum into benzine, gasoline, many grades of light and heavy oil, coal-tar, dyes, and paraffine, each with well-marked characteristics and distinct standardized uses, developed many more uses than the original substance had, and also produced vastly greater real wealth. In some of their uses such substances can be thought of as tools.

Daylight saving, a simple shift in our time-measuring instrument, changes easily the habits of hundreds of millions of people. An improvement in our money tool could rapidly and easily accomplish for some of our moral habits more betterment, I believe, than centuries of purely moral exhortation and training. The long and ugly history of avarice could be tapered off, and human greed could be reduced to manageable dimensions. The desire for power would be diverted into more direct and open forms which could be controlled by disciplined non-violent resistance.

RELATION TO SOCIALISM

Socialists would probably say that in all this I am barking up the wrong tree,—that the real remedy for our social and economic troubles lies in having the government, as representative of all the people, take over and own and operate the means of production. Without going into the pros and cons of that remedy. I would point out that for it to operate successfully there must first be a strong and widespread growth in the spirit of co-operation and mutual responsibility. When I say operate successfully I mean a number of things. I mean effectively in relation to the quantity and quality of goods produced and their distribution. Yet also I mean operate without an expensive and tyrannical bureaucracy and the enslavement of all the people. I mean economic justice but I also mean an increase in goodwill and in universal respect for personality, resulting in a vast decrease of violence, both within the country involved and in its relations with other peoples. Such a growth in co-operation, mutual responsibility, liberty, and respect for personality seem to me highly improbable if not impossible in our present Western culture, in which pecuniary values override all others. A money reform of the sort

herein suggested is, I believe, an essential pre-condition to the successful working of socialism, and I say it with all due respect for Russian accomplishments. For those who believe in Henry George's thesis, my answer is the same. Until the harmful stimuli of present forms of money and the moral and intellectual confusions created by its use are removed, I doubt whether any other deep-going economic reforms can be permanently accomplished in the Western world. Modern society is so complex that there is no single root of or remedy for our ills, but there may be a certain chronological sequence or emphasis with which remedies must be applied in order to win permanent, all-round improvement.

MONEY REFORM NOT A PANACEA

I do not believe that evil comes only from our environment, nor do I consider money the root of all wrong, or that there are no economic wrongs except those arising from its defects. I do not believe that human life was perfect before money was invented, or that some sort of reform of money would usher in on earth the Kingdom of Heaven, or that there are no causes of our present troubles more profound than the defects of money. Money reform is not a panacea. Yet all that I have said remains valid. Money has been of immeasurable service to the human race, and in some form we must and will retain it. Every one of its functions is important and indeed indispensable. Nevertheless, we must realize its present intrinsic qualities and the indubitable effect which the regular and prolonged use of a tool has upon those who use it. I believe it is time to analyze and understand clearly and fully the defects and dangers of our present forms of money, and try to remedy them. Like all man-made things, money has imperfections, and some of these defects can be removed.

DETAILS OF THE PROPOSED REMEDY

Having now stated the proposal in general terms, we naturally want to examine it in more detail in order to see and weigh its possible implications.

Stamp scrip was invented by a German named Gesell in the Argentine in 1890, was used successfully in Germany in 1919, with marked success in 1931 in Bavaria and Austria, and in 1933 as above stated, in over a score of towns and cities in the United States. In most instances in America the wrong form of it was used and had no great success, but where the right form was used it was very effective. Even the defective forms were decidedly helpful in

several cases. In the right form the function of a medium of exchange was separated from all the other functions of money, and a special form for this one function was issued.

A piece of stamp scrip of the effective kind is shaped about like a ten-rupee note but has a distinctive colour and design so that it cannot be mistaken for a ten-rupee note. It bears on its face the name of the issuing community or private organization, its denomination (say one rupee) to make its purchasing power equivalent to that of the regular currency. On the back of the scrip is a set of 52 squared spaces, each dated to indicate the successive Wednesdays of the year. The community or organization which issued the scrip sells distinctive little adhesive stamps for one pice each, and one of these stamps must be stuck on the appropriate square for it each Wednesday in order to make the scrip continue valid. Wednesday is chosen for this so as to be several days removed from industrial pay day. By agreement among most or all of the shops, employers, and, if possible, one bank in the given community, the scrip would be accepted in payment for commodities of all kinds, and in payment of wages, local taxes, etc. But its effectiveness lasts only from one Wednesday till the next, being renewable only by putting a fresh one-pice stamp on the next unfilled square on the back of the scrip each Wednesday as it comes around. At the end of the year fifty-two such stamps have been affixed, meaning that Re. 1-0-4 in "real" money has been paid in to the issuing agency. This redeems the one rupee denomination of the scrip, and the slight excess of four pice pays the cost of printing and issuance, with a possible tiny remainder left to accumulate for a community health fund. Thus the scrip is self-liquidating.

In the towns where it was used this scrip was a common medium of exchange and could be banked or invested, but it could not be hoarded in that form. It was good for only one week at a time, and its validity could be extended only from week to week and only by putting on a stamp costing one pice or the equivalent in the currency of the country where it was used. This scrip, you see, is *not* a store of value. The long-time element, necessary for a store of value, has been separated from it by the weekly stamp device.

The communities which used this scrip had their economic life going on busily, no unemployment, and no economic troubles to speak of. Numerous public works were completed by its use. Shops which at first refused to take it found the trade all going to the others,

and so they joined the others. The speed of circulation of the scrip in the American towns which tried it was about four times that of the average dollar in normal times and about twelve times that of an average dollar during the depression. People would pass the scrip along so as not to have to pay for the little weekly stamp. The weekly stamp acted like an inescapable, confiscatory tax on hoarding. From the point of view of the tradesman, the weekly stamp was like a small tax, about 2%, on new business which otherwise he would not have had at all.

OPINIONS OF TWO ECONOMISTS

Professor Fisher, in the book mentioned, describes all the details, mode of operation, mode of installation, arguments and history of stamp scrip, and criticises its different forms. He states that the speed of circulation of money is the most baffling factor in the stabilization of the price level, and that stamp scrip would regulate that speed better than anything else. He says that it gives buying power to the consumer, and supplies him the compulsion to use it. He says that it would not constitute inflation because it is tied to actual consumer transactions, is issued only against actual goods and services, and is therefore limited. It may be added that since stamp scrip is not a store of value, but only a medium of exchange, the chances of inflation through it are very slight. It restores exchange to normal, but not being a form of credit it has no tendency to balloon. Nor does it constitute bad money which, under the operation of Gresham's law, would tend to drive out sound money. It does not drive out money but steps into the gap left by the so-called good money when it previously was retired from circulation because it was hoarded. Since stamp scrip supplements the failure of ordinary money in times of great distress, it can hardly be called "bad money." Indeed, the separation of the medium of exchange from the other functions of money would probably put an end to Gresham's law, thus making a new element of stability and security in the new forms of money.

Mr. J. M. Keynes in his latest book above referred to also approves of the idea behind stamp scrip but believes that some modifications should be introduced in order to make it generally successful.

THE LINKAGE OF FUNCTIONS

The stamp scrip, though being only a medium of exchange, was connected with the

other functions of money. It was tied to ordinary money by the device of the weekly small stamp. Also it could be deposited in a bank and thus converted into a store of value in the hands of the bank to the equivalent value in ordinary money. The bank of course did not keep the scrip but passed it out to its customers, putting it immediately back into circulation, just as it usually does with the ordinary ten-rupee notes which you and I may deposit, only more quickly. Other connecting devices could be invented for use between the other forms of functional money which I have suggested. These forms could be integrated with our bank checking system, probably through modifications of the present form of checks. The connecting links between the different forms of money would need to be some specific devices acting in definite, uniform fashion.

POSSIBLE DEVICES

The function of a store of value might be represented by specially colored paper bills of several kinds, valid only for stated periods. Then the appropriate kind could be used in relation to the special kind of work to be done. The speeds of conversion of different raw material into finished products, and the speeds of transport of different commodities might be governing factors here. One kind might be valid only for the maximum expectation of life of a person, thus doing away with some of the difficulties of unlimited inheritance of wealth. Perhaps there might be an agricultural scrip valid only for a year or for a season, with of course a mode of translating it into the store-of-value form or some other. Or if all banks were operated by the Government, storage of value might be confined only to bank accounts, with perhaps special arrangements as to the special kind of stored value represented by rights to money income inherent in corporate or Government securities. Especially large amounts or long terms of credit might be limited to community or governmental use.

All of these modifications and devices are for the experts to work out.

Some form of stamp scrip money, by separating the medium of exchange function from all the others, would make it much easier for the Government or the Central Bank System to control the quantity of currency and its speed of circulation. This would in turn make possible better control of fluctuations in the measure of value function, and hence would stabilize prices of all commodities. Since the medium of exchange is, for the great majority of

people, the most important function of money, stamp scrip could well be adopted pending the working out of the other forms, thus beginning promptly with the most important change. We do not need to wait until all the forms are worked out in complete detail.

If a separate form of money were created to act only as a measurable symbol of trust and credit, I believe that its divorce from the other present functions of money would do much to release people's minds from the confusion between symbol and reality in relation to mutual human trust, faith, credit and belief. The reality of that imponderable state of mind and feeling would become stronger. Also I believe certain other doubts would be resolved.

ONE CRITICISM AND ITS ANSWER

For instance, a critic of these ideas might well say that although the trust which people have in Mr. A. because of his conduct for many years is an undoubted reality and asset for Mr. A., yet as an asset it depends upon Mr. A's having lived in that community for a considerable number of years and his continuing to live there. Suppose he wants to move elsewhere, ought he not to be able to "cash in" on that asset and take it with him to the new place? That is, ought not the symbol to have reality and value by itself? What if his business keeps him always on the move?

My proposals do not really present this difficulty. The means by which value is created or stored need not be the same as that by which it is transferred, yet one form could be translated by appropriate devices into the others. The wise merchant's conduct gradually builds up a fund of individual and community trust in him and that trust expresses itself to a large degree in money tokens. To the extent that it does so, he can transfer it to a new place. That part of it which does not so express itself cannot be immediately transferred to another place. Some of it may later find a transferable expression. Some of it will remain permanently in the community. It will be part of the evidence, part of the foundation of past acts which have given all the people of that community a common faith in humanity. That is the case at present and would continue to be so if changes in money were put into effect. Nobody can pump out of the community every bit of trust which his honest deeds have created. We should be glad to leave with the community a considerable part of that trust, for it goes to form an environment of security for us and our children. Our little daily acts grow like a

coral reef. Trust is not, and cannot be made, a wholly unilateral affair. An attempt to make it so creates resentment and mistrust. Indeed a person's willingness to leave behind him some of the trust he has created, to "lose" some of it to the community, is itself one of his assets. He recognizes the truth of life that time and repetition are necessary for growth, that all humanity is one, so that he cannot act merely for and unto himself. The more richly and vigorously he has lived upon this basis, the less he loses when he moves to a new locality. His life has become more widely known and his character is stronger and more quickly realized in the new community.

Furthermore, a person's mode of action and its results become part of his character and are, to careful observers, perceivable in his eyes, mouth, voice, carriage, and manners. If he moves to a new town, he takes his character with him and it is perceived by the strangers there instantly and to a large extent the longer he stays there. So some of the trust which the first community had in him he carries wherever he goes, not in his pocketbook but in his body and personality. It cannot be stolen from him.

We dare not try to separate ourselves entirely from the community in this matter of wealth or in any other matter. Nor should we try to externalize and express in tangible, transferable form all the trust which we feel towards others or which they feel towards us. We would lose both inner and outer security and power, more important to our life than any tangible thing. Indeed, one of the great dangers of our present form of money is that it turns into individual fortunes the wealth created by the community, and then trust, good will and moral health wither and decline. In this respect money has acted like private appropriation of community-created values in land, the effects of which were so clearly stated by Henry George.

SOME RESULTS OF SEPARATING MONEY'S FUNCTIONS

Since so many of the evil results of money have come from this combination of many functions in one instrument, it seems highly probable that the separation of those functions and the provision of a special instrument for each function would go far toward solving many of the troubles which now encompass us. This separation of functions with a particular medium for each would also make it possible to see far more clearly the problems within the limits of

each function and thus hasten further reforms. For example, it would probably then be much easier to solve the difficulties involved in having a tangible measure of so subjective, subtle and fluctuating a thing as value, and to decide more surely the merits of proposals to have instead a measure of energy conversion. We could more readily reach a sound conclusion whether to abandon permanently the gold standard. We could consider with more charity and wisdom the question whether to place a limit on the function of storage of value. Again, the problems whether to adopt the social credit scheme of Major Douglas, or to permit credit to continue to be issued by private banks operating for private profit, could be treated more wisely and perhaps with less heat than at present. The proposed separation of money functions and of their operations would permit sound discrimination and therefore wise choices and decisions, and would make possible a control of results and a vastly sounder moral situation.⁷

Like machinery, money has given man an exterior power of control over his fellows out of all proportion to his inner powers,—his self-control and wisdom. This lack of proportion between his inner and his outer powers makes inevitable many immoral results from the use of money. It would be irresponsible and immoral of me to try to operate an airplane before I had developed understanding of its mechanisms and controls, had acquired skill in handling it, knew where I was going, and cared more for human life than for machines or for the thrill of flying. Without those preconditions, my trying to fly would involve grave danger to others as well as to myself. But the construction of the airplane might conceivably be greatly simplified so that it would be much more nearly fool-proof, self-balancing, etc. Then the skill required for its successful operation would be within my reach and conscious responsibility. Then my use of it might involve but little danger, and so not be immoral. Similarly, by correcting the form and functions of money we may make it more nearly related to man's present inner power of self-control and wisdom. Such a change may even strengthen his self-control.

Our social and moral relationships are largely expressed in economic modes. Since our economic language,—money,—is clumsy, inaccurate, inadequate, ambiguous, and variable, our

⁷ See *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics* by E. B. Holt, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929, Chap. III.

morals are gravely hampered. If money can be corrected and improved, an immense load can be lifted from the entire human race. I am thoroughly optimistic about human nature. As soon as it is given proper environment and proper tools, economic, moral and intellectual, the race will enter a new era of happy development.

If we understand how the stimuli of the defects and pressures of money have warped men's characters, and that the substitution of better stimuli can again cause sound growth, we renew our faith in the possibilities of improving our social and economic systems without violence.

MAYBE NO IMMEDIATE ADOPTION

It is not likely that such changes will be adopted while we continue on our present level of economic recovery. The failure of the recent attempt to adopt stamp scrip in Alberta indicates this improbability. But when another very big depression comes, there is a fair chance of stamp scrip being more widely used, and perhaps permanently continued. It might be begun even now in communities where the proportion of unemployed is very high. This use would lift much of the burden of unemployment from local

governments. People are more likely to change their ideas and habits during periods of general insecurity than at any other time. Often such changes are regressions, like the tendency to violence. But the change I advocate would be a progression and would do much to end the insecurity.

BENEFITS OF CLEAR UNDERSTANDING

In any case, if people get a clearer idea of the defects of money and its influence upon them, they have taken the first step toward freedom from those bad effects. The truth shall make you free. Only when we understand the causes of disease and health can we make sure progress to health? A person who knows all about a complex and dangerous instrument and its effects on him is less apt to be hurt by it than one who is ignorant of its parts and working. One who has the right inner attitude can take as a joke what another man would consider as an insult. A clear understanding of the dangers of money will make less insidious the temptation placed upon some leaders to sell out their cause. Such understanding will help those who are trying to live rightly. It will help all of us.

CONGRESS COTTON COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By S. P. PALEKAR

It is now three months since the report of the Congress Committee on cotton was published. The comparatively long time that I have taken in putting together the following criticism will, it may be hoped, prove to be an indication not of any laxity of thought but of the profundity of the subject itself.

The report can be conveniently divided to embody the following measures:—

- (1) Curtailment of area under cotton.
- (2) Loans against cotton.
- (3) Facility regarding rent or revenue.
- (4) Freight reduction.
- (5) Export subsidy.
- (6) Prohibition of the imports of finer cotton.
- (7) Changing over to superior varieties of cotton.

(8) Regulation of "Teji" "Mandi" operations.

(9) Control of ginning and pressing factories.

The report says that the present slump in Indian cotton is due to the policy of economic self-sufficiency pursued by foreign countries. The whole position of Indian cotton today may, therefore, be summarised as one in which there is an exportable surplus of raw cotton and the prices realized by the cultivators are ridiculously low. In view of this situation the proposal of the committee to restrict the area under cotton sounds quite reasonable. For that would imply a smaller number of persons engaged in the cultivation of cotton and consequently a smaller number of people that be hit adversely by the slump in world

prices. Furthermore there seems to be a tacit presumption that this would decrease the world supply of cotton and would raise the world prices. Now this will not be the actual state of things. Though India provides a fairly large portion of the world supply it has not yet attained that supreme stage to be in a position to formulate and dictate the tone of the world-market. Moreover, one cannot positively say that the prices of cotton will never go up. If, however, they do go up, in course of time, say by fortuitous circumstances as a world war, the cultivator would be robbed of the blessings of such a rise which he would have enjoyed in the ordinary course of things.

The committee does not seem to have explored all the possible channels of alleviating the present distress of the cottongrowers. Too much stress is laid on facilitating the export of the surplus cotton. There is no mention of the possibility of wiping out the surplus by internal absorption. This could be effectively achieved by giving a powerful stimulus to the cotton mill industry, by improving it on the most up-to-date lines and thus enabling it to absorb the surplus of raw cotton and to convert it into manufactures which would then be exported. This was hinted a couple of months ago in the Bombay Legislative Assembly when the need for an aggressive and progressive policy of industrialization was urged upon the Government. This would prevent the export of raw cotton which, like the export of any raw material, is always accompanied by disastrous consequences to the economic development of any country when the same raw material is imported from abroad as a manufactured commodity for home consumption.

This brings us to the question of growing cereal and fodder crops on land given up for cotton. Now the selection of the cereal, on which depends the entire success or failure of the proposals, would be such an extremely difficult and technical problem that the slightest miscalculation would involve the cottongrower into complete ruin. Moreover this change from money crops to food crops savours of a gradual move towards the ideal autarchy which doctrine would never tolerate a state-subsidy given for the export of any raw material, far less cotton.

"To strengthen the holding capacity of the cotton cultivators and with a view to preventing excessive seasonal decline in prices" the committee recommends "loans at 2 per cent through the Imperial Bank against a

deposit of cotton." This problem of agricultural credit is at present being tackled by the Reserve Bank. I do not at all thereby suggest that the proposal is out of place or superfluous but feel that it will be very difficult to implement the proposal so long as branch-banking is not fully developed in India.

It is not quite clear what the committee means by "dealers". If, as it seems, it comprises the *adatyas* and a host of other middlemen, their low holding capacity and the necessity of giving them any relief may be seriously doubted.

So far as the relief proposed to be given to a cultivator who is unable to pay the land revenue or rent is concerned, it must be noted that the Congress governments will be faced with the same difficulty which will confront the Madras Government with regard to the agricultural debt relief sought to be given in that province. The Government will get only a hazy notion, a misty fragment, of the ability or the inability of a particular cultivator to pay the land revenue or rent. Thus there is every chance of this charity being misplaced. But, of course, the Government would say that these things cannot be helped. The sun shines both on the rich and the poor alike.

Referring to the freight reduction the committee says that the cultivator invariably gets a price in which the freight is fully discounted. Freight reduction if any therefore will not reach the cultivator. Now it is curious to note that in spite of this the committee had further recommended that,

"The Government of India should devise a scheme for reduction of freight on consignments which are intended for export and which in fact are exported."

But the committee does not seem to have regarded the export subsidy in the same light. The export subsidy would never go to benefit the cultivators but the middlemen who at present hold almost all the stocks of surplus cotton as the holding power of the Indian agriculturist is deplorably low. Even taking it for granted that it will somehow or other filter through to the cultivator, one is forced to the conclusion that it is a virtual negation of the first proposal to restrict the area under cotton. For the cultivator on his part will be tempted to grow as much cotton as possible, being goaded on by the certainty of the State undertaking to dispose of it at its own cost. In this connection the financial aspect of the subsidy should not be overlooked as it will mean a further drain on the Exchequer whose solidarity is already threatened by such schemes

as those of prohibition, technical education, agricultural relief, rural development and many others. If therefore more importance is to be given, as it should be given, to the interests of the cultivator, it must be admitted that a production bounty given to him would reach him more directly through a reduction in the land revenue and rent than the export subsidy which would be of use to him only at some remote time when he would become aware of it. Thus a production bounty would be more desirable not only to minimize the present distress but also to expedite the economic development of the country.

As regards this export subsidy the Report says that extraordinary inducements are being held out to cotton purchasers by America and it is not right that India should allow her customers, through neglect, to be "snapped by the United States. Serious measures should be contemplated for an export subsidy." The committee's argument for this subsidy is the "difficulty of exporting Indian cotton due to its being above parity in relation to the prices of foreign cotton."

Now, I have already emphasised above the fact that the export of any raw material particularly one so valuable as cotton, should never be the ambition of India who is now on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of its industrial development. The admission at the very outset, by the committee, of the policy of economic self-sufficiency followed by other nations coupled with its recommendation for stimulating exports of cotton leads to a logical contradiction. If the foreign nations are inflamed with a spirit of economic nationalism and are determined to be independent of any other nation for the supply of their needs, of what use is an export subsidy? It will only go to facilitate the export of a commodity that is not wanted outside. Under these circumstances, it may reasonably be asked why the State should bear the burden of the difference between the home-price and the foreign-price of cotton and the consumer be unduly saddled with a tax, however small, "to recoup the expenditure on the subsidy" as the committee has suggested?

The ambition to compete with a resourceful country like America is, indeed, a glorious one. But let us compute our rival properly. Let us not forget the fact that whatever cotton America exports today is the residue after all her enormous industrial requirements are fully satisfied. On the contrary our exports represent the blood of our future industries

which have at present fallen innocent victims to the lethargy of the State and its prejudice against the industrialization of India. Let us therefore keep our resources within the country and also at the same time follow a vigorous policy of extensive industrialization not only as a temporary measure of retaliation but also as a permanent effort to march shoulder to shoulder with other nations towards the goal of economic salvation.

The committee, under the same heading, has also suggested:

"The textile industry, both hand and machine, should be assured adequate protection against cheap foreign cotton goods, if necessary."

Now if the committee is so anxious about maintaining the status and position of our industries in the home-market why did it not also consider the problem of furthering the same in the world of manufactures abroad? The very conspicuous absence of even a mention of a production bounty is enough to prove that they did not do so.

The committee deplores the action of several millowners and cotton merchants in actively negotiating for the import of American and African cotton. The Report says:

"This threatened invasion of foreign cotton, when we have an unmanageable amount of surplus in India, is one which it is the imperative duty of the State to ward off. We feel it is necessary to ask for total prohibition of the import of cotton of one-inch staple and below, from whatever source. We recommend that all provincial governments in whose area cotton is grown should urge the necessity of such a measure on the Government of India."

Here one feels that *total* prohibition of the imports of finer cotton will react unfavourably upon the Indian cotton-mill industry which is developing rapidly and has a promising and bright future before it. Let it be clearly understood that I hold no brief for the millowners. Yet I am forced to remark that it will be an injustice done to them who will lose sight of their prospective high status in the sphere of world manufactures, by being forced to have recourse to inferior qualities of indigenous cotton which does not lend itself with any great felicity to the manufacture of finer cloth without being mixed. Therefore imports of finer cotton, in however small quantities, are absolutely essential if finer cloth is to be produced from home-grown cotton. The committee perhaps having realised this difficulty, has also recommended changing over to superior varieties. But in the meanwhile we must avail ourselves of the imports, if only as a pair of crutches which

will be discarded when we shall not need them any more. Incidentally, if the changing over is to be successful we must resort to a proper classification and a careful selection of seeds rather than to "acclimatization of exotics."

As noted above, the committee has recommended changing over to superior varieties of cotton. We may here pause to ask ourselves the question: Why was it that the Indian cultivator did not take to superior varieties in the past? Was it due to ignorance? Conservatism? No. It was due to practical commonsense. He did not take to superior varieties mainly because they do not pay him. To ripen fully the superior variety takes from about two to three months more than the inferior one. The poor cultivator being very much hard-pressed cannot manage to stand the delay. Moreover, the longer time of waiting introduces the element of the vagaries of the season and the possibility of pestilence to crops. Secondly, the inferior variety is more prolific *i.e.*, the yield per acre is definitely greater than that of the superior one. Thirdly, the inferior variety, it has been found by experience, can resist diseases much more strongly than the superior one which succumbs to them very easily. And finally, the ginning percentage is greater in the case of inferior variety which yields more lint than the superior one which yields more seeds. I am not here making out a case for the cultivation of inferior quality but I fail to see how the execution of this

proposal will be possible or paying to the cultivator.

Coming next to the regulation of "Teji" "Mandi" operations (forward transactions) the committee states that these should be strictly controlled and recommends an enquiry to be held by the Bombay Government. I hope the committee has not in mind their total suppression on German lines. There is such a thing as healthy speculation which has its own advantages. And if control is proposed to be exercised on these forward transactions, it will be very difficult, if not quite impossible, to distinguish between rational speculation and speculative speculation. Moreover it is high time that we realised the despiriting delays caused by holding enquiries the results of which, it is common experience, only rot in the obscurity of the secretariat pigeon-holes. We have had enough of committees, commissions, reports, enquiries and a host of other things in the past. What is now wanted is action—a strong, deliberate and determined action.

In conclusion, the report says:

"Owners of gins and presses combine for exploiting the distress of the farmer by forcing him to pay excessive charges."

Therefore it recommends:

"Government regulation to bring down the charges to competitive level."

This needs no comment. But it may be suggested that it will be very difficult to lay down an equitable maximum.



LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA

By RATILAL MEHTA, M.A.

THE aim of the present paper is to give a glimpse of the administration of a village, in so far as it is reflected in the *Jataka* stories. Here it is taken for granted that the *Jataka* stories give a reflection of the life and thoughts of the period just preceding the Buddha, of the period which can well be called the *Mahajana-pada period*—approximately ranging from 600 B.C. to 800 B.C.¹ These simple folk-tales give us a wealth of information about the life of the masses of those days.

There can be no doubt that such extensive states as Kasi and Kosala, Anga and Magadha, Assaka and Kalinga which flourished during this period had well-marked boundaries and distinctions and were divided into different administrative units, provinces or districts and villages. Though we, unfortunately, do not get much information about the provincial or the district administrative arrangements, it is, nevertheless, conceivable that, officials like the *rajjuhahaka amaccas*² or *rajukas*³ were the provincial heads. It has been well maintained⁴ that the *rajukas* or *lajukas* of the Asokan Inscriptions were provincial heads, their main functions being, presumably, survey, land-settlement and irrigation. Though the term *mahamatta* occurs several times in the *Jatakas*,⁵ it is very difficult to say how far it corresponds with that occurring in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and the Asoka Inscriptions where, indeed, it has been taken to mean provincial official.⁶ Similarly is it doubtful whether the *Yuttas* and the *purisas* appearing so often in these stories,⁷ should have any affinity with the *Yuktas* and the *purusas* of the Mauryan administrative system.⁸ It is certainly difficult

to attach any technical significance to these general terms. Still we may be permitted to hold that, these were officials connected with the provinces or districts, but did not possess such wider and more distinct powers as their followers of the Mauryan days did. Lastly, we may note that, there is even a suggestion to the effect that some kings appointed their princes as governors or viceroys over the provinces (*janapadas*) in their kingdoms,⁹ as was really the case in the Mauryan days.¹⁰

The village, on the other hand, was clearly an administrative unit. After all what was a kingdom if not a definite collection of villages?¹¹ Then, as even now, the bulk of the people lived in villages. The greatness of a kingdom is represented by the large number of villages it included.¹²

A village (*gama*) consisted of closely situated habitations in the midst of cultivated fields and jungles. Beyond the fields lay the waste and the woodland where the village-cattle were grazed,¹³ and the villagers went to gather firewood and leaves of trees.¹⁴ Most of the villages were protected with simple bamboo-palisades with gates.¹⁵

The population of a village extended from thirty to a thousand families,¹⁶ or, approxi-

9. J., IV, p. 131—*Raja tesani janapadani datva uyoyesi*; also VI, p. 294-G. 1284.

10. Prince Bindusara was the Viceroy of the Southern Provinces: Asoka is also said to have been the Viceroy at Takasila: and under Asoka himself, no doubt, the princes (*Kumalas*) were appointed as Viceroys at Taxila, Ujjein, Tosali and Suvannagiri: See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 ff.

11. Cf. Rhys Davids: "But the peoples of India, then much more even than now, were, first and foremost, village-folk"—*Buddhist India*, p. 50.

12. J., III, pp. 365-7—G. 76—*gamasahassani paripunnani Solasa*; V, p. 258—G. 41—*Satthi gamasahassani paripunnani Sabbasa*. The figures 16,000 and 60,000 may seem to be exaggerated, but they are not altogether improbable. Cf. Fran Nath; 'Videha may certainly have contained 16,000 villages, provided village be taken in the sense of survey village or estate—*Economic Condition*, p. 51.

13. J., I, pp. 193-4.

14. J., V, p. 103.

15. J., I, p. 239; II, p. 76—*nalaparikkhitto*; 135; III, p. 9; IV, p. 370.

16. J., I, p. 199—*Tasmin ca game tims'eva kulani honti*; V, p. 71—*ekasmin panca panca kulasatani vasanti*; III, p. 281—*tesani gamato avidure anno Sahas-*

1. This point is discussed in detail in my forthcoming book *Ancient India in the Jatakas*.

2. *Jataka*, II, pp. 367-8.

3. *Rock-Edict III*; *Pillar Edict IV*.

4. Dikshitar. *The Mauryan Policy*, pp. 208, 216-19.

5. J., II, pp. 367, 378; IV, pp. 134—*Gatha* 101, where *mahamattas* are distinct from *mantins*; 202—*"ramma va rajamahamattena."*

6. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-10. Of the third group of provincial officers, namely, the *pradesikas* or the *pradestaras*, we have no mention in the stories.

7. J., IV, p. 492; V, pp. 14, 117—G. 20, where *yuttas* are clearly associated with the *janapada* or district affairs: I, p. 200, 263, 384; II, p. 122; III, p. 326; VI, p. 135.

8. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 222-27.

mately, 150 to 5000 souls. It is not necessary here to go into economic details. But it is quite essential to state some of those facts in order to get an idea of this administrative unit—the village.

There were different orders of villages, *viz.*, *nigamagama*, *janapadagama*, *dvaragama* and *paccantagama* and villages occupied with different guilds varying in importance and population. People could live in these villages a simple and inornate life 'pursuing their trade and commerce, agriculture and various other avocations in peace and security.'

Though so far as the internal administration of a village was concerned, it enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy, the central government did not follow a strictly non-interfering policy, as we shall see.

Every village was under the control of its headman called the *gamabhojaka*,¹⁷ or the *gamani*.¹⁸ The literal meaning of the title *gamabhojaka* would be, one who enjoys a village, *i.e.*, a village given in reward by the king. Now, there seem to have been two types of villages, *viz.*, (a) those, the revenues yielded by which were enjoyed by an individual and (b) others, the revenues of which were enjoyed by the State. In either case there must be a headman. Whether this headman was the rewarded person himself or not is not at all clear. It may be easily supposed, however, that, the higher officers like the *puruhita* who were the usual recipients of such grants could not possibly act as the headmen of the villages. In that case, they only had concern with the annual income to fetch which they would proceed to their respective villages and leave every other item of administration in the hands of a person who was really the headman. In some other cases where the recipients were just ordinary persons like a merchant or a Brahmana, the headman may have been the same as the recipient. Anyhow, since the distinction cannot be more comprehensive, we may proceed with our task of observing the actual administration of a village, taking the *gamabhojaka* of the stories as the headman proper.

The functions and powers of the *Gama-bhojaka* were wide and important. He

exercised judicial powers and also executive authority so far as his civil and, to a certain extent, criminal jurisdiction extended. Thus one *gamabhojaka* issued prohibitions against the slaughter of animals within his jurisdiction;¹⁹ and another stopped the sale of wine.²⁰ Elsewhere,²¹ a *gamabhojaka* fined a fisherman's wife for stirring up a quarrel and she was tied up and beaten to make her pay the fine. Once when crops failed in a village due to famine, the headman distributed food to the famine-stricken villagers on promise of receiving a share of their next crops.²² These instances sufficiently indicate that the headman had substantial powers at his command. But his powers were not unlimited, nor completely transferred. He could not become a tyrant in his own village.

Firstly, he was not without any control from above, *i.e.*, the king. Once a *gamabhojaka* spoke ill of the villagers to the king, but on their innocence being proved, the slanderer's (*pesunnakarakassa*) possessions were given away to them and he was made their slave and finally turned out of the village.²³ Another headman was properly punished by the king, as he, with his own people, went away to the forest, deliberately leaving the villagers at the mercy of robbers.²⁴ That his judicial powers also were restricted in character is seen from the fact that he could not deal with complicated law-suits arising in his village,²⁵ nor could he inflict graver punishments. We see from the *Gamanicanda Jataka*²⁶ that, in judicial matters the final authority largely rested with the king, or his Court. It also proves that the administration of justice was one of the essential links²⁷ that bound the village to the Central Government. If one of the litigant parties in a village wanted redress at the hands of the king or his Court, in spite of suitable arrangements in the village itself, he could do so and the case had to be decided accordingly. If the other party refused to agree to such a course, he was liable to punishment.

19. J., IV, p. 115—*gamabhojako maghatam karapesi*.

20. *Ibid.*, *gamabhojako majjavikkayam vareva*.

21. J., I, p. 483.

22. J., II, p. 135.

23. J., I, pp. 199-200.

24. J., I, p. 355—*ayam dutthabhojako corehi ekato hutwa gamam vilumpapetva coresu palayitva tam kammam pakatam jatam. Athassa raja dosanurupam nigghahin akasi*.

25. J., III, p. 204.

26. J., II, p. 301.

27. Another essential link was the revenue-collection

sakutiko gamo; also III, p. 8—*tattha timsa jana raja-sevaka vasanti*, where thirty men must of course mean thirty men with their families.

17. J., I, pp. 199, 354, 483; II, p. p. 136, 300—G. ?; IV, pp. 115, 326.

18. J., IV, p. 310—G. 84; *gramani* is a Vedic title for the village-headman; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 247.

So we are told,

"Now these people have a custom that they pick up a bit of stone or a potsherd, and say : 'here's the king's officer : come along.' If any man refused to go, he is punished."²⁸

Secondly, the villagers themselves, perhaps through their committee, exercised not a little amount of influence on the activities of the headman. In both the instances cited above, viz., of prohibitions against animal-slaughter and sale of intoxicating liquors, the villagers make a representation in a body to their headmen to suspend or annul the prohibitions, for those were their time-honoured practices. The headmen had to yield and say : 'Do as you have always done aforetime.'²⁹ The village committee must have been a potent force in the carrying out of the affairs affecting the common interests of the villagers in general. Although it is not possible to say anything definitely regarding the constitution of such committees, indications are not wanting to point out the fact that, the heads of the houses in a village carried on their common affairs in remarkable harmony and co-operation. It is necessary to point out in this connection that, though the majority of villages very likely contained a heterogeneous population, there were others inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single class or followers of a single occupation thus making a homogeneous whole.³⁰ In this latter case, the guild or corporation (*seni*) which was already a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people, shared with the headman the responsibility of carrying on the management of rural affairs. And if the village consisted of men following more than one profession, the village committee might have comprised a representative of each family in the village. Thus we see, in the hamlet of Macala in the kingdom of Magadha, heads of thirty families of which its population was composed, assembling together in the middle of the village, and carrying on its business.³¹

28. J., II, p. 301—"Tesu pi janesu yam kinci sakkharam va kapalakhandam ayam ukkhipitva ayam te rajaduto ehihi vutto yo na gacchati. tassa rajanam karonti."

29. J., IV, p. 115—"... mahajano sannipativā aha: 'santi, ayam migasukaradayo maretvā yakkhanam balikkammam karissama ... pubbe imasmin ka'e Surachana nama hoti' ... tumhakam pubbekarananiyamena eva karotha."

30. For instance, J., II, pp. 18, 368, 405; III, pp. 281, 293, 342, 376; IV, pp. 276, 344, 376, 390; V, p. 337; VI, pp. 71, 156.

31. J., I, p. 199—"Tasmin ca game tim'seva kulani honti, te ca timsa kulamanussa ekadivasam gamamajjhe thatva gamakammam karonti"

Similarly, in another place,³² we find the same number of men transacting the village affairs. This is significant enough. And as has been well observed :

'It may not also be improbable that, irrespective of the total population of a village, the committee usually consisted of thirty members or thereabouts.'³³

The meetings of the village committee must have been held in a hall (*salā*) in the midst of the village, provided with boards, seats and a jar of water.³⁴ As to the nature of work generally performed at these meetings (*gamakammam* or *gamakiccā*) the same Macala hamlet provides us with an interesting example. The members of this corporate body are found to be in complete agreement with their leader who is credited with much initiative.³⁵ Here the leader is said to have established the members of his committee in the Five Commandments and, thenceforth, to have gone about with them doing good works. Then the people, too,

"doing good works always in the Bodhisatta's Company, used to get up early and rally forth with razors and axes and clubs in their hands. With their clubs they used to roll out in the way all stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village, the trees that would strike against the axles of chariots they cut down; rough places they made smooth; causeways they built, dug water-tanks and built a hall".³⁶

A remarkable picture, this, revealing before us the healthy spirit of communal work, the sense of dignity of labour and the genuine public spirit. Observes Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji :

"We have here in this short paragraph a most graphic and complete account of the evolution through all its stages of a village built up by the communal labour of its inhabitants. We may notice how the assembly hall of the village figures prominently in its public works as being the indispensable material requisite for the growth and sustenance of that larger public spirit or civic consciousness, which builds up the village itself."³⁷

32. J., III, p. 8—"Tattha timsa jana rajasevaka vasanti, te pato va gamamajjhe sannipativā gamakiccā karonti."

33. B. C. Sen, *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, 1930, *Studies in Jatakas*, p. 108.

34. J., I, p. 199—"... Gamamajjhe ... salam karesi, tattha phalakananāni santharivā paṇi-yacim thapesi. The Santhagara, or the motechall, was a similar feature of the town: J., IV, p. 74; *gamassa kammantatthanam* at J., IV, p. 306.

35. J., I, p. 199—"te timsa jana Bodhisattena samanacchanda ahesum."

36. J., I, p. 199—"Te pi ten'eva saddhim punnami karonti kalassa'eva buthaya vasipharamusalahattha catumahapathadisū musalena pasame ubbattetva pavattenti, yananam akkhatatighatarukkhe haranti, visamaṃ samaṃ karonti, setum attharanti, pokkharaniyo kharanti, salam karonti."

37. *Local Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 146.

Indeed, the villagers of Macala provide us with a refreshing example through the gloom of the intermediate period of our history, specially when we are bent upon planning a country-wide rural reconstruction scheme. There is nothing to show that the workers of the Macala village had to depend upon State funds or grants for their public works.

Influential as the village committee was, it often went against the interest of the *gamabhojaka*. For instance, in the same Macala village, the members of the committee having by common consent given up the habit of drinking wine, incurred the displeasure, of the headman who practically traded upon the immorality of his own people.

"When these men used to get drunk and commit murders and so forth, I used to make a lot of money out of them, not only on the price of their drinks, but also from fines and dues they paid. But now here's this young Brahmin Maga bent on making them keep the commandments; he is putting a stop to murders and other crimes."³⁸

38. J., I, p. 199—"Catikahapanadivasena c'eva danda-balivasena dhanam labhami." "Amongst these *cata* deserves our special notice. It most probably comes from the word *cata* or *cara*, a well-known word in epigraphic records, but its meaning is differently given. However, a *cata* meant a policeman and his unjust extortion from the people is quite evident in the epigraphic records: See, for instance, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 283, 298; XI, pp. 179, 221; for a fuller description of this official see Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff. Our

From all this, it seems that the village government was largely carried on by the committee with the help of, or rather in co-operation with, the headman, and excepting judicial matters of graver character and the revenue collection, the Central Government did not interfere much with the rural affairs. Village life was thus peaceful in general, but sometimes disturbed by the autocratic action of the headman or the harassment by the tax-collectors who were anything but kindly. Even so, the villagers would sometimes not suffer a despotic *gamabhojaka*. They would take the law in their hands. For instance, when once a headman intrigued with a villager's wife, he was seized by the lock of hair on the top of his head, dragged into the countryyard and thrown down as he cried: 'I am the headman'. He was thrashed till he fainted and made to remember the lesson.³⁹ If he was congenial, he could be left free, surrounded by his comrades enjoying in dance and music and favoured by the king.⁴⁰ On the whole it would seem that, the village was a self-governing unit, in those ancient days.

gamabhojaka, then, had also police duties to perform. It is clear that he is represented by the *paet* of our times; contrast, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *J. R. A. S.* (1901), p. 887.

39. J., II, p. 136.

40. J., IV, p. 310—G. 84—*So gamani hotu sahaya-majjhe, naccehigitehi pamodamano.*

CANNING OF FRUITS AND ITS SCOPE IN INDIA

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INDIA is a fruit-growing country where almost all the tropical and sub-tropical fruits are grown under the different climatic conditions. In some parts of the country, some of the fruits are grown so abundantly that during the fruiting season it is a very common sight for a pedestrian to witness the stray cattle butting each other for the rotten fruits near the streets in the city. In India under the present circumstances it is not possible to get the different varieties of fruits all round the year, except fruits like papaya and banana. Because of the scarcity of the fruits in and out of season and of the special liking for dried, salted, canned and bottled fruits and vegetables, Bombay Presidency alone excluding Sindh imports foreign dried, salted, canned and

bottled fruit and vegetables worth Rs. 91,77,516 annually (average of 1928-29 to 1932-33, Dr. Cheema). So from this data we can see the importance of fruit preservation as an industry in a vast country like India.

It is due to the fact that the fruits are spoiled by organisms like moulds, yeasts and bacteria when kept for a long time that the idea of preserving fruits and vegetables by drying, harmless preservatives, by means of heat and in cold storage, came into the minds of the scientists. For several years in almost all the civilized countries experiments on the preservation of fruits and vegetables economically are being conducted. Thus the importance of canning of fruits has been realised all over the world. As the industry

of canning does not require a large capital always, it can be started as cottage industry in some parts where fruits are available very cheap during the fruiting season.

"Canning may be defined as the preservation of foods in hermetically sealed containers by sterilization by heat. In its broader sense it includes preservation by sterilization in glass containers as well as in tin cans."

When the surplus fruits are not sold profitably in the market the growers can easily prepare jams, jellies, marmalade preserves, syrup etc., and can make a profit by selling these products to the customers who prefer canned fruits. At present however due to the following reasons it is very difficult to compete with the foreign canned fruits that are available in the market:

(1) People in general who purchase preserved fruits as jams, jellies etc., always prefer foreign products because of their established reputation.

(2) Due to the high price of glass containers as well as tin cans and other materials that are necessary for canning, the cost of production in India is more than the other industrialised countries.

(3) During these days of hard competition the capitalists are not ready to take the risk by investing large sums in the canning industry which is still in an infant stage in India.

In spite of these difficulties let us see the scope in canning industry in some parts of India where fruits are grown abundantly and how much capital a man needs if he wants to sell the products profitably in the market.

Almost in all the Indian houses whether rich or poor the housewives prepare some kinds of chutney, jellies, jams, etc., for home consumption. But as these products are not prepared on a scientific basis and on commercial scale they are not so delicious and attractive-looking and cannot be preserved for a long time like the foreign canned and bottled products. Now in India if these housewives who are already interested in canning are trained under proper guidance, they themselves can manage the industry without much difficulty.

In Western countries like America and England it is found that most of the workers in canning factories are women because they have found that women workers are better than male workers, as the fair sex is naturally skilled in the art of cooking and other household affairs. So in India where the

women are always taking an active part in household affairs they can easily start canning of fruits if they are scientifically trained. But before starting the industry as a business they will have to solve the following problems:

- (1) To create a market for the products.
- (2) The establishment of a good reputation for the manufactured products.
- (3) It must be done very systematically and hygienically.
- (4) The cost of production should be as low as possible.

In one word he or she will have to convince the customers that the products are by no means inferior to the foreign products.

The following are the points to be considered very closely before selecting the site for the industry of canning:

- (1) Marketing facilities.
- (2) Amount of fruits available.
- (3) Water supply.
- (4) Capital available.
- (5) Transportation facilities.
- (6) Labour available.

In India among the three factors of production *viz.*, land, labour and capital, the last factor is the most important one. When the capital is available the person should consider how much he can put in the reserve fund and how much he can invest on a house, small machinery, utensils etc. After getting the capital in hand he should adjust the amount in such a way that he can manufacture at least 100 bottles or cans as the minimum number daily if he wants to compete with the foreign products in the market.

The following are the rough estimated assets required to manufacture 100 bottles or cans of fruit products daily:

| | | |
|--|------|---------|
| Seaming machine one, costs | .. | Rs. 250 |
| Capping machine one, costs | .. | " 25 |
| Lever press (local made) one, costs | .. | " 20 |
| Open bath sterilizer with false bottom, two, costs | .. | " 40 |
| Mincing machine two, costs | .. | " 6 |
| Marmalade fringing machine one, costs | .. | " 15 |
| Balance one, costs | .. | " 20 |
| Engine stoves three, cost (Rs. 15 each) | .. | " 45 |
| Thermometer one, costs | .. | " 5 |
| Sacharometer one, costs | .. | " 6 |
| Class jars six, cost | .. | " 12 |
| Two syphons with rubber tubings | cost | " 2 |
| Aluminium vessels six, cost | .. | " 12 |
| Tin plates six, cost | .. | " 3 |
| Spoons both small and big twelve | cost | " 5 |
| Almirah three, costs | .. | " 60 |
| Felt hat for filtering three, costs | .. | " 3 |
| Furniture table etc. | .. | " 50 |

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Bottle-cans, etc., | 100 |
| Other materials | 100 |
| Total | Rs. 779 |

The following are the average costs calculated in canning laboratory, College of Agriculture, Poona, for Jelly, Jams, Marmalade, Juice, Syrups, Preserves, etc., by the writer while he himself was preparing the products.

| | Cost of Market | | Profit. | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Production. Price | | | |
| | As. P. | As. P. | As. P. | As. P. |
| 1. Guava jelly for each bottle | 7 6 | 9 0 | 1 6 | |
| 2. Papaya " " " | 8 0 | 9 0 | 1 0 | |
| 3. Wood apple " " " | 5 0 | 9 0 | 4 0 | |
| 4. Goose berry jam " " | 5 3 | 9 0 | 3 9 | |
| 5. Papaya jam " " | 3 6 | 9 0 | 5 6 | |
| 6. Pomelo marmalade " " | 6 0 | 9 0 | 3 0 | |
| 7. Sarvati lime marmalade " " | 5 0 | 9 0 | 4 0 | |
| 8. Lime juice " " | 5 0 | 12 0 | 7 0 | |
| 9. Lime juice syrup " " | 4 0 | 12 0 | 8 0 | |
| 10. Pomegranate juice " " | 5 3 | 12 0 | 6 9 | |
| 11. Pomegranate syrup " " | 6 3 | 12 0 | 5 9 | |
| 12. Chiku preserve " " | 5 6 | 7 0 | 1 6 | |

It is no doubt a fact that the cost of production will vary from place to place and

it may not be a profitable concern in those places where the fruits are very costly. But still in some parts of India during the fruiting season the growers find it so difficult in disposing of the fruits that either they have to auction them or throw them as waste products. In such places at least, fruit canning can be started as a profitable business.

Today due to the world-wide trade depression many men and women are thrown out of employment. Those who are thrown out of employment are without any capital to start an industry like canning. As there is competition in the market as regards this industry the work must be started very efficiently. To start the industry efficiently capital is required. In order that the unemployed men get some benefits, it is our earnest desire that those who could afford would give the start by establishing canning factories in at least some of the most important cities of India. If the start is given we have no doubt that before long, this industry would spread into the villages where poor men and women could start it as cottage industry.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND FORECAST OF POPULATION INCREASE

By PROFESSOR RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

FEW LAYMEN realise that over-population holds good only of the human community. There are several kinds of automatic checks which keep down animal populations at an equilibrium density at which the animals are in proper vigour and fitness.

Animals usually avoid an over-abundance through a change in habits and relations in food chains, through a decrease of the life-span and of the rate of reproduction. In the human level the institutional structure helps the population towards maintaining an average abundance and longevity and avoiding natural selection by actual starvation, famine and disease. Among animal populations, there are hardly any mal-adaptations in reproductive habits and ways of living in relation to limited resources. In the human community we often meet with institutional misfits as a result of which man in all ages

foregoes or delays his adaptations vital to his survival. In India polygamy, ancestor-worship and the religious obligation to bear male issue are now in discord with the enormous populations, which have over-reached the means of subsistence.

The adjustment of human numbers to food supply has reached such close approximation in most parts of India that slight variations in the cropped area are accompanied by marked disturbances in the trend of reproductivity and mortality. The standard of living is the lowest consistent with the bare maintenance of life as would appear from the fact that there is no margin of reserve to permit of birth and death rates being maintained anywhere near the normal, when there is a slight variation of food supply as measured by the cropped area. On account of the great instability of agriculture

in the crowded river plains of India and the population not exercising its normal psychological checks over long periods, food supply and economic toil have direct relations with natality and mortality and through these restore the equilibrium between density and the region. Birth and death rates are thus matters of ecological adjustment, and starvation hardly operates directly, as a check on numbers. Men thus have lost or broken out of control of the various checks which among animals keep down numbers to reasonable portions so that the gregarious communities may have some margin left for times of food-scarcity which are normal. Meanwhile migration, intensive farming and industrial employment also serve in some measure to counteract the lack of balance between human numbers and the resources of the region.

Crime against property increases in years of bad harvests and diminishes in years of good ones. Population maladjustment not only leads to crime and vice directly by snapping domestic and social ties, but also indirectly by leading to unemployment and wholesale emigration to distant places where the usual community means of social control do not operate.

The social process as a result of which the natural checks of numbers have ceased to operate is complex, and connected with the whole texture of social life but the factors may be analysed somewhat as follows:¹

(a) In India climate has contributed to earlier maturity, the majority of females being capable of matrimonial life by the age of 15, however unfit for it they may be physically. Thus the reproductive period is longer

(b) In Northern India the race is more mixed in the eastern than in the western portions. Where the lower castes and lower branches of widespread castes dominate, the rule of child marriage is adopted more strictly. Thus the age of puberty is somewhat earlier and infant marriage more common in the eastern than in the western districts of the Ganges Valley.

(c) Generally speaking, the sex ratio is greater in the lower than in the higher Hindu castes in Northern India, and higher in the same caste as we advance eastward in the Ganges Valley. The lower caste Hindus show a greater natural increase than the high caste Hindus. In some areas these threaten to swamp the upper caste Hindus which show a striking paucity of females, adopt rigid exogamous and hypergamous restriction and strictly prohibit widow re-marriage—

social customs which the lower Hindu castes do not favour.

(d) The custom of universal marriage irrespective of economic considerations has received the sanction of religion while the desire to bear and beget children has been transmuted into a religious sentiment both in China and India.

(e) A high development of parental impulses has also contributed to encourage multiplication. This has been institutionalised in the authority of the joint family, and rigid control of marriage by the parents which is one of the factors responsible for child marriages.

(f) The low social position of the woman, who is also protected in some degree against hard work in the fields by taboos, also encourages frequent child-bearing irrespective of her physical suffering or economic incapacity.

(g) The Muhammadans not only have discarded the prohibition of widow-re-marriage but have adopted polygamy throughout Northern India. The Muhammadan custom of adopting more than one and as many as four wives, who serve as field labourers in new reclamations, contributes towards the success of agricultural colonisation in virgin wildernesses, islands and swamps, where the delta-building rivers meet the sea in Bengal. Among the Muhammadan males, not merely is the proportion married much higher than among the Hindus, but also the proportion of widows amongst females is much smaller; contributing to a much larger natural increase. In the recently reclaimed and prosperous districts of Eastern Bengal, the Muhammadan increased from 645 to 710 per mille of the total population during only fifty years.

(h) The average number of persons per farm family is as high as 5.78 persons in North China and 5.5 persons in Eastern Bengal. These figures may be compared with 4.4 persons per farm household in the United States. Farming in Southeast Asia is largely or entirely dependent upon family collaboration, which, however, extends to social objectives. Large families are an economic advantage in intensive farming while the conventions and taboos relating to sex in India permit a large commensal group to live together in the same homestead without marital encroachments and discords.

(i) Precariousness of agriculture due to the irregular distribution of rainfall has in some measure diminished thrift and prudence.

(j) A faulty land distribution has discouraged the accumulation and investment of capital by the small holder. The change from

1. See my *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*.

cultivating proprietorship to tenantry and from tenantry to the proletariat characteristic of the agrarian history in China and India in the recent decades tends to sap all initiative and desire for a high standard of living.

Among the social and institutional factors which encourage large families in India it is doubtful whether universal marriage among the Hindus and polygamy among the Muhammadans will soon be given up. Though polygamy may have declined, India even now shows after 20 practically all her girls married. Drought years in India lead only to postponement of marriage which being a sacrament is performed as soon as favourable agricultural conditions are restored.

With the improvement of the land system and stabilisation of peasant proprietorship, prudence and desire for a higher standard of living will be engendered. Many social and ameliorative measures especially the improvement of sanitation and public hygiene, the opening of schools and Co-operative Credit Societies may develop prudential restraints. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the sheer increase of numbers frustrates in large measure the effects of land legislation and adjustment and delays or renders to some extent nugatory schemes of education, sanitation and rural reconstruction. Millions of more mouths to feed than the land can support also imply millions of children whom the primary schools cannot accommodate and millions of adult men and women whom medicine cannot reach in sickness or death. Even with compulsory education and vast schemes of rural uplift, over-population implies such fractionalisation of holdings as makes subsistence farming more wide-spread, ruling out the introduction of improved seeds, fertilisers and implements and improvement in marketing methods. Over-population means also such multiplication of agricultural labourers in the country-side as would lower both agricultural wages and efficiency and exclude every kind of labour-saving device. In the face of an over-plus of landless labourers no law preventing the tillers of the soil from transforming themselves into a class of rent-receivers and intermediaries can succeed. No doubt with a large increase which has taken place in the agricultural population in India there has not been a corresponding increase in actual holders of land, whether peasant proprietors or tenants, and it is probable that in many parts of India a concentration of land in the hands of non-cultivating owners is also taking place. Some economists have recently stressed that the Indian population problem is mainly one of distribution

of wealth. This is an entirely wrong perspective, since the multiplication of agricultural population and insecurity of tenure and uneconomic rents are found to co-exist in every agricultural country. To depend upon a better distribution of wealth for an uplift of the standard of living of the masses in India or for population restriction is putting the cart before the horse.

Modern demographers indicate the probable trend of population from the age composition of the population, the proportion of married women at different age periods and the gross and net reproductional rates. In India Raja has recently considered the growth of population from this point of view. In a forthcoming publication *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* I have also analysed the above determining factors in regard to future population increase in India. We shall here confine ourselves to an examination as to which factors would accelerate immediate population increase and those which would check it.

Table I gives the variation on population at certain age periods in India and in her major provinces. It will be seen that in the previous census periods drought and famine were responsible for a thinning out of both old and adolescent groups.

TABLE I

Variation in population at certain age-periods for successive censuses.

| Period | Variation per cent in population | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| | All ages | 0-10 | 10-15 | 15-40 | 40-60 | 60 and over |
| INDIA | | | | | | |
| 1881-1891 | +11.2 | +16.1 | +4.3 | +10.8 | +9.7 | +8.0 |
| 1891-1901 | +1.8 | -5.1 | +14.5 | +2.3 | +5.2 | +0.3 |
| 1901-1911 | +6.6 | +9.7 | -1.7 | +7.3 | +5.1 | +8.6 |
| 1911-1921 | +0.9 | +0.1 | +8.5 | -1.0 | +1.1 | +3.1 |
| 1921-1931 | +10.9 | +14.5 | +10.6 | +15.1 | +3.1 | -14.9 |

Except in the last decade due to absence of economic catastrophes and severe epidemics of diseases, there is a tendency of decrease of proportion of the very young, while the proportion of the very old shows census by census a more marked diminution, due to the selective incidence of agricultural scarcity and epidemics. The influence of droughts and famine in the earlier decades left its mark on the adolescent groups as well until 1921, particularly in the United Provinces. Such factors as migration, inaccuracy in returns and alteration in the method of grouping are responsible for anomalies, but the dominant tendency as regards the thinning out of the young and the old is clearly discernible. Economic privations affect persons at the extremes of life more than persons in

middle age, men more than women, while in drought years the number of births diminishes, the proportion of children to the total population being reduced. For both Bombay and the United Provinces the legacy of past famines was the dominant factor in the age constitution in the last decade, even over-shadowing the selective mortality of the influenza epidemic.² The heavy piling up of both the young and adolescent groups has been unparalleled in the 1931 census and thus will tend to a heavy and interrupted increase of population between 1931-41.

The phenomenal increase (14.5 per cent) in the 1931 census of the proportion of the smallest age group (0-10), which has been unparalleled during the last 50 years, is also responsible for ushering into social importance the problems of education and welfare of the minors on an unprecedented scale in recent years. The changing age composition in favour of the middle-aged groups as compared with the older one which has lost by 14.9 per cent. has also forced into prominence the question of industrial and professional unemployment.

The economic significance of the changing age distribution in favour of both minors and middle-aged persons is obvious. The pressure on the soil and unemployment of all classes have increased, and in the coming decade the present piling up of the minor and adolescent groups will add many more million mouths to feed and employ, enormously aggravating economic pressure and rudely disestablishing the land-man ratio. In the oldest group, those aged 70 and over have decreased by a million in the last decade. On the other hand, in age-groups 10-30 the increase in females has been particularly remarkable, which will lead to a spurt of population growth in the present decade. This will be very clearly traced in the following tables:

Tables II and III give the proportion of women and married females at certain age periods for successive censuses in India.

TABLE II

Variations of Proportion of Women at Certain Age-periods per 10,000 Females for Successive Censuses.

| | Ages. | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 15-20 | 20-25 | 25-30 | 30-35 | 35-40 | 40-45 | 45-50 |
| 1891-1901 | 835 | 892 | 895 | 851 | 557 | 652 | 339 |
| 1901-1911 | 826 | 930 | 909 | 835 | 556 | 631 | 338 |
| 1911-1921 | 815 | 881 | 886 | 833 | 565 | 621 | 348 |
| 1921-1931 | 938 | 985 | 868 | 756 | 595 | 505 | 389 |

TABLE III

Variations of Proportion of Married Women at Certain Age-periods per thousand Women at the Same Ages.

| | Ages | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 15-20 | 20-25 | 25-30 | 30-35 | 35-40 | 40-45 | 45-50 |
| 1891-1901 | 777 | 876 | 859 | 793 | 722 | 584 | |
| 1901-1911 | Age 15-40 | | 833 | Age 40 & over | | 833 | |
| 1911-1921 | 771 | 877 | 863 | 797 | 727 | 599 | 527 |
| 1921-1931 | 818 | 886 | 869 | 824 | 703 | 627 | 473 |
| | 15-20 | 20-25 | 25-35 | 35-45 | 45-55 | | |
| England and Wales (1921) | 18 | 270 | 631 | 946 | 721 | | |
| | 15-20 | 20-25 | 25-30 | 30-35 | 35-40 | 40-45 | 45-50 |
| Japan (1925) | 132 | 670 | 876 | 903 | 889 | 849 | 789 |

Upto the age of 30 the age distribution of married women in India is distinctly more favourable for population growth than in both England and Wales and Japan. The period of the most effective fertility lies between 15 to 20 both in Japan and India.

For arriving at Kuczynski's fertility rates the proportion of married women, as given in Table III, is significant, and it is much more favourable for reproduction in India than in Japan.

It will be seen from the above two tables that in 1931 the proportion of women for the age-periods 15-20 and 20-25 has greatly increased and this increase is even greater when we consider the proportion of married women at the successive age-periods 15-20, 20-25, 25-30 and 30-35. Even if it be assumed that Indian women are less reproductive than those in other countries after 35, the piling up of the proportion of the married women during most part of their reproductive life in the 1931 census is most favourable for enhanced growth of population.

The earlier age-periods show in all probability greater fertility rates in India than the later age-periods and since the proportion of women in the earlier age-groups is larger, this is a factor definitely more favourable to population increase than in the previous census periods.

The age of marriage is a matter of great demological significance. Table IV gives the main statistics regarding the distribution and progress of early marriage in India.

TABLE IV

| Number | Unmarried | per Thousand | Females Aged |
|--------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| | | | |
| | | 5-10 | 10-15 |
| 1881 | .. | .. | 481 |
| 1891 | .. | .. | 491 |
| 1901 | .. | .. | 559 |
| 1911 | .. | .. | 555 |
| 1921 | .. | .. | 601 |
| 1931 | .. | .. | 619 |

The figures show some decrease in the numbers of those in the earlier age category

2. For Bombay, see Sedgwickff Census Report of the Bombay Presidency, 1921, and Marten : Census Report of India, 1921, p. 130.

who are still unmarried but an increase of the number of unmarried girls belonging to the second age category. The improvement of the age of marriage in 1931 would have been much greater had it not been for the fact a large number of child marriages preceded the Sarda Act. On the whole, we would expect in the future even better improvement in the age of marriage. This will lead to an increase of both nuptial as well as effective fertility. As the age of marriage in India will change from, say, 10 to 13 to 15 to 20, both the rate of fertility and the rate of survival will be substantially raised. In Germany where the age of marriage of women is seldom below 20, marriages at 20 are much more fertile than late marriages.

TABLE V

| Age of Wife at Marriage | Average Number of Children |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 20 | .. 2.25 |
| 25 | .. 1.69 |
| 30 | .. 1.33 |
| 35 | .. 0.78 |

It is unreasonable to hope that the age of marriage in the near future will reach 20 years, but that improvement of the age within the lower limits will raise fertility is shown by the experience of Baroda, where Child Marriage Restraint Laws had been in operation for some time and where the change of the age of the girl at marriage from 13 or 14 upto 20 has led to an increase of both fertility and survival. In Travancore, where about 49 per cent of the women are married between 15 and 20 as compared with Baroda's 13 per cent, both the number of children and the proportion of those who survive diminish as the age of marriage of girls advances. This is, however, contrary to general experience. In India on the whole the improvement of the age of marriage of wife upto, say, 20 years will, it is expected, increase the effective fertility. Baroda, Travancore and Scotland are compared in the table below:

TABLE VI

| Age of Marriage of Wife | Average number of children born per family | | Average number of children surviving | |
|-------------------------|--|---------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Travancore. | Baroda. | Scotland. | Travancore. Baroda. |
| 13-15 | 7.0 | 5.24 | .. | 5.4 3.08 |
| 15-20 | 6.5 | 5.54 | 9.02 | 4.9 3.30 |
| 20-25 | 5.9 | 5.40 | 7.86 | 4.4 3.29 |
| 25-30 | 5.0 | 4.97 | 5.66 | 3.7 3.11 |
| 30 & over | 3.6 | 3.72 | 3.89 | 2.9 2.23 |

Widowhood withdraws a large section of the Indian women from child-bearing. 16 per cent of the women of the reproductive age in India

are widows and do not bear children. In England and Wales only 8 per cent of the females are widows, and some of these do remarry. But the general ratio of widowed females is decreasing. In 1921 there was 175 widows in every 1,000 women, a figure which had fallen in 1931 to 155.

Female mortality experience during the last two decade also indicates that the specific female death-rate which is generally higher than amongst males in the 5-10 age-group, and again between 15-40 in some provinces is steadily diminishing showing less neglect of female children and also improved midwifery so far as the whole of India is concerned.

General mortality experience (of both males and females) has shown that there is a distinct tendency for a fall, suggesting also the probability of some further diminution of the death-rate in the future.

TABLE VII

| INDIA | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Period. | Birth-rate per thousand | Death-rate per thousand. | |
| 1901-1910 .. | .. 38 | 34 | |
| 1911-1920 .. | .. 37 | 34 | |
| 1921-1930 .. | .. 35 | 26 | |
| 1931-1935 .. | .. 34.7 | 23 | |

| JAPAN | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Period. | Birth-rate per thousand | Death-rate per thousand | |
| 1901-1910 .. | .. 32.25 | 20.0 | |
| 1911-1920 .. | .. 33.25 | 21.7 | |
| 1921-1930 .. | .. 34.1 | 20.6 | |
| 1931-1935 .. | .. 31.7 | 17.2 | |

The birth-rates in India and Japan are almost on a par though in the former country its diminution has been larger. In 1925 when Japan showed a gross reproduction rate of 2.39, her birth-rate was 34.9, which exactly corresponds to India's birth-rate in 1931 (35 per thousand population). The expectancy of female lives in India and Japan may be thus compared:

TABLE VIII

| | At Birth | At 20 | At 40 | At 60 |
|--------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| INDIA | | | | |
| (1931) | 26.56 | 27.08 | 18.23 | 10.81 |
| JAPAN | | | | |
| (1925) | 43.20 | 40.38 | 28.09 | 14.12 |

With the birth-rate almost the same and female expectancy about two-thirds of Japan the specific fertility in India must be much larger than in the case of the latter country. The age distribution of Indian women shows much larger proportions between 15 and 25 (Table III) and this is also favourable for a higher specific fertility.

Kuczynski calculates "the gross reproduction rate" by the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Total fertility rate} \times \text{Female Births}}{\text{Total Number of Births}}$$

and by adjusting the latter to the mortality figures reaches "the net reproduction rate." His method has been followed in constructing the fertility table for India, the specific fertility of women in Japan being adopted for our country due to the present incomplete state of fertility data here.

The gross reproduction rate of Indian mothers amounts to 4.5, which may be compared with Ukraine rate of 3.65 of all females in 1896-97. But the latter dropped to 2.49 in 1926-27. The total number of girls born to 1,000 women in India passing through child-bearing age would be 4,542, but since according to the life-table out of 1,000 life-born females only 524 females (and hence 524—18.2 per cent. or 429 married women) are found to be living at the age of, say, 20 and so on, total fertility (measured by female births) is reduced by mortality from 4,542.8 to 1,762.18. A thousand mothers would be replaced by 1,762 new-born girls. Of these 308 would be widows and unmarried females (17.5 per cent.). Thus a thousand mothers would give birth to 1,454 future mothers and the net reproduction rate for India will be 1.762—308 or 1.454.

The net reproduction rates of several countries are given below:

TABLE IX

| Country. | Year. | Net Reproduction rate. |
|-----------------|---------|------------------------|
| Russia .. | 1928 | 1.70 |
| Japan .. | 1925 | 1.495 |
| India .. | 1931 | 1.454 |
| Ukraine | 1929 | 1.40 |
| Italy .. | 1921-22 | 1.40 |
| England & Wales | 1921 | 1.087 |
| France .. | 1933 | 0.82 |
| Germany | 1933 | 0.70 |

If we take a generation as a period of thirty years, population in India would be increasing in the proportion 0.454 every 30 years. Thus by 1961 the population of 353 millions would increase to 513 millions, if fertility and mortality remain constant.

Regarding the use of the net reproduction rate for forecasting the future population Dr. Enid Charles observes,

"The important point to note is that the net reproduction rate represents to a high degree of approximation a rate of growth to which the present population is tending. The length of time before a population begins to behave in the way indicated by the net reproduction

rate depends on the extent to which its age composition differs from that of a stable population compatible with the net reproduction rate."

With these limitations, however, the forecast of the future population based on analysis of the quantitative aspects of the population structure foreshadows a grave economic crisis, which is primarily and fundamentally the problem of food planning for the additional 160 millions or so, who, unless fertility changes or some famines or epidemics ravage the land, are sure to come.

The movement of population in India however is the result of factors which differ essentially from those in Western countries. But fertility and mortality in India respond to conditions of agriculture as well as public health in a manner unknown in the West. In the Western countries the age composition is relatively stable and is dominated by the net reproduction rate, mortality being a negligible factor. In India, on the other hand, reproduction is to all intents and purposes unchecked by human volition and the condition of harvests leads accordingly to sharp variations of the proportion of the minor age-groups. On the other hand, drought or famine as well as epidemic diseases cause considerable fluctuations in both the minor and adult age categories. The much lower expectation of life in India also sharpens the fluctuation in the adult age-groups. This may be illustrated by comparison between a typical Indian province and other countries with reference to the age distribution.

TABLE X

Types of Population : Distribution of Population by 10-year age-groups.

| Age-Group. | Bihar & Orissa. | Japan. | Italy. | Germany. | England & Wales. | U.S.A. | France. |
|-------------|-----------------|--------|--------|----------|------------------|--------|---------|
| 0-10 | 286 | 254 | 110 | 158 | 181 | 217 | 139 |
| 10-20 | 200 | 212 | 209 | 205 | 190 | 190 | 177 |
| 20-30 | 176 | 158 | 161 | 184 | 161 | 174 | 150 |
| 30-40 | 144 | 120 | 129 | 142 | 146 | 150 | 143 |
| 40-50 | 97 | 105 | 106 | 124 | 132 | 115 | 138 |
| 50-60 | 57 | 74 | 87 | 96 | 96 | 79 | 114 |
| 60 and over | 46 | 77 | 109 | 92 | 94 | 76 | 140 |

The outstanding fact in the type of Indian population is that there is a heavier piling up of the base and violent fluctuations are relatively common. Like India, Japan has also a heavier foundation than all the Western countries. Both in India and Japan there is shrinkage in the middle and old age-group and the shrinkage is larger in India than in Japan. In the Western countries there is a gradual slope, England, Germany and United States showing the slope best. Mature adults

are proportionately very much less in India than in Japan and all Western countries. In Bengal the proportion in the old age-group is the least, considerably smaller than in Bihar and Orissa and other provinces. This is probably due to earlier maturity and senility and the endemic of malaria in Bengal. It is likely that in India the population reaches maturity earlier, especially in the hot and moist regions, and the prevalence of infant marriage also accounts for this peculiarity in age composition. The same differences in the types of population may be exemplified by applying Sundbarg's age-categories.

TABLE XI

Distribution of Three Functional Age Groups :

| INDIA | | | | | |
|------------------|----|----------|-------|--------------|--|
| | | Under 15 | 15-50 | 50 and over. | |
| 1911 | .. | .. 388 | 503 | 109 | |
| 1921 | .. | .. 392 | 495 | 113 | |
| 1931 | .. | .. 399 | 505 | 96 | |
| BIHAR AND ORISSA | | | | | |
| | | Under 15 | 15-50 | 50 and over. | |
| 1911 | .. | .. 402 | 488 | 110 | |
| 1921 | .. | .. 397 | 496 | 107 | |
| 1931 | .. | .. 402 | 502 | 96 | |
| JAPAN | | | | | |
| | | Under 15 | 15-50 | 50 and over. | |
| 1910 | .. | .. 349 | 486 | 165 | |
| 1920 | .. | .. 365 | 480 | 155 | |
| 1930 | .. | .. 366 | 482 | 153 | |

Table XII presents a fair view of the trend in the age distribution of the Indian population.

TABLE XII

Distribution of Population by 10-year Age Periods 1891-1931.

(Per 1000 population.)

| | | (I) | | | |
|------------|----|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | | 1891 | | 1901 | |
| Age Period | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 0-10 | .. | 283.7 | 292.3 | 264.8 | 272.1 |
| 10-20 | .. | 197.4 | 175.8 | 213.0 | 191.7 |
| 20-30 | .. | 167.8 | 180.1 | 166.6 | 178.7 |
| 30-40 | .. | 145.5 | 140.1 | 145.7 | 140.8 |
| 40-50 | .. | 100.4 | 94.9 | 101.9 | 99.1 |
| 50-60 | .. | 59.0 | 59.6 | 61.4 | 62.1 |
| 60-70 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 70 & over | .. | 46.2 | 57.3 | 46.6 | 55.5 |
| | | (II) | | | |
| | | 1911 | | 1921 | |
| Age Period | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 0-10 | .. | 271.0 | 281.6 | 267.3 | 281.0 |
| 10-20 | .. | 201.3 | 182.3 | 208.7 | 189.6 |
| 20-30 | .. | 171.8 | 189.9 | 164.0 | 176.6 |
| 30-40 | .. | 145.1 | 139.1 | 146.1 | 139.8 |
| 40-50 | .. | 101.4 | 96.9 | 101.3 | 96.7 |
| 50-60 | .. | 60.9 | 60.7 | 61.9 | 60.6 |
| 60-70 | .. | 34.0 | 38.0 | 34.7 | 37.7 |
| 70 & over | .. | 14.5 | 17.5 | 16.0 | 18.0 |

TABLE XIII

In Million.

| Age. | 1921 | 1931 |
|------|---------|------|
| 0-5 | .. 3.96 | 5.34 |
| 5-10 | .. 4.67 | 4.55 |

The reduction of the old age class in ratio from 105.2 to 94.5 between 1891-1931 is an index of the decrease of survival value of the population. Though population is on the whole progressive there is a gradual thinning out of the old. Even the upper middle-aged group (40-50) has declined in ratio from 100.4 in 1891 to 96.8 in 1931. This group everywhere shows the lowest mortality and the best leadership. The decline in proportion of this group which is already the lowest among all the countries tabulated above does not augur well for social progress in the immediate future.

A variety of factors operates to cause marked fluctuations in both age and sex composition of the population in India : (1) the variation of birth-rates which increases with good harvests and diminishes with bad harvests; (2) the variation of mortality which increases with bad harvests and diminishes with good harvests; (3) the selective incidence of certain diseases which have unfavourable effects on reproduction or which carry off a larger proportion of females or the very young or the very old. In Bengal the conception rate shows heavy increases in March and June and decreases in October or November when malaria breaks out after the monsoon. Influenza leaves a heavier toll from among infants and younger adults, i.e., persons between 20 and 35. Children and adolescents suffer less and old people particularly males do not seem to be so seriously affected. Influenza also strikingly reduces the conception rate. Malaria is particularly unfavourable to younger adults especially women. Similarly the incidence of mortality from plague is heavier among women. The diseases which affect women more than children and men also affect the conception rate! (4) Migration is spasmodic in India, the volume being

governed by the intensity of agricultural distress. In a year of scarcity there is an exodus of able-bodied men to places outside the district or province and this indirectly brings about a diminution of birth-rate in a scarcity year.

All the above factors which lead to the violent fluctuations of birth-rate and mortality bring about oscillations in the age composition and the proportion of female reproductive group in the population. This would make the net reproduction rate in India an unreliable index of population growth. We have already referred to the heavier increase of population of the minor and adolescent age-groups during 1921 and 1931 and especially of women at ages 15-20 and 20-25. The increase in the minor age-group is itself the result of a relative agricultural prosperity in India in the years previous to the agricultural depression when the prices of cereals remained at a relatively higher level for some years after all other commodities had come down in value. The increase in children under 5 years is specially remarkable. On the other hand, while the increase in females in age-groups 10-30 is responsible for the recent storm of breeding in the country, the low numbers in the 1931 census in group 5-10, which presumably are the result of the after-effects of the influenza epidemic of 1918, will probably reduce the birth-rate in the first half of the decade 1931-1951. It is thus that specific fertility or net reproduction rates cannot truly measure the population trend in India as in the Western countries.

There is an intimate connection between agriculture, nutrition and fertility which is discernible not by an all-India survey but only by agricultural and demographic investigations in particular agricultural regions or ecological areas. Such investigations indicate that fecundity is reduced as the result of the deterioration of the food position in the face of an intense population pressure. The relation between sterility and malnutrition has been traced in many countries. In feeding animals on diets extremely deficient in Vitamin B McCarrison noticed in 1918 that atrophy of the testis was one of the earliest effects. During famines and wars, sterility in women and failure of the menstrual functions have been recorded as evidences of malnutrition. Malnutrition by leading to specific deficiency in essential foodstuffs such as calcium and vitamins has direct effects in the reduction of fecundity, as laboratory experiments indicate.

No doubt the consumption of wheat, which contains Vitamin B, is considerably reduced if it does not altogether cease during a year of scarcity or famine, while milk and milk-products as well as some fresh vegetables, all of which are rich in Vitamin E that has also been considered to have favourable effects on reproduction, are entirely eliminated from the diet. The general loss of physiological vigour indirectly affects menstruation, leads to an increase of abortion and contributes to diminish fecundity. On the other hand, scarcity or malnutrition increases the death-rate, especially of children and mothers. There are several diseases like diarrhoea, dysentery, beri-beri, malnutritional cedemas, epidemic dropsy and xerophthalmia which are found especially in India and China and caused by inadequate or faulty diets.

In the heavily populated provinces: United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal there has been a steady decline of birth-rate during the last thirty years, which the census superintendents of the Public Health Directors find difficult to account for apart from the inaccuracy of statistics. The figures are given as below :

TABLE XIV
*Fall of Birth-rate in the United Provinces,
Bihar and Bengal.*

| Year. | United Provinces. | Bihar & Orissa. | Bengal |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|
| 1901-1910 | 41.4 | 41.0 | 35.5 |
| 1911-1920 | 42.3 | 39.0 | 32.5 |
| 1921-1930 | 35.1 | 36.5 | 28.5 |
| 1929-1935 | 35 | 33 | 29.6 |

Intensive study of vital statistics over a period of sixty years in certain congested districts in the United Provinces also indicates that there is a distinct tendency towards diminution of birth-rate after a district's saturation density is over-stepped. For instance in Jaunpur the average birth-rate was 36 per thousand between 1901 and 1911, it came down to 28 between 1919 and 1927. In 1932 it stood at 26.4. Between 1928 and 1932 the birth-rates remained stationary at 28. Such diminution of birth-rate is not due to human volition at all. Nor is it due to postponement of marriage. The practices of infanticide and abstention from intercourse have also largely been given up. The slackening of birth-rate is due to the direct and indirect effects of malnutrition, and the alteration of the age and sex composition of population.

Fertility, therefore, is reduced in the following manner: (1) Inadequate and ill-

balanced dietary by leading to a chronic deprivation of certain essential minerals and vitamins causes a decline of fertility. (2) Malnutrition raises infant mortality and thus reduces the birth-rate through the diminution in the proportion of adults in the total population. (3) Malnutrition is also unfavourable for the mothers and by raising maternal mortality reduces the birth-rate. (4) Epidemics which may affect persons of child-bearing age reduce the fertility. (5) An increase of the disproportion of sexes, *i.e.*, paucity of females also indirectly reduces fertility. The sex proportions at birth vary widely in different countries. In India during the last few decades the proportion of females per thousand males is gradually diminishing in some provinces.

TABLE XIV

Average number of female births per thousand Male Births.

| | 1891-1901 | 1901-1911 | 1911-21 | 1924-28 | 1929-33 |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| Bengal .. | 936 | 941 | 933 | 926 | 926 |
| Bihar and Orissa* | 942 | 955 | 950 | 960 | 960 |
| Bombay .. | 926 | 926 | 925 | 926 | 926 |
| Burma .. | 931 | 938 | 945 | 950 | 950 |
| Central Provinces .. | 941 | 954 | 955 | 950 | 950 |
| Madras .. | 959 | 958 | 956 | 960 | 950 |
| N.-W. F. Province .. | 816 | 819 | 805 | 770 | 770 |
| Punjab .. | 906 | 909 | 906 | 890 | 890 |
| United Provinces .. | 918 | 924 | 919 | 890 | 890 |
| Japan (1930) .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 990 |
| J. S. A. (1930) .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 976 |
| England and Wales (1931) .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1087 |
| Scotland .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1082 |

Race, environment and dietary govern the sex-ratio at birth. It appears on the whole that there is a lower proportion of females born in North and North-Western India where the Aryan and Semitic peoples preponderate than in the South and Central tracts of India where the Dravidian race element is the strongest. But race is only one factor in the distribution of the sex ratios. The same castes which are distributed in different parts of Northern India

show a deficiency of females as one moves further towards the arid conditions in the West and North-West. In Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana and the Deccan where conditions of economic life are more severe, there is a striking deficiency of female births. Harder economic life led formerly to infanticide or deliberate neglect of girl babies, and this may have selected those females for survival who are likely to bear a preponderance of male children. It is not unlikely that severe economic struggle under hot and dry conditions which is aggravated by the increase of population is responsible for the downward trend of female births in the N.-W. F. Province, Punjab, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces. Caste, which promotes inbreeding may also have increased masculinity and perpetuates it so long as strict endogamy is maintained. Economic struggle and inbreeding seem both to lower the vitality of women and this promote paucity of female births. The sex proportions in the reproductive ages depend upon differential birth and death rates which are in some measure governed by the age of marriage, risks of child bearing, differential treatment of boy and girl babies and the nature and extent of woman's work in the field. Chemical and food materials have an enormous influence in the sex ratio and fertility of animals. As economic pressure increases, it is not improbable that the deficiency of females, which is the geratest in the Indo-Gangetic plains, will increase and this coupled with other factors may alter the age and sex composition of the population in the long run to the detriment in birth-rate.

Where man's institutions and social habits and his standards of living do not safeguard his equilibrium density, his ecological routine of life and his stable occupational adjustment in the region, ecological controls of population which are operative in the regulation of animal numbers come to play an increasing role in re-establishing the equilibrium. In the overcrowded regions of India we now meet with the familiar checks of animal numbers. (1) The rodent type of check or an increase of mortality, especially in the form of epidemic outbursts following storms of breeding. (2) The fruit-fly type of check or a gradual slackening of birth-rate with density as an average abundance is over-stepped. The greater the approximation of numbers to an equilibrium density through the ecological controls of fertility and mortality and the diminution of the average expectation of life, the more remote will be the indiscriminate reduction of population by actual starvation. But the

*The female ratio is higher among the aboriginal tribes and castes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and this explains largely the excess in Bihar and Orissa. The figures of Bihar proper are as follows:

| | 1901-11 | 1911-21 | 1921- |
|----------------|---------|---------|-------|
| North Bihar .. | 952 | 944 | 950 |
| South Bihar .. | 954 | 951 | 955 |

Malthusian nightmare of famine as the ultimate safeguard of an equilibrium density still haunts the population. Meanwhile the paucity of females increases with over-population and becomes established as a stable racial trait which is transmitted to the next generation. Where man does not exercise any control over his multiplication, the forces of evolution and heredity combine to check over-population and seek to

preserve the organic acquisitions of the past. But such check is both cruel and haphazard. Man's conquest of the soil is in vain if he fails to exercise his own volition or the socio-religious restraints of the past nor uses scientific technique for the control of his reproduction, but, leaves nature to control it indirectly, through its control over the rate of mortality and even over his capacity of reproduction.

PROFESSOR BHOLA NATH SINGH, D.Sc.

By X

PROF. B. N. Singh, D.Sc., Kapurthala, Professor of Plant Physiology and Agricultural Botany and Director, Institute of Agricultural Research, Benares Hindu University, has been the recipient of an international honour from the Academia de Ciencias e Artes, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). "As a homage to his (your) technical merit and in gratitude to the services he (you) has (have) contributed to teachings in India" the Congregation of the above Academy has conferred upon Prof. Singh (you) the "Diploma of Honour" and "the Direction of the Academy has confirmed this act of high justice by conferring on him (you) the Scientific Medal of Merit". This Academy has been awarding this rare distinction to select workers of the world on an inter-continental basis in recognition of definite fundamental advances made in the realm of science or arts and for creating a new school of thought.

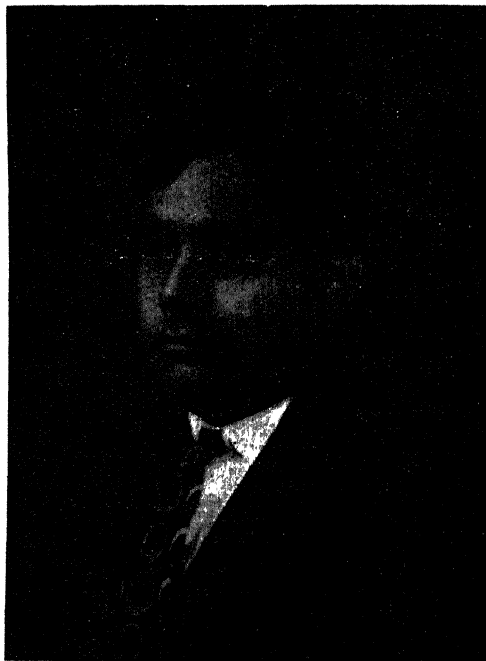
It is a matter of supreme gratification that Indian work has gained such wide recognition in the domain of science.

Prof. Singh's career is an instance of one who has fought his way with no adventitious advantages but by sheer ability, undaunted courage and devotion to his subject, to a position of honour in the scientific world.

In 1931 Professor Singh succeeded in inducing the university authorities to establish the Institute of Agricultural Research with the old plant physiology department as its nucleus, and here he gradually developed a very living and flourishing institution receiving appreciations from several distinguished men of science, both foreign and Indian. In 1937, a grant of Rs. 67,920 was sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for Prof.

Singh's investigations on physiology of cane and wheat.

Prof. Singh has published a large number of papers in the fields of plant physiology and



Professor Dr. B. N. Singh

nutrition, bio-chemistry, agronomy, soil science, general geology, and plant pathology in some of the best known scientific journals of England like: The Annals of Botany, Annals of Applied

Biology, New Phytologist Nature, Journal of Ecology, The Bio-chemical Journal, The Empire Journal of Experimental Agriculture, The Empire Cotton Growing Review; of America like: Botanical Gazette, Plant Physiology, Soil Science, American Society of Agronomy, Science, Phytopathology, Journal of Heredity, Protoplasm (Germany), Tropical Agriculture (Trinidad); and of India like: Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Indian Journal of Agricultural Science, Journal of the Indian Botanical Society, Current Science, Science and Culture and Proceedings of the Society of Biological Chemists.

Commenting upon the published work of Prof. Singh *Nature* in an editorial note under the caption "Physiology of Indian Crop Plants" observed:

"For some time past the staff of the Institute of Agricultural Research of the Benares Hindu University has been engaged under the leadership of Professor B. N. Singh in detailed and comparative studies of the physiology of Indian crop plants. A considerable number of publications on this subject has now been issued.... and good progress has evidently been made in a highly interesting and important field of work. The most extensive work completed is that dealing with photosynthesis under different conditions of light, temperature and carbon dioxide supply.... Another specially interesting problem under investigation is that of the differences in respiration rate found to exist in plants differing in their duration of life.... Other subjects under investigation by comparative methods include the water requirement of seeds possessing different structural and bio-chemical properties, and the effects on plant growth of irradiating seeds with X-rays."

Professor Singh's published work has received similar recognition from time to time in the editorial comments of *Tropical Agriculture*, *Science*, *Burichte uber Die Gesamte Biologie Abteilung*, etc. The manurial yield trials on wheat and complex experiments on sugar-canes with reference to fertilizer effects were much commended by Sir E. J. Russel, F.R.S., Director, Rothamsted Experiment Station and Professor R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., the famous statistician, who are themselves actively engaged on similar work in England. Sir E. J. Russel in his recent report referred to Prof. Singh's Institute as "an unusually well equipped one, working on a variety of subjects which gives the students a wide training", while Prof. R. A. Fisher observed that "the Institute of Agricultural Research at the Benares Hindu University is doing great work and laying a fine experimental foundation". Dr. F. Crowther, plant physiologist to the Sudan Government, who was specially deputed to study the

work carried out in Prof. Singh's laboratory and farms, recorded: "It has given me the greatest pleasure at last to see some really good physiological work on my travels." Prof. V. H. Blackman, F.R.S., in his recent visit to the Benares Hindu University as a member of the British Science Delegation, observed that the "Institute of Agricultural Research so admirably directed by Prof. Singh and so excellently equipped with facilities for research occupies the same position in India as the plant physiological institute under my charge in Great Britain."

Prof. Singh's contribution on "Biology of Longevity and Death", which, through the kind offices of Prof. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., figures as the opening article in the Science Congress Silver Jubilee number of *Science and Culture*, received a remarkable tribute from Prof. Crew, Director of the Institute of Animal Genetics, University of Edinburgh, himself a great exponent of the subject. Prof. Crew while addressing the joint session of the Indian Science Congress and the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Calcutta on "Biology of Death" remarked that he had "not yet come across another biologist whose work on the subject has been more comprehensive than that of Prof. Singh, whose work and writing have greatly moulded his (my) thoughts in this direction" and that he considered Prof. Singh "a greater biologist than himself (me)". Some of the other lines of work of much practical value going on under the direction of Professor Singh are the cold and gas storage investigations on potatoes and fruits, physiological basis of drought resistance in Indian crops, the improvement of plants through physiological means from a study of the genetics of physiological characters, weed control measures, photoperiodism, Green manuring problems, etc. Prof. Singh has given us the benefit of his ideas about the future development of agriculture in the country in two articles, one entitled "Reorganising Agriculture in Federal India" and the other as a Presidential Address to the Old Boys' Association of Benares Hindu University.

Lack of space forbids mention of the high appreciation of Prof. Singh's work by eminent men like Sir J. C. Bose, His Excellency Sir Harry Haig, Governor of U. P., Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir M. Viswesweraaya, Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Sir Bryce Burt, Sir Frank Noyce, Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Richard Gregory, members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and others.

BURMESE ERAS, YEAR, MONTHS AND DAYS

By BIRESWAR GANGOOLY

(From Irwin, Htoon Chan, U Dana, U Wili and other sources)

THAT Burmese astronomy was originally taken from India, is now a well-established fact and no one versed in Burmese astronomy will ever deny it. Kings of Burma, though often engaged in war and conquest, were great patrons of learning and used to take great interest in Indian astrology. Even from as early as the 4th century B.C. they used to entertain in their courts Pouna (Brahmin) astrologers from India and performed the ear-boring and marriage ceremonies of their children on auspicious days and hours fixed by these Pouna Brahmins.



The Guru, with his son and younger brother, of the Yakhaing Pouna Brahmins of Mandalay. Mark the *namavali* on the person of the boy.

Learned Pouna priests were placed in charge of their coronation ceremonies and they used to attend daily the Royal Courts, opening and closing them with sacred hymns and prayers. With the help of learned Bikkhus of Burma, they translated Sanskrit astronomical books into Burmese and introduced in Burma a system of astronomical calculation, which now forms the ground-work of the Burmese calendar and also of their astrology.

U May Oung, late Home Member, in a learned article published in the *Journal of the Burmese Research Society* (1912) confirmed this statement and averred that "the methods of Burmese astronomical calculation were doubtless drawn up by the Hindu Astrologers from India at one of the Courts of Burma."

This was supported by Justice Irwin of the Rangoon Chief Court and was more definitely corroborated by Htoon Chan, an advocate of the same Court, who in his very useful book *The Arakanese Calendar* ably proved, by a careful comparison, that "the system of astronomical calculation prevalent in Burma was originally derived from Indian works on astronomy and expounded by Pouna astronomers from India."

The Burmese books of astronomy, mentioned at the close of this article, will further prove the correctness of this statement.

BURMESE ERA

The Era now current in Burma was introduced from 22nd March 638 A.D. by Pubba Saw—a Rahan, but supposed to be a King of Pagan. It is called the Kachha-Panchabda (i.e., The Fifth Era), because there were four other Eras previous to this Kachha-Panchabda, but why "Kachha," no one can definitely explain.

It is interesting to note that in the same year and month, new Eras were also introduced in Arakan and Siam, though politically these two Kingdoms were then entirely independent. In Siam, it is called the Chula Sakabda or Chulabda. The explanation perhaps lies in the fact that there was intimate international, religious and commercial intercourse between all the countries in Indo-China, from the days of the great Hindu expansion in the 7th century B.C. and there were then land and sea routes open from India to Burma, Siam, Cambodia, China and Japan.

The four Eras previous to the current Burmese Era (Kachha-Panchabda) were as follows :

(1) Gajabda

Gajabda was, according to a book written in 1863 by Kani Min, a Minister in the Court of King Mindon, introduced by Kootha Min leaving 14, 938, 560 years of the previous Era—Akarabda—which were too old to be reckoned. This Era was prevalent for 8,650 years before the 7th century B.C.

(2) Anzanabda—King Anzana, grand-father of Goutama Buddha, on a consultation

with the learned hermit Devala, suspended the Gaja Era and introduced a New Era called Anzana-Era, from 691 B.C. It continued for about 583 years. These years and those mentioned just below, are not however very accurate, and reveal anomalies when compared with other chronicles.

- (3) Maharaja Ajatasatru of Magadha suspended this Anzana-Era and introduced a New Era called the Buddya-Era from about 544 B.C. to commemorate the death of Goutama Buddha.
- (4) In the year 624 of this Buddya-Era, Samundarit, a King of Prome (not shown in the list of the known Kings of Burma) introduced a New Era in 82 A.D., called Samundarit-Era, and it is from the year 562 (rather 556) of this Era (*i.e.*, in 638 A.D.) Pubba Shaw Rahan of Pagan introduced the current Burmese Era called the Kachha-Panchabda. It is now 1300 B.E., that is to say 1,300 years have elapsed and the 1301st year has commenced from the 15th April, 1938 and will expire in April, 1939. So, in the Burmese method of calculation, 1300 B.E. means 1,300 years have been completed, and 1301st year is going on, contrary to what we generally understand by the English Era.

Mohnin Thado, a King of Ava, desired to suspend this Pubba-Saw-Rahan-Era and perhaps he actually introduced a "Sabana" Era; but the priests were against the change and he died soon after the change, as prophesied by the priests and no new Era was introduced.

In Thaton, the ancient citadel of the South Indian Buddhist civilisation in Burma, a different Era was in force, introduced from the arrival there, of Arhan Sona and Uttara [272 B.C. (?)]. But it came to an end in the year 1057 A.D., as King Anurudha (Awnaratha) of Pagan had destroyed Thaton in 1014 A.D. and had taken its King as a captive. The Thaton Era, therefore, continued for about 1329 years, and ended with the end of the political independence of Thaton.

YEAR

According to the Burmese conception of a Mean Sun, as also of the Hindu astrologers, the Burmese solar year is of 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds, instead of 365 days 5 hours 8 minutes and 49.75 seconds of the true solar year. In their calculation, therefore, the

Burmese do not use either the tropical year or even the sidereal year of 365 days 6 hours 8 minutes and 5 seconds. Their solar year (of 365 days 15 *nayi* 31 B and 30 K=365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds) is in reality a sidereal-anomalistic year, shorter than the sidereal year by 4 minutes 31 seconds and longer, as shown above, than the true solar year.

Owing to this difference—a divergence is caused from the Equinox (as Irwin points out) at the rate of one month in 94 cycles of 1786 years. So the New Year day of the Burmese Era, which first fell on the 22nd March 638 A.D. has been, since then, gradually advancing towards the middle of the year, *e.g.*, in 1938 A.D. the Burmese New Year fell on the 15th April instead of in March (23 days later than the 1st New Year) and in 3500 years, the New Year day will fall in June instead of in April, as it now does.

The Burmese New Year again does not begin until about 2 days after the Mahavisuva-Sankranti of the Bengali Calendar: because the Burmese Era commenced when the Mean Sun entered the Meitha (Mesha Rashi) in 638 A.D., while the true Sun at that time had advanced more than one *pād* of Aswini in the Meitha (Mesha). The true Sun takes 363 days 75 Kyammat to reach the 1st *pād* of Aswini, while the Mean Sun takes 365 days 207 Kyammat to complete the circuit. So this difference of 2 days 132 Kyammat (2 days 3 hours 57 minutes and 36 seconds or rather 2 days 4 hours 1 minute and 12 seconds, as the Burmese Calendars show) is compensated by postponing the Burmese New Year day 2 days 4 hours 1 minute and 12 seconds after the true Sun has arrived back at the 1st *pād* of Aswini.

Mythologically the lay man has a curious story attached to it. He says that the Thakya Min (King Sakra of Heavens) comes down to this Earth at the expiry of the solar year and resides here for 2 days and then goes back to his high abode. The day on which he arrives is called the "Akya-day," on which the water festival begins and the Burmese Buddhists receive the Thakya Min with small jars of water covered with seven kinds of twigs, *viz.*, Thabye (Jaman), Thee (Kad-bel), Dan (Mahandi), Ohn (Coconut), Awza (Custard apple), Makala (Guava) and Mye-sa-yet (Durba leaves). The day following is called the "Akyat-ne" or the intermediate day; and the 3rd day on which he departs, is called the "Atet-Ne" (day of rising up). The Burmese astronomers carefully calculate the time of his arrival and departure and the Kings of Burma used to announce them

by report of guns, bombs, rockets and beat of drums from the Palace. The day following the Atet-Ne is the Burmese New Year day—a day on which the water festival ends and the people go out with small jars of water containing new Thabyet and Malka twigs and Mye Sa (Durba leaves) bunched with flowers to pay homage to their superiors.

MONTHS

There are of course 12 months in the Burmese year, as it is with us; but the Burmese months are Lunar months alternately of 29 and 30 days, *e.g.*, their Tagu (Chaitra) is of 29 days while the next month Kason (Baisak) contains 30 days; and Nayun, the third month, (Kaith) is of 29 days and the fourth month contains 30 days and so on. Thus in 12 Burmese Lunar months there are 354 days only—11 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36 seconds shorter than their solar year. To regularise this shortage, intercalary months and days are inserted, which are called “adhi-masha” and “adhi-nes.” The years in which the “adhi-masha” and “adhi-nes” are to be inserted are fixed by well-calculated rules; and the Pouna astronomers of Burma, though they sometimes disagree, profess proudly to be correct in their calculations.

The Burmese months, being Lunar months, begin from the 1st day of the Moon (*Sukla Pratipada*) and expire with the end of the next inter-Lunar day (*Amabasya*) but their New Year does not, as explained above, begin with the 1st day of the Moon (Lunar month) nor does their year end with the last day of the month (*Amabasya*). For example the Burmese New Year in 1937 A.D. fell on the 8th Lasan (*Sukla Ashtami Tithi*) of Kason (Baisak) instead of the 1st day of the Moon in Kason.

The Bengalee Hindu *Tithis* also do not exactly correspond with the Burmese *Tithis*. There is a difference of about 12 to 24 hours.

The Burmese month being a Lunar month, one would expect that the dates of their month would correspond to their *tithis* (or *Dithis* as called in Burmese). But it is not so; for a Burmese *Dithi* is not exactly equal to a Burmese Lunar day. For example, 3rd February, 1938 was the 4th day of Lasan of Tobodwe (*Sukla Chaturthi*) but the *Dithi* on that day was *Dwitiya* or *Tritiya*, according to their calendar.

For explanation, Htoon Chan writes: “Months are calculated by the *Dithis* and each month is divided into 30 *Dithis*; but each month has 29 days, 31 Nayi, 50 Bizana and $5\frac{88}{88}$ Kaya (29 days, 17 hours 44 minutes, 2.3897 seconds) and so the ratio

between the day and ‘*Dithi*’ is expressed as $\frac{692 \text{ Days}}{708 \text{ ‘Dithi’}}$.” To find out the *Dithi* of a day, U Wili says, “Add the Longitudes of the Moon and the Sun and divide the result by 720. The quotient and the remainder will show the *Dithi*”.

Counting the months by the Moon is of course a very old method in the East and is in existence even now in Sambat and Fazli eras of India. In Bengal, too, the Lunar months had been introduced and the Bengali month is still named after the constellations, on which the Full Moon day of the month ends and not by the sign of the Zodiac in which the Sun enters at the commencement of the Solar month.

THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC

The Zodiac, as we all know, is an imaginary path of the Sun. The Burmese astronomers call it by the name of “*Dwadatha-Yathee*” (*Dwadasha Rashi*). The constellations of the Zodiac also bear the same Sanskrit names, though slightly deformed, *e.g.*, Mesha (Meitha), Vrisha (Parietha), and so on.

Though the signs of the Zodiac have been slowly shifting from their original positions, the Burmese astronomers, like the Hindus, take them as stationery, for their astronomical purposes.

The Burmese months are also, in their astronomical books, named according to the constellations (such as Baisaka, Jaistha, etc.). But these astronomical names naturally clashed with the popular names already given to them by the lay man and they were not therefore changed and are called as Tagu, Kason, Nayun, etc., as before. The meanings of these names, however, are too long to be described in this article.

The Burmese Zodiac is also divided into 27 Stars (Aswini, Bharani, etc., excluding the Abhijit) as the Hindus have and are denominated by the same Hindu names, such as Chitra, Bishakha, Aswini etc. Each of these asterisms, has 4 *pads*, making 9 *pads* for each sign.

In Burmese astrology the calculations relating to the constellations are highly important. Their astrologers can correctly determine the position of a planet at a fixed time and place and profess also to know their influence on the course of life of a man and his character.

DAYS OF THE WEEK

The names of the days of the week are also taken from Hindu astronomy. Like the

Hindus, the Burmans believe that the sun, the moon, and the other planets rule the days and their names are given as Taninga-nwe (for Ravi), Tanin-la (for Soma), Ainga (for Mangala), Bouduha (for Budha), Kyathabade (for Brihaspati), Thoukya (for Sukra) and Saney (for Sani).

DIVISION OF TIME

The Burmese day begins astronomically from midnight and ends at the next midnight, though in common parlance, the day begins from the time the sun rises.

The Burmese month is, as stated before, a mean period of lunation from a New Moon to the next New Moon.

The Burmese astronomers understand the Hindu division of time, the Hora, Danda, Pala, Bipala, etc. But they use a different division of time for their astronomical calculation.

Their 1 year is equal to 12 months; 1 month=30 days, (or more accurately =29 days 31 Nayi 50 B and $5\frac{20}{100}$ Kaya); 1 day=60 Nayi (more accurately, 59 Nayi 3 B 40 $\frac{40}{100}$ Kaya).

The word Nayi is now wrongly used to express one English hour; but astronomically 1 Nayi is equal to 24 minutes that is to say 4 pads; 1 pad=15 Bizanas; 1 Bizana=6 pranas. 1 prana=10 Kayas; 1 Bizana is equal to 24 seconds; Kyammat is 800th part of a mean day.

These divisions of time are however used in their astronomy. The villager does not care for these astronomical divisions and has no clock to determine the time of the day or of night. He uses queer phrases to denote the time. An incomplete list of these phrases is given below for our inquisitive readers.

1. Kye-oo-Thon=cock-crow-time 4-30 A.M.
2. Aun-chhon-kat-chhain = 5 A.M.
3. Nayhtwe-daw-pyu-chhin=Sun-peeping-time.
4. Chhon-khan-chhin=Phongyi-begging-almstime 6 A.M.
5. Nay-Htwe daw phya=Sun-on-palm-rah-tree time.
6. Nanet-Son-Si-chhein=Meal time for Phongyis—about 8 A.M.
7. Ne-chhon chhachhein = Meal time for Phongyis = 11 A.M.
8. Mun-Tet-chhein=Midday—12 Noon.
9. Nya-Sa, Thamin-Sa-chhein = Evening meal time 5 P.M.
10. Moh-Hmoung-Kya-chhein=Sky-darkened time—7 P.M.

11. Mee-Hton-Chhien = Light-kindle time.
12. Nwa-Yaing-Thwingyin chhein = vicious-cows-to-be-put-in-shed time.
13. Nee-Ako-Mathee-Tathi-Chhcin=Brothers. won't-know-each-other-time=7-30 P.M.
14. Thu-Nge-taik-chhein=Child-sleeping-time.
15. Lubyo-lay-chhein = Youths-to-roam time.
16. Than-goung-chhein=World-quiet time.

The Phongy Kyaung in the village usually keeps a clock, but a stick placed perpendicularly on an open ground near the Kyaung tells them the time of the day by its shadow; and the candles or the Stars show them almost as accurately as clocks, the time in the night. During the Burmese regime, there was a Royal sun-clock and a water-clock in the Palace; and time was used to be notified by beats of the Royal drum (one beat two beats and so on).

SEASONS

Astronomically there are six seasons in the Burmese calendar as we have, according to the sun's position in the Zodiac. But popularly, they speak of three seasons only—Summer, Rains and Winter.

BURMESE BOOKS ON ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

The following Books are only a few of the astronomical books used by the Burmese astronomers:—

Raja-mattan, Nirnaya Sindhu, Mala-Kasha, Loka-Deepani, Chandra-Surya-Gati-Deepani, Maha-Nayi, Sankha-bodha, Makaranta, Surya-Siddhanta, Briha, Arya-Siddhanta, Dwadasarathi, etc.

The Burmese astronomical books are too numerous to be mentioned, but they are all based on Hindu astronomy. The modern Burmese astrologers are using English and American books also to help their predictions.

In the "Briha" it is mentioned that Pandit Bhagawandeen, a learned man in astronomy from Benares, was brought to Mandalay by King Mindon and was employed by him as a Court astronomer. Bhagawandeen is reputed to have altered the Malamasha-Shifts into 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15 and 18 and the next shift also will be necessary in a short time. There are Bengalee Pouna Pandits in Mandalay who are quite adept in Burmese astronomy and astrology and a few of them were given the pompous title of Raja-Guru.

RURAL BROADCAST IN ITALY

By DR. P. N. ROY

THE Radio has come to stay in modern life and every day the number of its users is increasing. It has become a cheap source of entertainment to thousands of people and it has proved itself to be a powerful instrument in the hands of almost all governments for mass-contact and the shaping of public opinion. But its utility has a wider extent. It disseminates news, rivaling the newspaper in this respect and it undertakes the task of educating the people by means of instructive talks and scholastic broadcasts.

It is because of this versatile character of the Radio and its great utility to the State that broadcasts in all countries are either State-managed or State-controlled. But the needs of urban listeners are perhaps not the same as those of the rural listeners. Moreover, varieties of programmes meeting the needs of different classes of listeners cannot perhaps be satisfactorily arranged within a limited period of time from the same broadcasting station. A programme which includes general items of entertainment and special items for special classes of listeners cannot perhaps allot more than ten minutes to each special item, which also is possible at irregular intervals and at varying hours.

It is the recognition of this fact that has led some countries to make separate arrangements for urban and rural listeners. Italy has a special radio-organization, called the *Ente Radio Rurale* (Rural Radio Corporation), in existence for several years now, which caters to the special needs of the rural population of the country, bringing instruction and entertainment to the doors of the farmers and other modest dwellers. Every Sunday, this Corporation broadcasts for full one hour a special programme called The Farmer's Hour, when topics connected with agriculture, the farmer's life and life in the country in general are discussed and practical advice suited to seasonal work in the field and the sale of products is given. The programme also includes a brief period of pleasant entertainment.

The programme of the Farmer's Hour is divided into three parts, each lasting for about 20 minutes. The first part consists of the political and economic happenings of the week and the second of songs and music. These two parts are broadcast from Rome. In the third part

different branches of farm-work are dealt with according to the different agricultural work carried on in the region. This part of the programme is broadcast from the various regional radio-stations of the country. As the listeners of this programme are all people whose education does not perhaps go higher than the elementary school training, care is taken that no pedantry and no difficulty of technical language creep into the talks and instructions given during the Farmer's Hour. The Rural Radio Corporation claims that the initiative has had the greatest success among the rural classes and it is estimated that hundreds of thousands of the rural population crowd round the various radios installed in different localities. For the benefit of the listeners, the Corporation also publishes a weekly magazine called *La Radio Rurale* (The Country Wireless), which is distributed free of charge.

But the Farmer's Hour is only a part of the programme conducted by the Corporation. Complementary to it is the programme of rural scholastic broadcasts meant for supplying the teachers of the rural schools with suitable teaching material of current interest, so that they may enliven and complete the ordinary routine of teaching.

It would be wrong to suppose that scholastic broadcasts diminish the importance of the teacher. The Rural Radio puts otherwise unobtainable teaching material at the disposal of the teacher, who previously gives a lesson on a particular subject and the wireless then enters to supplement his instruction. For example, a teacher in a village school has first of all given a lesson on the submarine, its inventions, its construction and its activity. When the theoretical lesson is over, in comes the wireless. A microphone is installed in the very heart of a submarine and thence the details of its very life and of its inmost workings are carried to the school children who thus receive a vivid impression of life on board. The plain narrative of the teacher is thus rendered more vivacious and interesting. In this way the Rural Radio broadcasts, for instance, dialogues regarding traffic regulation, personal hygiene and gardening or carries the imagination of the young listeners on



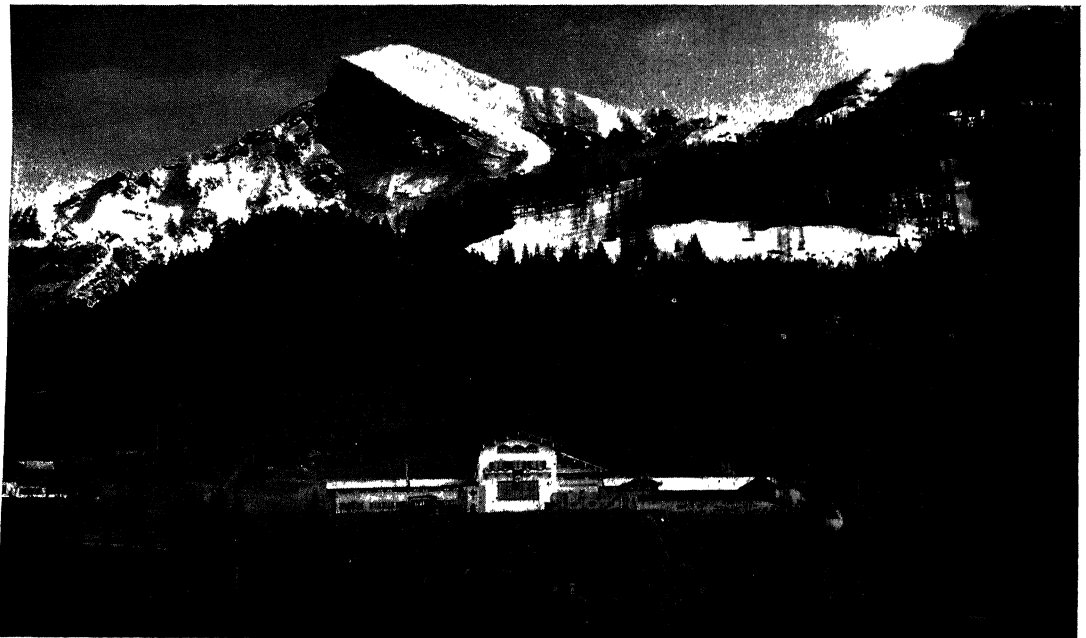
Rural Radio listeners : Italy



Radio lesson in a rural school in Italy



Lesson on malaria in a rural school in Italy



Hitler's home, "Berghof", at Obersalzberg in the Bavarian Alps, where the last discussions between Hitler and Schuschnigg took place

board a ship or a submarine, to the field of military manœuvres, or inside factories, barracks, aerodromes, etc. It also excites the curiosity of its listeners by giving drawing lessons and promoting competitions in letter-writing, etc. All important patriotic celebrations and ceremonies are broadcast from Rome or from wherever they take place. During the last Abyssinian War, the Rural Radio was used as an instrument for teaching the children to assist their elders in facing the situation.

But to do all this successfully two things are necessary—to develop the habit of listening-in and to supply radio-sets at a cheap price. The first, *i.e.*, the listening-in habit, depends to a large extent on the second. In order, therefore, to facilitate the purchase of radio-sets by schools and similar bodies, a highly sensitive and powerful receiving set has been put on market. This is sold at a low price. But in order not to injure the radio trade in general, the sale of this set is limited to the abovementioned organisations.

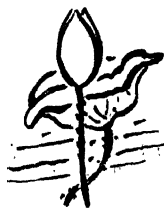
Another problem is the establishment of social centres where country people can gather for collective listening-in. Naturally such centres cannot be in the house or courtyard of a private individual. The Rural Radio Corporation has thought out the problem and found that the best place for installing radio sets in the rural area is either a school or the seat of any other State-organization, *e.g.*, the Fascist Headquarters, the Afterwork Recreation Room, the Parish Hall, the Agricultural Syndicates, the Headquarters of the National Balilla Organisation, the Offices of the School Inspectors, etc. Every village in Italy has one or more of the abovementioned places where a radio can be installed.

It cannot be said that at present all schools in Italy are supplied with radio-sets. But of late the Italian Ministry for Education has issued an order, as a result of which every elementary school would, in the near future, be provided with its own radio.

The question of rural broadcasts in Italy reminds the writer of the present article of the similar effort made by some of the radio stations in India. The Delhi Station tried to popularise the listening-in habit in some of the villages in the Punjab and U. P. and it is said that the trial was a failure because the villagers did not show any sustained interest. The causes of this lack of interest may be enquired into. Some evident ones seem to have been the monotony of programmes and the lack of centres suitable for collective listening-in. Rural programmes should be entirely separated from and not inserted within the urban programmes and variety with interest must be sought in making them. The programmes might be best prepared in consultation with people who actually live in villages, and attention should be paid to regional necessities. In fact all rural programmes ought to be regional programmes and different hours should be allotted for different regional programmes. Villagers themselves from various regions might sometimes be invited to speak before the microphone on the problems of their own regional life. At the same time the significance of the important events of the outside world, particularly those that affect the life of the rural population, should be explained to them. And in preparing the amusement part of the rural programme, village artists should be taken into consideration.

As regards the centre for collective listening-in, rural broadcasts will always fail in India so long as the radios are installed in the houses of private individuals, whether village headmen or not. Villagers have their own political, social and private divisions, jealousies and rivalries which would come into play when the radio-sets are installed in the house of any one individual. Under the circumstances, they should be installed in the village post-office, the village school, the union board, the thana and so on.

Rural uplift is now a major problem of the Government and it is hoped that the radio will play its proper part in it by bridging the gulf between the city and the country.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE ATTEMPTED WHIG REVOLUTION OF 1678-1681: *By Francis S. Ronalds. Published by the University of Illinois. Price \$2.50.*

The last few years of the reign of Charles II form one of the most intriguing periods in English history. The Whig leaders tried every means to exclude the Duke of York from the throne, and cleverly bolstered up the bogey of the Papists' "bloody designs." Titus Oates, the most amazing villain in English history, William Bedloe, another unmitigated scoundrel and rogue, William Scroggs, the profligate Lord Chief Justice, Ralph Montagu, the immoral and unprincipled diplomat, Mrs. Cellier, the disreputable midwife of Meal-tub fame, and James of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of a prostitute, are some of the strange characters who played their part in the attempted Whig revolution of 1678-1681. The book under review is an interesting survey of the political drama that was enacted during these fateful years. The account is based on original and contemporary documents and State Papers, and embodies the results of valuable research into the history of the stirring events of the period preceding the death of Charles II. The author has been able to throw new light on some of the characters and events on which there is still divergence of opinion among the historians. The exhaustive bibliography given by the author is a valuable feature of his scholarly work. His references in the text are, however, mostly to printed rather than to manuscript sources. For example, where documents are listed in the Calendar of State Papers, the citations are made to it, and not to the Public Record Office originals. The work on the whole is an important contribution to the history of the Whig politics of the XVIIth century.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

LONDON MUSIC IN 1888-89 AS HEARD BY COMO DI BARSETTO (LATER KNOWN AS BERNARD SHAW). *Constable Coy. Standard edition of the works of G. B. S. Price 5s.*

G. B. S. comes from a musical family from the mother's side. He was trained in music, and his first experiments in livelihood were in musical journalism. Of literature he had no dreams at all, "any more," as he says, "than a duck has of swimming." Probably, it was all to the good. Adolescent dreams have always been poor substitutes.

But what a vigorous musical mind it was to appreciate the greatness of Wagner, the Liberator, behind his monstrous Cacophonies, to realise his supreme necessity to 'smash the obligatory superstitions' and fight 'the tyranny of arabesques'. Rosalias and tawdy rum-tums had to be eschewed from orchestration and they were by Wagner.

Such a man required a mind keen and akin, and it was there in bristling red. Today G. B. S. thinks that the most poignant dramatic quality can go with the elaborate design of Bach and Mozart. But his 'to-day' is not ours in India. The sense of form that precipitates after deep stirrings is not the same as that of being complacent with a surface placid by shortage of movement. The beauty of calm that descends after a storm is not to be compared with the muffled stillness of days before rains come. A saint's face is qualitatively different from that of a child, though both are reputed to be simple. In most cases, our love of classical forms is the reflection of inertia, of our desire not to think and live. Sometimes one wishes for a crude artist and a vulgar critic to debunk our classicism.

TRENDS IN SOCIALISTIC THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT: *By Ilyas Ahmad, M.A., Lecturer, Allahabad University, Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp. 113 plus four Appendices and a select Bibliography from 116 to 201. 1937. Price Rs. 2.*

The book dismisses the origin, growth and development of Socialism down to our own times in 75 pages. The onslaught of that movement in India—the phrase is on the jacket and describes a part of the scope of the book—is however interesting. Its clue is furnished by what follows, 'Islam and Socialism,' which should have been re-named as 'Islam in Danger.'

The author has completely misunderstood the significance of the growth of Socialism in India and the part played by Pandit Jawharlal in its spread. Panditji may not be a 'True Socialist'; his tragedy may be similar to that of the last great Victorian, John Stuart Mill, but to be blind to his contribution to link up India's destiny with the world's through anti-imperialist struggle is to shut one's eyes to socialistic theory and to historical facts, and take the name of academic detachment in vain.

I am not sufficiently, acquainted with Islamic theology to pronounce on Islam's connection with or superiority over Socialism. But what is known as the Muslim community under the new dispensation enjoys certain historical and social advantages over the non-Muslim brethren-at-arms in being able to skip the step which the latter were forced to take by the exigencies of certain situations in the recent past. This probably accounts for the fact that an appreciable number of Muslim intelligent young men today are Socialists in theory and practice. The author of the book is a well-read man, but has not looked out of his library to know what is happening outside. This book is unfair to the present, and therefore, unreal. An additional proof is the number of 'isms' littered over the pages. No account of socialistic theory, here or anywhere, is possible without due attention being paid to the history of strikes

and trade-union movements. More so in India, where much leeway has to be made.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT? By J. C. Kumarappa. *Hindusthan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajamahendry. 2nd edition. 1938. Pages 136. Price Twelve annas.*

This book is a plea for a new economic order in India and not a mere recital of the benefits of the village movement. The author has gone to the root of the matter and has taken up the problem of analysing the characters of western and eastern civilisation. Sjt. Kumarappa has made the Gandhian outlook of life his own and has given expression to thoughts in a way which is strikingly original, clear and convincing.

Sjt. Kumarappa divides human organisations into two types, the industrialised and the social type, from which originated what he calls the "pack type" and the "herd type," if they are named after their animal prototypes. The pack-type is a predatory one and possesses those qualities that make for success of the tiger or the wolf in the forest-life. This type in human beings develops an attitude for central control and concentration of power in the hands of individuals or small groups and places the prospect of gain as the motive force for all activities and attempts to gather as much as it can without reference to the value of service rendered.

On the other hand, the herd type possesses qualities which in forest-life make it possible for the elephant or the cow to exist and thrive in spite of the tiger and the wolf. This type develops aptitude for social control and decentralisation and distribution of power. The working and regulations in this case are impersonal. It attempts to safeguard the weak and the helpless and wants to distribute gain as widely as possible.

Sjt. Kumarappa then traces the development of the institutions of the east and the west and shows how the western or pack-type organisations found expression through a civilisation centering round cities and made way for the strife for raw material, for markets and for industrialisation and led to unemployment and ultimately to violent occupation of territories and destruction of what the 'herd-type' hold as culture.

The herd-type organisations on the contrary centered round villages, producing and distributing mainly for markets nearest home and made way for development of society by creation of joint family and caste systems and ultimately of village republics.

Sjt. Kumarappa puts the case for the preservation of the social institutions of India, in a masterly way. If they are revived the villages will automatically take their rightful place and bring out the character of the civilisation they stand for. The book is of immense importance to those who want to understand the inner currents of civilisation and the root cause of the present world strife.

India is naturally socially minded. Its socialism is as deep as it is wide. When the 'pack-type' nations, after living centuries of predatory life, were looking for discovering something better, they got a glimpse of Socialism. But their socialism is found to be tinged with predatory philosophy. I believe that if the modern socialists will seriously study this little book, they will be able to grasp why Gandhism is to be regarded as the highest type of socialism.

From 1908, Gandhiji has been preaching his doctrine of non-violence as an abiding force for maintaining and developing society and therefore of politics. It appears that it took us 30 years to realise the futility of violence in our national struggle. The western ideas of socialism have come as a wave sweeping over the country.

Shall we take another generation to understand that Gandhian socialism is of the rightest sort? A serious and critical study of Sjt. Kumarappa's thoughts and presentations will be of great help at the present moment.

Sjt. Kumarappa is at the head of the All-India Village Industries Association. His contribution to the cause of village movement are great and this book is no small addition to his many achievements.

SATISH CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MAHARASTRA AND KARNATAK : By Y. S. Pandit, M.A. *Published by the Tilak Swaraja Sangh, Poona. 1936.*

This is a prize-essay published on behalf of the Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Fund. The conditions laid down for the award of the essay included:—(1) That it should be written from a nationalist point of view, (2) that the treatment of its subject-matter should be scientific and (3) that the writer should hail from Maharashtra or Karnatak. These conditions the essay fulfilled to the satisfaction of the examiners and the writer was awarded a prize of Rs. 1,000.

The essay gives a fairly complete and accurate picture of the economic conditions in Maharashtra and Karnatak as pieced together from Government Reports and published books. There is no attempt made at first hand investigation. The last chapter entitled "Conclusion" gives a general summary and indicates the views of the writer on the various economic problems of Maharashtra and Karnatak.

The essay is well written and the views expressed are generally sound. But the treatment is purely economic and that too from rather a narrow standpoint. The population question is not dealt with except in a short appendix in spite of the conclusion of the author that it is the human factor that is responsible for the poor economic condition of the tract. Nor has the author devoted any attention to the subject of education, general and technical, which obviously had a great deal to do with economic backwardness of the people both in Maharashtra and elsewhere. Nonetheless, the essay of nearly 200 pages, gives a useful review of the economic conditions in Maharashtra and Karnatak and is eminently readable.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A GUJRAT TALUKA : By J. R. Shukla, M.A., edited by C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay. *Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1937. Price Rs. 5.*

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS : By A. D. Patel, M.A., with a Foreword by Sir T. Vijayaragacharya, K.B.E. *Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1937. Price Rs. 6.*

These are two theses approved by the University of Bombay for the Master's degree in Economics and are the result largely of personal investigation conducted by two research students under the guidance of University teachers.

Professor C. N. Vakil has explained in an editorial note as to why a Taluk was chosen and neither a village nor a district or a larger regional unit. The two studies are both conscientious and painstaking and give a careful analysis of the factors affecting moral life and prosperity. Both make useful and practical suggestions for improvement.

To the scientific investigator and the Government both the studies are of equal value and importance and the one supplements the other as the Talukas chosen are of two different types. But for the general reader "Indian Agricultural Economics" by A. D. Patel is more helpful—it is both better planned and more readable.

The two studies under review have still further strengthened my belief that detailed investigation into rural economic life may make our knowledge more impact and definite but it is not likely to add anything new to it. The facts disclosed by the two studies are not at all new nor are even the suggestions made for improvement original or novel. As a matter of fact Indian economic problems are extremely acute and they are very well known—a few more details makes hardly any difference to their understanding and search for solutions. Who is there who does not know that the pressure of population on agriculture is great and has been increasing and that little improvement can be expected unless this pressure is relieved through industrialization? Similarly the evils of subdivision and pregmentation of holdings and the causes thereof are too well-known to need repetition or emphasis. The lack of capital and of credit facilities, the colossal indebtedness of the agricultural classes, the need for proper measures of suitable bye-industries, the ignorance of the ryot and the cleverness of the money-lender, the hopeless condition of roads and of sanitation, the poor irrigation and marketing facilities and other difficulties and drawbacks of rural life are familiar to all students of Indian economics and of public affairs in the country. The same is true of the suggestions for improvement, cooperation—for consolidation, credit, purchase of seed, manures and other materials and implements, sale of produce, etc.—; land mortgage banks; supplementary industries like spinning, rope and basket making, dairy, poultry and bee farming, etc., are the usual remedies suggested. What is needed is planned action by provincial Governments—and if studies of the type under review act as timely reminders and goad the provincial Governments to systematic and persistent action they would have served not only their academic purpose but also a practical purpose of great public utility.

GURUMUKH N. SINGH

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN FRANCE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY: By Canon W. J. Sparrow Simpson. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 192. Price 5s. net.

The author gives us in this book a careful and well-written summary of the views of various Frenchmen of the last century on religion and religious subjects. He reviews not only Christian but anti-Christian writers as well, and not only writers but also preachers, Catholic as well as Protestant. The Catholic bias of the author is not concealed; and he does not profess any sympathy for what is called Biblical criticism but what very often turns out to be little better than undisguised hostility towards religion. And the fact that several literary men of the period, originally hostile to religion, were in later life converted to Catholicism, has not escaped the notice of our author.

Many of the accounts could, very profitably for the reader, be much longer. Sometimes the summary is so brief as to produce in the readers' mind the impression that he is going through a bibliography. Yet, on the whole, the book is an excellent account of the subject it professes to deal with.

TOWARDS A NEW MANNER OF LIVING: By Dr. Howard E. Collier. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 99.

The new manner of living, and the best manner of living according to our author, is that which harmonises the individual with society—which unifies "at one and the same time personality and sociality" (p. 15). And

this manner of living, we are told, is provided by Quakerism. To the first of these propositions, assent may readily be given; the second, however, is a matter of opinion.

The author belongs to a group of men whose "aim is the creation of a World Organism of Christian Friends, a Religious Society of Friends here on earth," and who believe in the reality of "the creative power of the Logos" (p. 95). The book is written in a fervid style, not free from a ring of mysticism, and will have an appeal for all who believe in the potency of "Christian friendship" and in the power of that religion to shape our life for the better.

POPULAR CULTURE IN KARNATAKA: By Masti Venkatesa Iyengar. Published by Satya Sodhana Pustak Bhandara, Fort, Bangalore City. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 2/2.

As the name of the book implies, it is an account of some popular cultural movements that took place in Karnataka (Mysore and the surrounding area of land). Such movements have taken place in other parts of India also and are worthy of being remembered. They have shaped the life of the ordinary people and generally shaped it well. The impact of modern civilisation is fast destroying their effects; perhaps they have outlived their period of usefulness; but in their time, they were a reed on which the religion and morality of the masses rested. And history would not be complete if the originators of these movements were not remembered. Our author's endeavour, therefore, deserves praise. Besides, the book has been written in a simple and attractive style.

There is one peculiarity of expression used by these Karnataka people to which our author has drawn pointed attention and which he regards as specially indicative of their high spirituality: It is that when any of them are indisposed, they do not say "I am unwell" but would rather say "My body is not well." This, our author contends (p. 11 and also p. 149), implies a knowledge that the body is not self. Perhaps it does; but it may be an idiom of the language as well. In Bengali, too, the idiomatic expression employed on such occasions is exactly the same. But for that alone, Bengal (and perhaps Karnataka also) would not be justified in claiming an extraordinarily alive spiritual consciousness.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HAR BILAS SARDA COMMEMORATION VOLUME: Edited by P. Seshadri, M.A. Published by Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer. 1937. Pp. xlvii + 555. Price: not mentioned.

Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarma is chiefly remembered throughout the length and breadth of India as the author of that highly beneficial nation-building measure—the Sarma Act. But the Dewan Bahadur throughout a busy life of over 70 years has been serving Mother India by his Speeches and Writings. It was, therefore, a happy idea on the part of Principal Seshadri to commemorate Har Bilas Sarma's completing 70th year by presenting him with a Commemoration Volume.

Frederic Harrison has protested more than once against the practice of holding celebrations in honour of living personalities, and wished that the public would reserve judgment till they could be seen through the long perspective of past history. But there is genuine and sincere pleasure in expressing our appreciation of one who is still happily amidst us. It is a great satisfaction to feel that honour is being done where honour is due. It is again almost a national duty to express our gratitude to those who have rendered valuable national services, however much they themselves may not look forward to rewards of this kind.

It is in this spirit that the Volume under notice has been edited. It is a sumptuous volume of over 555 quarto pages, rich alike in its contributions and in its contributors. The messages and greetings come from far and near; from men like Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru; from the Ruling Princes and from officials like the Executive Councillors to the Government of India and the Residents of the Native States. The contributions cover a very wide field: from Indian Art and Archaeology in British Isles to the Technique of Social Reform in India; from Cultural Coalescence in the Atharva-Veda to Folk Songs of Syrian Christians; and from the making of American Constitution to the Co-ordination of Indian Education. The value of the book has been enhanced by the inclusion of a table of the principal events of Har Bilas Sarda's life with dates, and a list of his writings, and of several plates. We have nothing but praise for this Commemoration Volume; and we congratulate Principal Seshadri on the successful completion of his self-appointed task.

DEBT LEGISLATION IN BENGAL: By Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons. Pp. 40. Price Re. 1.

It is a good, short, interesting study on a subject of considerable practical importance to Bengal.

J. M. DATTA

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: A PERSPECTIVE AND RETROSPECT: By M. N. Roy. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

FASCISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY, PROFESSIONS AND PRACTICE: By M. N. Roy. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

Comrade M. N. Roy brought with him the revolutionary experience of three continents, as he is proud to avow, to apply to the Indian situation. The two small books from his pen are, therefore, welcome to all. More than anybody else in India he can speak about the Russian Revolution with authority, and more than most other such people he knows what Fascism is and means to the world. And, the books also explain, to a discerning mind, the strange fate that pursues Comrade Roy, in spite of his ability and ardour, in India and abroad, his rise and fall in public affection.

The Russian Revolution presents a historical perspective and a retrospect of the great upheaval, and, the socialist reconstruction that follows it. It is clear in its survey of the conditions and forces; it is thoroughly logical and reasonable in its analysis, and it will satisfy none; for there are few whose opinions are not already formed, and encased in the iron bars of prejudices or predilections of one kind or other. Roy defends Stalin and his policy as a Marxist and as an independent thinker, condemns everyone of the Left or Right who disagreed with the Stalinists, for 'under the given conditions' the communists could not do otherwise. Yet every Communist must 'under the given conditions' of the Comintern fall foul of this expelled member, the more so, when the 'renegade' holds that the Russian revolution was, and, 'under the given conditions' could not be, a proletarian revolution but a peasant revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The Communists must denounce this 'revisionist'. But Roy, perhaps, would deserve a better treatment from the ordinary, unbiased reader, if there be any left so, who may even go so far as to suspect him to be a Stalinist.

'Fascism' will meet with little opposition from any of the comrades of the writer. It will evoke protests from all Indians who hold Indian philosophy and Indian culture dear and near to their heart. Roy is acute in his analysis

of the Fascist mind, the western schools of thought which supplied the philosophical strands for this unscrupulous socio-political movement. Mercilessly the writer pursues further and traces the affiliation, psychologically, of that philosophy with our Indian thought as enshrined in the Gita and other sacred sastras. We are as a subject people, all against Fascism; but we are also nationalists, at least proud of our cultural inheritance. The dangerous parallelism, and the close affinities that Roy shews to exist between Indian thought and Fascist philosophy, are not likely to make us feel comfortable. Most will disagree with Roy, many will call him superficial and confused in his knowledge of Indian philosophy; but the truth is more likely to be on the side of Comrade Roy than on that of his critics.

One thing is certain—Comrade Roy knows how to think and how to speak. In thought and style, he is absolutely clear and penetrating.

SANDHANI

CENTRAL BANKING IN INDIA (1773-1934): By Om Prakash Gupta, M.Sc., LL.B., F.R. Econ. S. Hindusthan. Times Press, Delhi. Pp. 290, Price Rs. 5.

Establishment of the Reserve Bank of India, ushers in a new era in India's financial administration. Since the beginning of the present century there had been a number of committees and commissions dealing with India's financial and banking problems. Apart from the reports of these committees and commissions there had been a host of publications on the study of these subjects by well-known economists. Mr. Gupta's book on "Central Banking in India" recounts the story of India's attempts, for the establishment of a Central Bank, since the year 1773. The book also gives a co-ordinated history of the long chain of events, during these 162 years, relating to India's currency, finance and banking. Mr. Gupta, in his book presents in a concise and scientific manner the importance of the Reserve Bank of India in the national economy of the country. In the concluding chapter of the book the author examines the evolution of the central banking system in general and explains at length the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 in the light of the laws, chapters, and statutes regulating the central banks in the different parts of the world. The book will prove useful to the students of Indian Banking.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

A GUIDE TO BELUR: By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.). Published for the Government of Mysore, Bangalore, 1937. Pp. 29 + 10 plates. Price 4 annas.

We are sure this neat little booklet illustrated by several well-printed photographs will prove helpful to visitors to Belur in Mysore.

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, (PART II, THE GRAECO-BUDDHIST SCHOOL OF GANDHARA): By N. G. Majumdar. Archaeological Survey of India. Delhi, 1937. Pp. ii + 137. 15 plates and one map. Price Re. 1/8.

In the introduction, the author gives us a learned account of the chief characteristics and historical affiliations of the Gandhara School of Art. This is followed by a detailed description of the exhibits together with copious explanations from Buddhist sacred literature. The illustrations are of a uniformly high quality.

A GUIDE TO FATEHPUR SIKRI: By Muhammad Ashraf Husain, M.A., M.R.A.S. Delhi, 1937. Price Re. 1. Pp. 77 + 12 plates.

AN HISTORICAL GUIDE TO THE AGRA FORT (BASED ON CONTEMPORARY RECORDS): By Maulvi

Muhammad Ashraf Hussain, M.A. Delhi. 1937. Pp. vii + 71 + 8 plates.

These two booklets illustrated by excellent photographs and maps will not only serve the purpose of the layman but also of the more serious student of history. The appendices containing translations of the inscriptions and the bibliography will be particularly helpful to the latter. One however misses in the latter book any reference to Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* although books of lesser value find a place in the bibliography.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE BATTLE OF CHINA: By Dr. K. R. Menon, Ph.D. Published by the School of Printing, Printers' Association, Singapore. \$1.00 or 2s. 6d.

This book, which bears the sub-title *The Lay of a Chinese Girl*, is to be appreciated rather for the cause than the achievement. Written in championship of the Chinese people engaged in a life and death struggle against the Japanese invader, and bearing a declaration to the effect that the entire proceeds of the sale of the book will go to the Chinese Red Cross, the book describes the 'valour and gallantry of Chinese soldiers at the front and the intense patriotism of the people at the rear.' The story culminates in the historic episode of a brave Chinese girl who offers herself as a prize in a lottery to raise funds for the defence of China.

The verse is poor at best, but it is bad English in a good cause; and, to misuse a line from Tennyson, 'the cause, the cause alone is eloquent.'

S. H. V.

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARAT: *Virataparvan* (Fascicule 8) critically edited by Dr. Raghu Vira. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1936).

Difficulty lies at the beginning of all things and this universally accepted truth is exemplified in the *Adiparvan*, the opening section of the Great Epic. Like a real Mahabharata hero, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar the general editor, has fought against legions of hostile problems and recovered for us, the basic elements in the *Adi*, the crown-jewel of textual criticism. His devotion was so keen and his technique so reliable that his learned colleague Dr. Raghu Vira could not help observing at the end of his introduction: "The technique of reconstruction has been perfected to such a degree that the personality of the Editor has been almost eliminated. That is the triumph of our labours."

Yet the difficulties, here in the *Virataparvan* as elsewhere, appeared to be overwhelming. The *Parvasamgraha* figures for the *Virata* are 67 adhyayas and 2050 slokas. These figures were accepted by the late Mr. N. B. Utgikar, who prepared the Tentative Edition (1923) of the Institute. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, in his "Southern Recension critically edited" (1932) figured at 67 adhyayas (although all his MSS. divided the text into 76!) and 3500 slokas. Dr. Raghu Vira after a most exacting analysis, accepts with the detachment of a scientist, under the limitations of our present MSS. materials, the figures of 67 adhyayas and 1834 slokas. He regrets that Prof. Sastri's uncritical method has not helped very much in arriving at good results and that a sounder edition of the Southern Recension would be most welcome. Under the circumstances Dr. Raghu Vira with perfect reason, adhered to the more reliable textual traditions of Northern India, utilizing the Sarada, the Devanagari and the Bengali versions (collated at the Visvabharati Library). He has

utilized also the Dutch edition of the *Javanese Virataparvan* (11th century A.D.) published by Dr. Juyaboll.

The Bhandarkar Institute deserves the congratulation of the nation for having acquired and utilized a manuscript dated V. Sam. 1493=1437 A.D. and thus the *oldest dated* manuscript (so far traced) of the Mahabharata. It is written on old unglazed Indian paper which has withstood for five centuries, the ravages of climate and insects. It should be advertised as a National Treasure.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal from its rich collection, supplied the only Sarada MSS. (1708 A.D.), extant of the *Virata*; and how the folios of the MSS. stuck together on account of moisture, were separated deftly by the collator Shankar Sastri, reads like a romance. A few other MSS. from the Bombay Government collection (now deposited with the B. O. R. I.) are dated 1494, 1539, 1614 and so forth, showing how with better technique of preservation and a little more attention of our big Provincial Universities, we may save thousands of such rare MSS. documents of our national culture. Thus the Mahabharata research, initiated by the learned Editor and his devoted colleagues of the Bhandarkar Institute, clearly points to the next urgent line of work where the Central and the Provincial Governments may co-operate with a view to the collection and conservation of the fast decaying MSS. treasures of India. What is possible for the scholars of India to do has been admirably demonstrated through the Mahabharata work of the Institute; but, mere scholarship is not sufficient and funds are needed if we mean to organize, on a nationwide scale the work of MSS. conservation and cataloguing. Dr. Raghu Vira has in the *Virataparvan*, gloriously continued the traditions of the Bhandarkar Institute to which as well as to the learned Editor we offer our hearty congratulations.

KALIDAS NAG

HINDI

RAJASTHAN RA DUHA: *Part I. Collected and edited by Prof. Narottamdas Swami, M.A. Published by Navayuga Sahitya Mandir, Delhi. Pp. 112+248, Price Rs. 2.*

The book under notice is the second volume of the Pilani Rajasthani Series instituted and financed by Seth G. D. Birla, our well-known and literal-minded countryman.

The book contains Rajasthani verses on various heads, some of which are of historical interest. This is a contribution to our folk literature. Here we find the Marwaris at home and at their best. The Introduction deals with all about Rajasthani language and literature. The Preface written by Mm. Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha of Ajmer is a short history of anthology compilation in India. The Notes are very useful, giving parallel passages from both old and modern authors.

The book is a welcome addition to Hindi and Rajasthani literature.

RAMESH BASU

MARATHI

HINDUNCHE ARTIHASHTRA (*Part One*). By Govind Mahadev Joshi, B.A. Published by W. H. Munje, Secretary, Hindu-Sanskrit-Sampadak and Granth-Prakash-Mandal, Walker Road, Nagpur. Pages 234. Price Rs. 2.

Starting with the publisher's and author's dogmatic prefaces stating that poor Hindu culture is standing unsafe amidst a hurricane of rebelling and reacting idea-forces and is endangered every moment with the imaginary onslaught of alien materialism and horrors of class-war, the book aims at a reconstruction of the fundamentals of the science

of economics from the cultural and sociological standpoint of the Hindoos—a phrase unexplained all through the book. But stuffed with the unimaginative and unbridgeable insularity of a typical conservative and symptomatic of unpurposive analysis, rigid and harsh; the book leaves the reader with an utterly disappointing impression that the author has presented a rehash of undigested material from the Western Economists only. The bibliography, suggesting that all the main reference books used in this attempt at re-establishing Hindu culture are English and a paragraph on the third page in the introduction dealing with the abstruse Ricardian equations, given in the Greek and Latin mathematical terms are pieces of a ridiculous paradox, upsetting downright the very claims of the author. In its design to embrace all the four corners of the wide fields of knowledge, and to solve all the possible problems of space and time and population and moral values in its narrow limits; the book has neither remained philosophy, nor sociology nor economics but a hopeless higgledy-piggledy of all sorts of what-nots: without selection or emphasis. For example, the first chapter entitled 'Thought about Sciences' simply repeats the deductive logic, that too in the western fashion; the fun being, all through the book the author proposes to be logical but is led away at places by the blind belief in authorities and at places loses integrity in the oblivion of abstracted argumentation.

On the whole the book is written in a tedious technical manner, at places tinted with verbose, and in an unintelligible Marathi; though one may perceive some sense in chapters as on population problem, after undergoing the ordeal of a curiously manufactured phraseology. How is the book going to serve Hindu culture, when one Hindu per hundred will hardly follow it?

P. B. MACHWE

GUJARATI

MUNSHI PATHAVALI: By *Sombhai Patel*. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co. Bombay. Thick Card Board. Pp. 238. Price Re. 1-40 (1937).

The Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Member in the Bombay Provincial Cabinet, is a brilliant and versatile writer of merit. He has handled novels, biography, drama, and essay writing with great effect and the best passages from his works have been selected for presentation to students in the present compilation. Indeed it is a great honour to a living person to see his work appreciated in this fashion, and a source of pleasure too. The Introduction is contributed by a young friend of his, Chandravadan Metha,—an admirer but at the same time an outspoken writer. He treats in a sarcastic way, the reception which possibly the compilation may meet with, at the hands of persons engaged in the teaching line. He has a few plain words to say to the spirited students who are likely to study the spirited sentiments of Mr. Munshi.

JAINACHARYA SHRI ATMANAND JANMA SHATABDI SMARAK GRANTH. Published by the Shatabdi Smarak Committee, Bombay and edited by Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, B.A., LL.B., Advocate. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 188. (English), 213 (Hindi), 144 + 260 (Gujarati). Price Rs. 2-8-0. (1937).

This stupendous memorial volume has been ably edited by that well-known Jain man of letters and Law, Mr. Mohanlal D. Desai. It contains very interesting pictures to illustrate the many articles which are found in it and the articles contributed are in three languages, English,

Hindi and Gujarati, so that a very wide field of choice has been provided for the Editor. Atmanandaji was well-known as a religious head, an author, and ideal saint amongst the Jains during his life time. It was he who inspired the late Virchand Raghavji to go to America to propagate the Jain Sampradaya there. The mechanical get-up of the book is of a superior quality and the varied information contained in the contribution make it an interesting and informative volume.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

RADHIKASANTVANAMU: By *Muddu Palani*, No. 1 of *Srungara Grandha Mandili series* of K. G. Murty, Masulipatam. Demy 1/8. Pp. 28 + 147. Price As. 12 for members only.

Muddu Palani, the mistress of the Maharana Chief tain, Pratapasimha, who held the reins of the Chola kingdom between 1740-1765, is the authoress of this good literary piece of 4 cantos. The divine love of Krishna, and Ila and Radha is the theme of the story. It is erotic in sentiment. This creditable work long suffered the curse of oblivion through the ban of the Government. Public gratitude and support are due to the Mandali for its care and pain in saving it from decay.

TATA CHARITRAMU: By *K. Satagopachari, M.A.*, B.L. Cocanada. Pp. 12 + 164. Price As. 10.

A life history of the Indian industrial pioneer, the late Jamshedji N. Tata, who worked for India's material regeneration, and to whose indefatigable endeavours the Tata Iron & Steel Company, the Indian Institute of Science, the Taj Hotel, the Lonavala Hydro-Electric Scheme, and a host of others owe their shape and existence. The presentation of the material tends to be a contribution to industrial history rather than to biography.

R. S. BEARADWAJ

BOOKS RECEIVED

AN IDEAL HAPPY LIFE OR DO BUT NEVER MIND: Illustrated. Seventh Edition. By *Khushi Ram*, New Delhi. Pp. v.+156, including 7 charts. Price Re. 1.

BEAUTIFUL BOMBAY AND OTHER STORY POEMS: By *Innocent Sousa*. New Book Co., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 56, Price Re. 1-8.

THOUGHTS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY: By *H. V. Chinmulgund (Rao Bahadur)*. Printed and published by Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, B.A., at the Aryabhushan Press, 9151, Bhamburda Peth, Poona 4. Price As. 12.

FREEDOM, INDIA'S MESSAGE, WORLD-PEACE AND SELF-REVEALING SONGS: By *Ramanadasa K. S. Seshagiri, B.A.*, 31, South Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 24+2, Price As. 3.

THE HIDDEN YEARS OF JESUS: By *S. A. Das*, Officer d'academie (Paris), Calcutta. 1938. Pp. 29. Price As. 8.

GURU JANA GANA SEVITHAM OR MY PLAN OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM: By *Brahmajosyula Sitaramiah, B.A., L.T., M.R.S.T. (England)*. Pp. xxxix+50+xi. 1938. Price Re. 1-8. Foreign 3sh. or 75 cents.

SHOULD THE INDIAN SPEAKER FOLLOW THE BRITISH OR THE AMERICAN MODEL ?

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

THE SUBJECT which I propose to discuss is : "Should the Indian Speaker—and I mean by the expression 'Indian Speaker' not merely the Speaker of a Provincial Legislative Assembly today or the Speaker of the Federal Assembly of India when it will be constituted, but also the President of the Council of State or of a Provincial Legislative Council—follow the British or the American model?" That is to say, whether in the execution of the duties of his office, the Speaker in India should follow the example of the Speaker of the British House of Commons or of the Speaker of the American House of Representatives? Incidentally, I shall also refer to the position and functions of the President of the French Chamber of Deputies. The subject is not merely of academic interest, but also of great practical importance to this country, particularly in view of the ruling given by the Speaker, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, on 19th January last in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly,¹ and the endorsement of that ruling by the then President of the Indian National Congress.² The occasion for the ruling was the notice of a motion for adjournment given by Mr. Zahirulhasan Lari for the purpose of discussing the question of "the participation of the Speaker in party politics."³ And Mr. Speaker Tandon has been reported by the Special Correspondent of the *Statesman* at Lucknow to have declared, among other things :⁴

"I have expressed on several occasions my views in regard to the functions of the Speaker. I have made it clear that no one deserves to occupy the chair of Speaker who cannot commend the confidence of the House as a whole and who cannot be impartial while he takes part in politics. I have made it also clear that I do not believe in the convention of the House of Commons. I believe in the conventions of France, U.S.A. and some other countries, which permit the Speaker to take part in politics. Situated as we are in this country, I am particularly emphatic that it is absolutely necessary to allow the Speaker to take part in politics. If he does not

do so you may be content with a third-rate person or a civil or criminal judge, but you will not get a prominent politician."

And in a statement⁵ to the Press Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has declared that he wholly agrees with the position taken up by Mr. Speaker Tandon on the question whether a Speaker in India should abstain from participation in politics outside the legislature. His actual words are :⁶

"Some people have inclined to the view that the practice of the British House of Commons should be followed here; others have inclined to the different practice which prevails in the United States of America and elsewhere."

"The question is whether a Speaker should abstain from participation in politics outside the legislature. Personally, I wholly agree with the position taken up by Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, Speaker of the United Provinces Assembly. It is obvious that a Speaker must be absolutely impartial in his dealings as Speaker. He must protect minorities from the over-bearing weight of a great majority. If that is conceded, as it must be, then I see no reason why he should not participate in political activities outside the legislature."

"This becomes all the more important in a country situated as India is at present, that is, a country under alien domination struggling to be free."

"Every Indian feels or ought to feel strongly in this matter and should try to throw his weight on the right side, the only side so far as he is concerned. Every Congressman is bound to do so by his convictions and temperament. For him to say that by virtue of election to the Speakership he will suddenly become a neutral element in politics is to delude himself as well as others. We cannot become neutrals."

This frank declaration, coming as it has done from the President of the Indian National Congress, is very significant, specially in view of the fact that there are already several provinces in India in which the government is virtually in the hands of the Congress.

Although Mr. Speaker Tandon has admitted that no one deserves to occupy the chair of Speaker "who cannot command the confidence of the House as a whole and who cannot be

1. *Vide* the *Statesman* (Dak edition) of 21st January, 1938.

2. *Vide* the same of 3rd February, 1938.

3. *Vide* the same of 21st January, 1938.

4. *Ibid.*

5. See the *Statesman* (Dak Edition) of 3rd February, 1938. The relevant Associated Press message was dated at Allahabad, 1st February, 1938. At that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of the Indian National Congress.

6. *Ibid.*

impartial while he takes part in politics," yet it is very clear from what he has said that he does "not believe in the convention of the House of Commons," but that he believes "in the conventions of France, U. S. A. and some other countries, which permit the Speaker to take part in politics."

Now, what is the convention of the House of Commons referred to by him? It will be evident from what follows. The most distinguishing characteristic of the Speaker of the House of Commons is his impartiality. "He has," as Bryce has stated in his *American Commonwealth*,⁷ "been chosen by a party, because a majority means in England a party."

But on his way from his place on the benches to the Chair he is expected to shake off and leave behind all party ties and sympathies. Once invested with the wig and gown of office he has no longer any political opinions, and must administer exactly the same treatment to his political friends and to those who have been hitherto his opponents, to the oldest or most powerful minister and to the youngest or least popular member....It makes little difference to any English party in Parliament whether the occupant of the chair has come from their own or from their hostile ranks....a custom as strong as law forbids him to render help to his own side even by private advice. Whatever information as to parliamentary law he may feel free to give must be equally at the disposal of every member."

This impartiality is "the most precious attribute" of the English Speaker, and like the English King he is "supposed to have no politics." As Michael MacDonagh has beautifully put it in his *Pageant of Parliament*,⁸

"whether the Speaker is first designated by the Government, or, in case of a division, is carried by the majority of the Government, when he is being conducted by his proposer and seconder from his place on the benches to the Chair, he, as it were, doffs his Party colours, be they buff or blue, and wears, instead, the white flower of a neutral political life.....Henceforth he sits above all Parties. As Speaker he has no political opinions."

He is, as another eminent English writer^{8a} has nicely remarked, "as near as can be in a human being, the Rules and Practice of the House come to life without interposition of his own view." And this admiration for the office of the Speaker of the House of Commons is not confined to British writers alone. Prof. Josef Redlich of the University of Vienna has observed⁹ that "from the moment of election he discards every outward tie that has hitherto

bound him to his party; he refuses to enter a political club, and, both *within the House and without*, abstains from expressing any political opinion;" and that even at a general election he "only offers himself as a candidate by written communications and refrains in his election address from touching upon political questions."¹⁰ As a result, the office of Speaker in England has become, to quote him¹¹ again, "a synonym for dignity and impartiality." This is a high tribute indeed—and that from a foreigner!

Moreover, even distinguished American writers on the constitutional system of the U. S. A., like the late President Woodrow Wilson, Prof. William Munro and Prof. Arthur Holcombe of Harvard University, Prof. Frederic Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Edward Sait of the University of California, Prof. James Young of the University of Pennsylvania and Prof. Charles Beard of Columbia University, have, while contrasting in their works the office of the English Speaker with that of the American Speaker, either directly or indirectly expressed their admiration for the former. Thus we find Prof. Frederic Ogg remarking (*European Governments and Politics*),¹²

"Outside, no less than inside, of the House, the (English) Speaker abstains from every appearance of partisanship. He never publicly discusses or voices an opinion on party issues; he never attends a party meeting; he has no connections with party newspapers; he never sets foot in a political club; he, of course, makes no campaign for his own re-election. The Speaker of the American House of Representatives is, quite frankly, a party man.....an official who serves, and is expected to serve, the interests of his party so far as it can be done without too flagrant unfairness to the opposition. The contrast with the speakership at Westminster is indeed striking.....As would be expected, the deference paid the Chair at Westminster is considerably greater than at Washington, having often been, as Sir Courtenay Ilbert remarks, 'the theme of admiring comment by foreign observers'."

Again, "the speaker," writes Prof. Munro,¹³ "from the moment he takes the Chair, ceases to be a party man."

He discards his party colours, be they buff, or blue, or red. He is no longer a Liberal, a Conservative, or a Labour partisan. He attends no more party gatherings and is not called into consultation on any matters of party policy. He must be a neutral in politics.....Whether in entertaining his friends at dinner, or in recognizing members who desire to speak, or in ruling on points of order, he must act with the impartiality of a chief justice. If he has personal and political likes or dislikes, as most

7. Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, (1922), p. 140.

8. MacDonagh, *Pageant of Parliament*, Vol. I, p. 123.

8(a) Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, p. 782.

9. See his *Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. II, pp. 133-34.

10. *Ibid*, p. 133.

11. *Ibid*, p. 131.

12. P. 245.

13. *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 170.

public men have, he must somehow manage to keep them submerged."

But what does the American Speaker do? He "has great political power, and is permitted, nay expected," says Bryce,¹⁴ "to use it in the interests of his party...."

In calling upon members to speak he prefers those of his own side. He decides in their favour such points of order as are not distinctly covered by the rules.... Although the Speaker seldom delivers a speech in the House, he may and does advise the other leaders of his party privately; and when they 'go into caucus' (i.e., hold a party meeting to determine their action on some pending question) he is present and gives counsel."

Prof. James Young of the University of Pennsylvania has gone further. He has said (*The New American Government and Its Work*)¹⁵:

"Whether the Speaker has been Clark, Crisp or Randall of the Democrats, or Cannon or Reed of the Republicans, he has been forced (in the interest of his party) to abandon all pretence of impartiality and to support and guide his party in its legislative program.As presiding officer, he decides points of order and procedure, always with a view to the promotion of his party's legislative program."

And before 1910-11 the Speaker was virtually "the autocrat" of the House of Representatives—"in a real sense the dictator of the House."¹⁶ He had gradually acquired this position, through his prerogative of 'recognition' of members which would alone enable them to address the House, his power of appointing the Standing Committees of the House, and of interpreting and applying its rules of debate, and "through the instrumentality of the small Committee on Rules," of which he was the Chairman. Thus, says Prof. Holcombe in his *State Government in the United States*,¹⁷

"The combination of the power of recognition, appointment, and control of the committee on rules made the Speaker a veritable dictator in the House of Representatives. A similar development in the influence of the Speaker took place in those states where business was heavy, where members were numerous, where time was short, and where party lines were closely drawn. This was notably the case in the state of New York."¹⁸

14. *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

15. Pp. 49-53.

16. See Young, *The New American Government and Its Work*, p. 50.

17. Holcombe, *State Government in the United States*, p. 260.

18. We also find in Woodrow Wilson (*Constitutional Government in the United States*, 1911, pp. 91-98):

"The power of appointing the Committees, which the House has conferred upon its Speaker, makes him the almost autocratic master of its actions.

"In all legislative bodies except ours the presiding officer has only the powers and functions of a

And it may also be noted here that in appointing the Standing Committees of the House, the Speaker, as Woodrow Wilson has remarked in his *Constitutional Government in the United States*,¹⁹ not only allowed "himself to make them up with a view to the kind of legislation" he wished to see enacted; he was "expected to make them up with such a view"—was "expected to make them up as a party leader would." Even his own personal views upon particular public questions he would not "hesitate to enforce in his appointments."^{19a} And although the powers of the American Speaker have been considerably curtailed since the reforms of 1910-11, they are "still great."²⁰ He is still "a party man" and still "wields the strongest influence in legislation."

The Speaker is also "the most powerful officer in the lower houses of the state legislatures"²¹ in the U. S. A. And this is more or less due to the same causes, *mutatis mutandis*, which made the Speaker of the House of Representatives "the Czar of the House" before 1910-11.

It is evident from what has been shown above that the Speaker in the U. S. A. is not only a party man, but he is also not *strictly* impartial in the discharge of his duties as the Chairman of the House of Representatives or, as the case may be, as the Chairman of the Lower House of a State legislature. He often acts, in the execution of his duties as Chairman, in a manner that is likely to promote the

Chairman. He is separate from parties and is looked to to be punctiliously impartial.... But the processes of our parliamentary development have made the Speaker of our great House of Representatives and the Speakers of our State Legislatures party leaders in whom centres the control of all that they do. So far as the House of Representatives and its share in the public business is concerned, the Speaker is undisputed party leader..... The whole powerful machinery of the great popular chamber is at his disposal, and all the country knows how effectually he can use it."

19. Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States*, pp. 91-92.

19(a). We also find in Munro (*The Government of the United States of America*, p. 236): "It became his regular practice to make up the Committees in such a way that they would do just what he wanted them to do.... The Speaker in a word controlled the Committees and the Committees controlled the House. One man, in this way, determined both the form and the destiny of the laws. It was he who decided whether a measure should go on its way to the statute book or be relegated to the discard."

20. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 142.

21. Holcombe, *State Government in the United States*, 1916, p. 252.

interests of the party to which he belongs or to help the adoption of measures in which his party is interested.²² And this is well-known in the U. S. A. But although the warfare of parties there is "based upon a real difference of opinion about the needs of the community as a whole," yet the parties themselves are not divided there on religious or communal lines. Parties in this country, however, are, and will for a long time to come be, formed on communal or religious lines. And we cannot get away from these facts, however, ideological we may be. Thus the lines of cleavage in the two countries are fundamentally different. Regard being had to this fact, would it not be disastrous to the true interests of this country if the Speaker here were allowed to follow the American model rather than the English? Besides, whatever Mr. Speaker Tandon and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may say, it is difficult for an ordinary mortal, *although there may be exceptions*, to be an active party man outside, and to be strictly impartial in the performance of his duties as Chairman inside, a legislature. Moreover, even if he attempts to be impartial in the legislature, his impartiality may sometimes run the risk of being adversely commented upon. And if once the impartiality of his rulings becomes rightly or wrongly suspect as having been influenced by party considerations—and this will inevitably be the case sooner or later if the Speaker takes an active part in politics outside the legislature—then it may be extremely difficult for him to restore order when there will be a "clash of wills and

temper" in the legislature. And this will not certainly help the smooth working of legislatures in this country, which again will unfortunately have repercussions in other directions, not conducive to its best interests. What I mean is this: If the Speaker's rulings become suspect, they will be challenged. This will not only entail "waste of time", but will, what will be much worse, also give rise to a controversy after the passage of a bill that it has been "unfairly passed". And a law made under such conditions will, as Dr. Finer^{22(a)} has said in another connexion, lose part of its authority. And this may lead to many undesirable consequences at the time of the enforcement of the law. The Speaker's conduct, both inside and outside the legislature, should, therefore, be such as to be, like that of a judge, above suspicion. And the same considerations which forbid the judge to take part in politics, should prevent the Speaker from participation in politics. He should be the one person in the legislature who should be able, by his tact, firmness, character, personality, and, above all, the strictest impartiality, to inspire in the minds of its members confidence in, and respect for, him.

What I have said above against the imitation of the American example may be urged with an equal force against any proposal for the adoption of the French system by the Indian Speaker. My justification for this statement is that the President of the Chamber of Deputies in France, who is "elected anew at every session," resembles, to quote the words of Bryce²³ again, "the Speaker of the American House of Representatives rather than the Speaker of the British House of Commons, for *he is not expected to display that absolute impartiality which is the distinguishing note of the latter.*" He too is "a party man." and on election to the Chair "does not cease to be a party man,"²⁴ but "remains.....a politician."²⁵ As a result, he "does not enjoy in the Chamber (of Deputies) the consideration" which is accorded to the Speaker in the British House of Commons. According to Mr. Bodley,²⁶ he is not elected to his office "by reason of his impartial temperament." The choice generally falls, he says, "upon a combatant politician who does not sink his opinions in the Chair.

22. This is also the view of Dr. Herman Finer. He says:

"In U. S. A. the Speaker is not impartial and is not intended to be by the majority, nor, if we judge by experience, does he intend to be, although he is expected to be fair to the minority. He is to-day one of the majority party leaders; before 1911 he was the party leader in the legislative branch of government.

"When the Speaker is chosen he does not cut off connexions with his party—on the contrary, they are even more sedulously cultivated; he occasionally promotes bills of great and sometimes of general importance; he speaks in debate, although the written rules of the House deprecate this; he votes, although the rules of the House do not encourage him to vote except in certain circumstances; his seat is contested, and therefore he must nurse his constituency by titbits from the "pork barrel" and by declarations of policy, and he must, frequently, harbour a certain resentment against his opponents. He promotes by positive strategy and intervention a legislative and executive policy. Thus the Speaker of the House of Representatives is the avowed agent of the majority, he is involved, often he leads, in the party counsels. *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, pp. 783-84.

22(a). See his *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II. p. 781.

23. See his *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 275.

24. See Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 468.

25. Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, p. 201.

26. See Bodley, *France*, 1907, p. 420.

which, on the contrary, he most often quits to assume the lead of a party."²⁷ There are many instances²⁸ of the Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies becoming Prime Ministers of France and, again, of their reverting back to the position of President of the Chamber on the fall of their ministries. And in the past—although it has become unusual in recent years—there have been occasions when the President has left the chair and taken part in the debate as a partisan, like an ordinary member of the Chamber.²⁹ In such circumstances it is idle to expect the strictest impartiality from the President; nor can the President, in these circumstances, expect from the members of the Chamber of Deputies that attitude of awe and reverence towards him, which is shown to the Speaker in the British House of Commons.

Going now back to the question of Speakership in America, I should like to refer to two other important considerations. In the first place, as Prof. Beard³⁰ has observed, in a sense leadership has been thrust upon the Speaker in America by its system of Government, which has "provided the House (of Representative) with no official leadership," whereas in England the Prime Minister "assumes responsibility for the fate of all measures under discussion." This absence of official leadership, Prof. Munro³¹ also agrees.

27. *Ibid.*

28. "Since M. Grevy, the first occupant of the chair under the Constitution of 1875, left it to be Chief of the State," writes Mr. Bodley "down to the general elections of 1898 all the Presidents of the Lower House, excepting M. Burdeau who died in office, subsequently became Prime Ministers, namely, MM. Gambetta, Brisson, Floquet, Méline, Casimir-Perier, and Dupuy; and each one save M. Méline descended straight from the chair to form a Ministry. MM. Perier and Dupuy had also each the curious experience when overthrown as Prime Minister of being forthwith re-elected to the presidency of the Chamber which had just driven him from power."—See *ibid.*

A recent case of the President becoming the Prime Minister, is that of M. Herriot who was called by the President of France to form a new ministry on the fall of the Briand Government in July 1926, caused by his own speech.—See Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, p. 790.

29. Gambetta, writes Mr. Bodley, "so far regarded the post as that of a political leader that he used to call upon himself to speak, descending to the lower tribune and ceding his chair to a vice-president."—See his *France*, p. 427.

Also see Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 468; also Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, p. 201; also Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, p. 790.

30. See Beard, *American Government and Politics*, 1935, p. 116.

31. See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 1929, pp. 233-34.

accounts "for the gravitation of leadership into the hands of the Speaker, as the only conspicuous officer chosen by the House itself." He "became the recognized leader of the majority party, chosen virtually by its caucus..... became the man on whom the majority depended for getting its measures safely through the maze of rules."³² But this plea cannot reasonably be advanced in India, where the principles of the parliamentary system of Government as it obtains in England, with their automatic solution of the question of the leadership in the legislature, have been introduced into its provincial constitutions, and are expected to be shortly introduced into its central sphere.

In the second place, the term of the House of Representatives in the U. S. A. is only two years but the normal duration of the Legislative Assembly of a province under the present constitution of India is five years. The party which commands a majority in the House of Representatives today may not do so after the next election to it. And the Speaker there, who is chosen by the House at the beginning of each Congress, being practically the nominee of the majority party, the present Speaker may not be the Speaker at the end of two years. The evils of partisan Speakership even for two years may be enough: such evils are bound to be multiplied and aggravated when the term of the partisan Speaker is five years—or even longer, which may be the case if the party now in power in a provincial Legislative Assembly comes back to power after the next quinquennial election. This argument will equally apply to the question of the Speakership of the Federal Assembly of India, or to the question of the Presidentship of a Provincial Legislative Council or of the Council of State.

Mr. Speaker Tandon has also said:

"Situating as we are in this country, I am particularly emphatic that it is absolutely necessary to allow the Speaker to take part in politics. If he does not do so, you may be content with a third-rate person or a civil or criminal judge, but you will not get a prominent politician."

This seems to be, with all respect to Mr. Speaker Tandon, a little too much. No one—not even Mr. Speaker Tandon—will say that the late Mr. V. J. Patel was a third-rate person or was not a prominent politician. And what did he say on his first election as the President of the Legislative Assembly? "In the

32. *Ibid.*

discharge of my duties," he declared,³³ "I shall, I assure you, observe strict impartiality in dealing with all sections of the House, irrespective of party considerations.

From this moment, I cease to be a party man. I belong to no party. I belong to all parties, I belong to all of you and I hope and trust, my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Swaraj Party, will take immediate steps to absolve me from all the obligations of a Swarajist member of this House, if, indeed, it has not been done by implication in consequence of my election to this Chair."

If a person like Mr. Patel could, with grace and dignity, cease to be a party man on his first election as the President of the Legislative Assembly, I do not think there is much force in the argument of Mr. Speaker Tandon referred to above. Nor do I believe that our country has become so poor in point of really able men who can worthily occupy the Chair of Speaker as has been implied by Mr. Speaker Tandon's statement!

In his statement to the Press to which we have previously referred, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also remarked:

"There is another aspect of this matter. We are apt to follow almost blindly British practice and procedure whether they fit in with our requirements or not. There is no reason why we should do so and we must shake off these shackles. It is open to us, of course, to accept this practice where we choose to do so, but it must not be 'thrust down' on us either by law or convention or, what is worst of all, by a slavish habit of mind which is unable to think in other terms."

Certainly, we must not follow a British practice blindly and slavishly and we must resist

every attempt at thrusting anything down on us. But, nor should we refuse to follow a British practice simply because it is British in its origin and character, provided that it fits in with our requirements. My contention is that the British practice is in itself, so far as the Speakership is concerned, superior to the American or the French, and, in the peculiar circumstances of India—and particularly in view of its cleavage of parties on religious or communal lines—will best suit its requirements. Among the many political institutions which the genius of the British people has evolved in the course of centuries of its history, I consider the institution of Speakership to be a most valuable one, which may be copied by other countries—and particularly India—with great advantage to them. I, therefore, maintain that the adoption of the American or the French model by India will not only have a very bad effect upon the smooth working and the proper development of its self-governing institutions, which are yet in their incipient stages, but will also be otherwise disastrous to its true and ultimate interest. For instance, it will certainly, to my mind, not tend to promote the growth of inter-communal goodwill, and will, therefore, materially check the progress of its growing sense of nationalism. And our ideal of Swaraj will ever remain a mere *ideal*—an empty dream—unless it can be made to rest on a solid foundation of nationalism. It is gladdening, however, to note here that so far the views of Mr. Speaker Tandon or of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have found no support anywhere outside the United Provinces.*

33. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. VI, 1925. pp. 36-37.

*A speech delivered on 27th April, 1938, under the auspices of the Rotary Club of Dacca.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Picasso: The Man and His Art

Garnet Rees writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

The twentieth century has seen an extension of the subject-matter of art and a corresponding change in treatment. It has seen Cubism, Surrealism, and other movements more or less revolutionary. All these movements dragged along in their train a group of imitators, euphemistically called "Les Jeunes" and it is largely due to their exaggerations that public appreciation of Cubism and Surrealism was so effectively diminished. All the effervescences of experiment found Picasso in their midst, not as a theorist but as a practician. One of Picasso's most striking characteristics is that, although he was a leading member of these schools, he cannot conveniently be labelled "Cubist" or "Surrealist," for his work far overlaps the confines of any one movement. There are constantly to be found in his work the two currents of experiment and tradition, one fused into the other by the artistic mastery of the painter.

The strength of his work derives from the training that he had, the vast qualities of instinctive painting which were latent in him. He could afford to experiment because this basis of taste effectively prevented the gaffes which were so common at the time of the *Fauves* and Cubism.

Miss Stein insists on the purely Spanish quality of Picasso's work, which she postulates as an explanation of his Cubism and abstract painting. She comments on the lack of colour in Spanish landscape and the queer geometrical value of the land masses; she adds further that the landscapes which Picasso brought back from Spain in 1909 (the *Village near Tarragona, etc.*), and which were clearly cubist in character, were in actual fact a close reproduction of the landscapes that Picasso had painted. Picasso was able to prove this by photographs which he had taken.

With Derain and Braque, the first attempt to present Cubism to the public was made in 1911, to the accompaniment of storms of derision. These checks had little effect on Picasso who continued his abstract and cerebral painting. The architectural qualities of his abstract groupings demand an effort on the part of the amateur because they represent a movement away from photographic realism towards an idealized reality. Picasso was trying to do in painting what Mallarmé had been attempting in poetry.

In 1917, Picasso did a cubist decor for *Parade*, with Erik Satie and Jean Cocteau, but this was the end of the heroic struggles of the Cubist movement. Another stay in Spain and Picasso came back to traditional painting. His connection with the theatre reminded him of his early love, and in the short period (1918-1921) he produced the *Harlequin* pictures, and the portrait of Madame Picasso.

The traditional side of his work appears in this period too, with the series of nudes, in classical draperies. The opulence of form and colour is almost oriental, and the solid masses are a proof of what Picasso had learnt from Cubism. He had not finished experimenting, however, for side by side with his classical studies, he continued his search for new forms and combinations of forms. It seems as if he needs to express something too subtle for the ordinary means of painting. The Negro influences of 1906-7 seem to have recurred again, but only as a start-

ing point for further re-search into the abstract. *Guernica*, the mural which he painted for the Spanish Pavilion in the Paris Exhibition of last year, is only another stage in his development, and his search for complete self-expression.

His influence on modern painting is very great, for he unwittingly dominated a whole generation of young painters, but Picasso remains the quiet friendly figure he has always been. His habits are the same, and he still works as absordedly as ever. He is a familiar figure in the Café de Flore almost each night, with his small group of friends and his dog, but he rarely talks of his painting—that work goes on in his head. As he seldom gives away his secrets, Picasso's work cannot be understood without an effort; but that effort is very much worth while.

Future of Spain

John C. deWilde observes in the *Foreign Policy Reports*:

The end of the civil war is indeed unlikely to bring the unadulterated triumph of either fascism, communism or democracy. A totalitarian regime, whether communist or fascist, may well prove incompatible with the intense individualism of the Spanish people. Should Franco triumph, he would probably meet with great difficulty in any attempt to impose the Italian or German brand of fascism. In the event of a Loyalist victory, communism is equally unlikely. In fact, the influence of the Communists in the Loyalist government appears to have declined steadily in recent months. Yet the development of a real democracy also seems improbable in a country where it is not deeply rooted in national traditions and where tolerance for clashing political views hardly prevails.

The external policy of Spain would appear in greater danger of falling under foreign domination. Since both parties, especially the Insurgent, have benefited extensively from outside assistance, they owe a debt to foreign powers on which payment may be demanded. But any attempt to demand political concessions in return for this assistance would undoubtedly arouse the indignation of the Spanish people who are proud of their independence and traditionally intolerant of foreign intrusion. Thus the Nationalists would alienate whatever popular support they have obtained should they provide Italy or Germany with permanent air or naval bases; and the Loyalist regime would arouse equal resentment if it permitted continual interference by the Soviet government in Spain's internal or external affairs.

As yet there is no convincing evidence of foreign domination of Spain. On the Loyalist side, Soviet influence appears to have become less conspicuous after the recall of Marcel Rosenberg in April 1937. On the Franco side, many foreign reports regarding Italian and German penetration were proved subsequently to be greatly exaggerated. This was true, for example, of the alarming news concerning German activity in Spanish Morocco. While the Italians were once reported in almost complete control of the strategic island of Majorca, dispatches of newspapers correspondents on the spot during October and November 1937 revealed that Franco had asserted his authority and garrisoned the island exclusively with

Spanish troops, excepting only a few hundred Italians engaged in the air forces. Yet Franco will no doubt allow Germany and Italy to reap considerable commercial benefits, if only to liquidate the debt incurred for delivery of war material. The Nationalists are said to owe 3.5 billion lire to Italy, and probably a greater amount to Germany. With the Reich an active trade is being conducted under a compensation agreement concluded on July 17, 1937. While Germans have been increasingly active in organizing Spanish business, they have no monopoly of commerce or raw materials. British and French companies in Spain have been left in possession of their mining and other concessions, although raw materials have been requisitioned in substantial amounts to pay off debts to Germany and Italy.

New Rights for Women of France

We reproduce the following from *The Catholic Citizen*:

The Renoult Bill under which the married women of France will gain a larger measure of civil rights has at last become law. The Act slightly modifies the civil marriage declaration by eliminating the words: "The wife owes obedience to her husband," and substituting a declaration that the husband is the head of the family, that he can choose the family domicile, and that his wife is compelled to cohabit.

Under the new Act a married woman may enter the university, pass examinations for various liberal professions, have a separate bank account, draw and sign cheques in her own name, accept an inheritance or gifts, and witness a will. She may also carry on a business in her own name with her husband's consent, and choose a separate profession, but in the latter case her husband may oppose this action unless his disapproval is contrary to the family interests. The wife may appeal to the ruling of the court.

This law is a great triumph for French women in spite of the fact that it does not give them all they demand. Married women are now regarded as adults under the law so that "there is now no longer any excuse to continue to deprive them of their political rights."

The Story of An Exterminated Race

The history of colonisation and imperial expansion during the ages is full of tragedies; but few so pathetic as that of the total destruction of the Tasmanian race, writes J. W. Poynter in *The Inquirer*:

Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch sailor, cruising in 1642 in the then untravelling waters of the Southern Ocean, came to an island with a rocky wooded coast. He named it Van Diemen's Land, but later this was altered to Tasmania, after Tasman himself.

Tasman, however, found no inhabitants in the island; he hoisted his country's flag and went away on his voyages.

Not until a century and a half later did any white man set eyes on the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land. A French sailor, Captain Marion, landed there in 1772, and was met by a party of natives. About thirty of them came down to the shore where were the sailors. There were women carrying children fastened on their backs with ropes of rushes, and men carrying spears and stone axes. The Frenchmen offered them pieces of iron, cooking-

glass, and bits of cloth, but the gifts were waved aside with scorn. Then came an unfortunate incident. One of the natives advanced and offered a lighted stick to a sailor. The Frenchmen interpreted the act as an attack and opened fire upon the natives, who fled, leaving one dead and several wounded.

In 1803, however, Lord Hobart, then British Secretary for the Colonies, commissioned Captain Collins to form a settlement in Tasmania. The tragedy began. The instructions received by Collins were good: "To endeavour, by every means in your power to open an intercourse with the natives, and conciliate their good will." However, the first conflict had already occurred. Shortly before Collins' arrival a party of white men from the Australian mainland had come ashore near where now is the city of Hobart. One day some natives, including women and children, appeared on a high land above the camp of the whites. They showed no hostility, but for some unknown reason fire was opened on them and several were killed.

However, there were no further serious conflicts for some years. Even then they would not have occurred save for reasons discreditable to the white settlers.

Governor Macquarie condemned any hostile treatment of the natives, but it continued, and in 1816 the interior of the island was gravely disturbed. The *Hobart Town Gazette* (as quoted by Bonwick) said:

"The Black Natives of this Colony have for the last few weeks manifested a strange hostility towards the up-country settlers, and in killing and driving away their cattle, more than has been witnessed since the settling of the Colony."

Yet such acts clearly were reprisals for ill-treatment received. Indeed, in 1817, Governor Sorell was compelled to issue a proclamation against base outrages on the persons of aborigines.

The worst enemies of those natives were the white-out-laws; bushrangers. They would tie natives to trees and use them as targets, or drag off native women by force. The natural result was reprisals on any white indiscriminately. In 1824 a proclamation was issued against "settlers and others" who were massacring natives.

The intermittent warfare, however, continued.

Between 1927 and 1830 no less than twenty-one inquests were held on whites murdered by natives.

In 1830 appeared George Augustus Robinson, who undertook a mission of conciliation. By tireless efforts and consummate tact—he went unarmed and alone amongst hostile natives—he achieved what was practically the cessation of a war.

However, the ultimate doom of the native Tasmanian race was now inevitable. It was decided to remove all the aborigines from the main island to one of the islets in Bass's Strait. "Chief Justice Pedder protested vigorously against the proposed scheme of transportation. He declared it to be an un-Christian attempt to destroy the whole race; for, once taken from their old haunts, they would, he believed, all die. Sir John Pedder, in after years, saw the fulfilment of his prophecy."

From one islet to another the few remaining natives were shipped, being settled at last on the Great (or Flinders) Island: a barren spot, where they died off quickly. In 1847 only forty-four remained: twelve men, twenty-two women and ten children. These were removed to a better district—but too late.

In February, 1869, the last Tasmanian man died—William Lanne. In May, 1876, died Truganina, the last woman.

Thus, in 104 years a whole race had been exterminated.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Education in Ancient India

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji writes in *The Aryan Path* on the educational method in Ancient India :

The ancient Indian educational system has a most significant name—*Brahmacharya*. The name indicates that education is a process of life. The *Atharva Veda* describes the Brahmachari as a practiser of ascetic austerities.

The first point of this system is that a school is a natural formation, not an artificial institution. The pupil must seek the teacher who can admit him to his teaching.

The formal admission of the pupil is by a ceremony called *Upanayana*, of great spiritual significance.

In ancient India the school was the home of the teacher. It was a hermitage. The constant touch between teacher and taught was vital to education as conceived here. India believed in the domestic system in both industry and education, and not in the methods of large-scale production in factories turning out standardised articles.

The pupil's membership of the family of his Guru constitutes a constant stimulus to the ideas to which he is dedicated, while it also appears as a protective sheath, shutting out unwholesome influences, and as a restraining force. Again, the novice feels that he is not lost in a crowd.

Apart, however, from the special educative value of the teacher's home as the school, there is the factor of its environment or setting as an integral part of the scheme. The school is in sylvan surroundings. The pupil's first daily duty is to walk to the forest, cut and collect wood, and fetch it home for tending the sacred fire.

The ceremony of *Agnihotra* brings home to the pupil the reality of religion in the form of sacrifice.

The writer then speaks of certain other duties of the pupil, concomitant with *Brahmacharya*.

The pupil's next duties were to tend the teacher's house and cattle. Tending the house was training the pupil in self-help, in recognition of the dignity of labour, of menial service for his teacher and the student-brotherhood. Tending cattle was education in a craft as part of the highest liberal education. The craft selected is the primary industry of India.

The *Brihadaranyaka* tells of Rishi Yajnavalkya, the foremost philosopher of his time, a good enough herdsman, with his band of pupils, to drive away home from the court of Janaka the thousand cows which the King bestowed on him as the reward of his learning.

Another duty of the Brahmachari is to go out on a daily round of begging, not for himself but for the support of his school. Its educative value is explained in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (xi. 3, 3, 5), which points out that it is meant to produce in the pupil a spirit of humility and of renunciation.

We may now have an idea of the working of the school as a whole. Its physical surroundings away from centres of population give to its students opportunities for contact with nature and for solitude.

Alone in the woods or pastures, an individual gets emotive responses in the form of fear, wonder, or joy, which reawaken in him the consciousness of self which he loses in the crowds of the city. For emotional tension brings in its wake the feeling of selfhood.

Then, again, solitude has its own effects on a man's inner development.

It is these sylvan schools and hermitages that have built up the thought and the civilization of India.

The Wardha Scheme

The case for the 'Basic Education' scheme, as outlined by the Zakir Hussain Committee and announced in the *Harijan* (Dec. 11, 1937), has quite naturally raised far-reaching issues. T. N. Ghose in an article on "An Aspect of the Basic Education Scheme" in the *Visva-bharati News* brings out certain implications of the Scheme, which have appeared to the writer to be of vital importance :

The Scheme of education we are now considering and which moreover in all essentials is likely to be adopted as the Government system in the seven Congress provinces of India has the uniqueness of harnessing non-violence with ideals of nationalism and citizenship.

It betrays widely and fundamentally divergent ways of thinking being forcibly made to bear each other company—the politician's way and the way of a great lover of mankind, who still wavers between nationalism and humanism.

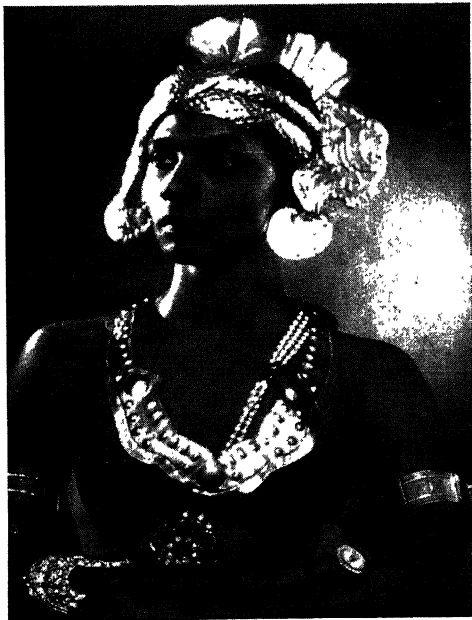
When statesmen undertake to steer the bark of education, it is only just and fair that it should be politics-ridden. Our only grievance is that the little of liberty that is still left in the domain of thought as nourished by education, disorganised and undeveloped as it maybe, should be snatched away. Politics does not give us liberty. It is too late in the day to establish it. Education, rightly conceived, may redeem certain fields where statesmen will not consider it worth their while to lord it over, but where men, otherwise smarting with mortification, might discover much to their relief sources of enjoyment born of the free spirit of man.

The sort of education that the Wardha scheme envisages is suspected to have a strong political bias. Interest in national life is bound to foster a spirit of violent competition. It is rather difficult to understand how non-violence of the type that Mahatmajī has prescribed can ever be made to emerge out of a scheme of education with such a definite national bias.

INDIAN DANCE ABROAD



Kumar Hirendra Narayan of Seraikella representing a hunter in a Chau dance rehearsal



Sj. Ramnarayan of the Menaka troupe

These dancers from India have made a successful tour of Italy this year

Srimati Menaka



Madonna in prayer : SASSAFERRATO

Calcutta University will soon introduce Art as a subject in the Matriculation Examination. These two paintings, among others, are prescribed for study in the syllabus



Sunflowers : VAN GOGH

It is not our contention here that the Scheme under consideration has been mischievously devised to wheedle a whole nation but that it requires to be released from the grip of people who are essentially politically-minded. Quick results may be necessary in other fields of human endeavour, but never so in education. Politics is an organisation which is the playground of human qualities that make man feel that he is but a link in the great chain of Nature's exhibits; and hence there must be occasions when it should be a little enlightened by considerations other than merely natural. Education alone is the great source of such light; and as such, in the hurry and frenzy of political, communal or even religious passions, it should not be allowed to be the mere handmaid of any mere Time-spirit.

Heramba Chandra Maitra

Though vehemently opposed to students meddling in politics and getting entangled in its sordid squabbles, when they actually got into trouble through indiscretion or exuberant enthusiasm they had no doughtier champion to fight for them than Dr. Maitra. Writes Principal Suresh Chandra Ray in the *City College Magazine* :

In politics Dr. Heramba Chanda Maitra belonged to what was known as the Moderate party. It is not known who was responsible for this atrociously uncouth nomenclature. But the term as descriptive of Dr. Maitra is singularly inappropriate. A single instance will prove the intensity of his political emotionalism. The incident happened at the time when the non-co-operation movement was at its height, when non-co-operation was of the thoroughbred class, not the knock-kneed hybrid of later times, a nondescript cross between co-operation and non-co-operation, Lord Ronaldshay was then Governor of Bengal. Picketing had been declared unlawful. Hundreds courted prosecution and were sent to jail. And the jails became full. Then the order went forth that picketers were to be dispersed by force and not sent to jail. Soldiers were posted at the crossing of Harrison Road and College Street. The inevitable call for sacrifice came upon our students and large numbers of them came forward to offer themselves as *lathi-fodder*. It was a sickening sight, and one evening Dr. Maitra saw it. He was coming down College Street on his way home from a meeting of the University. He was an old man and a "Moderate," but the sight which he saw at the crossing caused his blood to boil, and with the rash indiscretion of a young man of 16 whose indignation has been roused he strode up to the military picket thundering at what they were doing. A British Tommy on duty knows no God other than his officer in command, and the inevitable consequence followed. He was assaulted and fell down. The sequence is well known history and need not be repeated. The incident has been recalled merely for a correct understanding of the character of Dr. Maitra and his political "moderation."

The next morning the citizens of Calcutta found that the military picket had been taken away. For days people, mostly students, had been kicked and caned, and in the press there had been much spilling of furious ink but to no purpose; it was the assault on Dr. Maitra that did the trick. The action taken by Lord Ronaldshay—it was at his personal intervention that the soldiers had been removed—was a recognition of the peculiar position of Dr. Maitra in the public life of Bengal. As a politician neither he nor his party counted for much in those days,

but as a personality in the world of religion and education he was held in high regard both by the public and the official world.

The Art of Criticism

The wrong impression that criticism is inferior to creation because it does not deal directly with the facts of life, but concerns itself only with books and is therefore a parasitic art, will be removed, when we recognize that if all beauty is the sphere of literature, the masterpieces of great minds are undoubtedly suitable subjects for such treatment. In the course of his article on the art of criticism Principal P. Sheshadri observes:

It is possible to indicate the aims and nature of criticism by reference to what some experts in the art have said.

One of the most attractive and striking statements on the subject is that of Anatole France, who says in his *Life and Letters* that "literary criticism consists of the adventures of a soul among the masterpieces of the world." If it is felt that this definition is vague, though beautiful, attention may be invited to Walter Pater's observation, that criticism is a threefold process, perceiving beauty, disengaging beauty and expressing beauty. There is not much chance of success in the Art of Criticism, if a man's soul is dead to beauty; there are some in whom the chord is never touched in the manner necessary for even one's own private appreciation, not to speak of communication to others. Disengaging beauty, again, is a process somewhat akin to the isolation of the microbe by the investigator in medicine, if one may borrow such a simile from the scientific world of today. There is of course, the third quality, which is the consummation of all, the capacity to express the ideas in artistic forms, without which no literature can exist.

The difficulties in a complete realization of this triple ideal of Walter Pater are obvious. It is not everybody whose mind and soul are attuned to all aspects of beauty in form and in spirit. As Anatole France has said, elusiveness is one of the essential qualities of beauty, and as it does apply to literature also, there is the difficulty of being able to grasp its essence. What Matthew Arnold has called "the incommunicable elements of literary work" are things rather difficult of analysis and exposition. The language suitable for criticism has to combine in itself a fine sense of intellectual balance with charm of expression which is not easy of achievement. We have critics like Swinburne, for instance, who are carried away by the rush of their own eloquence, "intoxicated by the exuberance of their own verbosity" as Disraeli would have said, and at the other extreme, we have a large number of textbook writers, whom we ruthlessly impose on our students and who seem to have a profound capacity for stifling all literary taste.

The good critic enables the readers to take increased interest in the work by pointing out its numerous beauties not unmindful, at the same time, of its blemishes.

The critic's work has been rightly characterized as twofold, interpretation as well as judgment. The world is not likely to wait with folded hands and bated breath for the judgment of a critic, unless he happens to be an eminent master like Goethe or Sainte-Beuve. With a growing literary democracy, this attitude of reverence is

rapidly disappearing and, perhaps, it would be wiser to lay more stress on the interpretative aspect of literature. The good critic has a keener sense of beauty than the average reader. His judgment is regulated by his extensive study of literature and knowledge of the essential principles of success in the art of writing. His powers of analysis are more acute and he is also capable of more detached and dispassionate judgment. He has also a better command of the apparatus of expression necessary for critical comment. His usefulness, therefore, depends on the extent to which he has acquired these qualities and has utilized them in his work.

Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya

Satya Bhushan Sen writes about the distinguished novelist, Sarate Chandra Chattopadhyaya, and his place in Bengali literature in *The Educational Review*:

Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the greatest (barring of course Rabindra Nath Tagore) literary figure of present-day Bengal died on the 15th January, 1938. Sarat Chandra was pre-eminently a novelist and as a novelist he was the most popular of all authors in spite of Tagore. His rise to fame was almost meteoric; he appeared on the literary horizon of Bengal when Tagore was shining in his midday effulgence and just got universal recognition by the award of the Nobel Prize. During the quarter of a century since then Sarat Chandra has held novel readers spell bound.

The present-day Bengali novel owes its origin to Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. The successive production of so many novels at the hands of this mighty man added force and gave a definite mould to the literary prose which he had brought into being. Here the genius of Bankim stands unrivalled.

After Bankim came Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Tagore literature is meant to include his inimitable short stories where Tagore stands comparison with the best authors of all climes and ages.

Sarat Chandra came in at the full flood of Tagore. But in spite of the influence of Tagore he was able to carve out a distinct and distinguished career for himself.

Sarat Chandra drew his inspiration and his materials from the social life of the people. Tagore had also largely used the same materials. Yet there was a difference between Tagore and Sarat Chandra. Tagore in literature was not wanting in sympathy for the people, but he used to view the life of the people with the outlook of a philosopher and give expression to his ideas about them with the mind of a poet.

In literature Sarat Chandra's philosophy of life takes cognisance of the fact that in spite of the sin and frailties so common to men, man cannot go so low as to be beyond redemption; and he seems to have taken upon himself the task of reclaiming the essential manliness inherent in each man in spite of his sin and worthlessness.

The genius of Tagore is of course without parallel but with the mass of novel readers Sarat Chandra was even more popular than Tagore. The secret behind this phenomenal truth was admirably brought out by Sarat Chandra himself when one of his acquaintances interviewed him. The gentleman seemed rather jubilant over it when he asked, "How is it that Tagore is very often so unintelligible to us, and we have to exert our brains about it, whereas your works are as clear as anything and come to us as natural as food and water?" Sarat Chandra was as prompt and natural in his reply as

perhaps his interviewer did not even expect. He said in reply, "The reason is not far to seek; no wonder that Tagore literature is so frequently not intelligible to you because Tagore literature is in fact not intended for you at all. Tagore writes not for you, average readers, but for us who are authors; and it is we who write for average readers like yourself".

But after all Sarat Chandra though so widely appreciated in Bengal is, unlike Tagore, hardly known to the outside world, because only a few of Sarat Chandra's books have ever been translated into English and only one or two were translated into French.

The Peking Man

In the course of an article on "China and the Dawn of Asiatic Culture", in *The Calcutta Review*, Dr. Kalidas Nag gives an interesting description of the discovery of *The Peking Man*:

A most remarkable event in the study of Asiatic prehistory was the first scientific symposium held in the auditorium of the Medical High School in Peking in honour of the visit of the Crown Prince of Sweden (October, 1926). The most sensational communication was from Zdansky saying that working on the Chau K'ou tien material he had found a molar and a pre-molar teeth of a creature resembling a human being. Dr. Grabau named this hominid the *Peking Man* and a systematic study of the same was organised by the Geological Survey of China in co-operation with the Peking Union Medical College and the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Black examined several prehistoric teeth and placed beyond all doubts the hominid character of this new genus *Sinanthropus* with the species name of *Pekinensis*. In 1928 Mr. Li who was collaborating with Dr. Bohlin (discoverer of an important tooth) was assisted by Dr. C. C. Young and W. C. Pei in the excavation of the cave and they brought back to Peking the richest harvest of prehistoric materials from the bone-bearing deposit of the cave. Up to 1929 they worked for 64 weeks bringing 1485 cases of their collections. Mr. W. C. Pei who conducted operations at the cave in the autumn, of 1929, discovered the most complete *Sinanthropus* skull. On this epoch-making discovery Dr. Black published a beautifully illustrated monograph. "An adolescent skull of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*" (*Paleontologia Sinica*, Vol. VII, 1931). The two brilliant Chinese scholars, C. C. Young and W. C. Pei directed the excavation in 1930-31, making some of the most important anthropological discoveries.

Thus the Choukoutien Deposits came to revolutionize the whole theory of the earliest history of man.

Eminent scientists like Elliot Smith discussed "The significances of the Peking Man" (Edinburgh, 1931). So Sir Arthur Keith, in his "New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man," devoted three chapters to the Peking Man. They substantially agreed with Black who, after exhaustive comparison between the skulls from Java and from Peking came to the following conclusion: "Whereas *Pithecanthropus* is a highly specialised, not to say in certain respects degenerate type, *Sinanthropus* is a remarkable combination of highly original and purely modern features." Black sums up its characteristics by saying that *Sinanthropus* is a generalised and progressive type, closely related to the original type of hominidae which was the prototype not only of the Neanderthal man and the South African fossil human races, but also of the modern *Homo Sapiens*. The Neanderthal race is now

admitted to have introduced to Western Europe, the middle-paleolithic or monstorian culture from Central Europe which again is now seen to have cultural relations with Central Asia of prehistoric epoch. This relation is kept up down to the Neolithic ages when Europe got her first batch of domesticated sheep, pig and other tame cattle types from Central Asia, horse appearing much later.

Organisation of Rural Health and Sanitation Work

Capt. A. S. Varma, District Health Officer, Patna, writes in the *Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* :

The Government is fully alive to the utter inadequacy of medical relief which is being rendered to the rural people of Bihar. It is time now that the District Board Dispensaries should be left in the hands of subsidised Doctors on honoraria for say a period of 5 years, and where such suitable and willing subsidised Doctors are available the District Board Dispensary Doctor can be set free for public health work at a small additional cost to pay for the honorarium of the subsidised Doctors and the travelling allowance of the Dispensary Doctors. If the Dispensary Doctors be willing to work on subsidised system there is no reason why his offer will not be accepted first; and the new recruits may be taken in on a scale fixed by the authorities to fill up his place.

There is some doubt if suitable subsidised Doctors would be willing to work on pittance. As they are not whole time servants and are more or less independent except for the 3 hours of duty in the morning there need be no difficulty in the matter. We need not prolong the hours of hospital attendance, for, after all, even in the present circumstances they are not fully availed of by thousands owing to great distances and extreme poverty. The poor suffering from pneumonia, plague, cholera, typhoid can not attend dispensary and cannot pay for the Doctors, why then worry so much over this costly paraphernalia only to meet the requirements of minor indispositions such as indigestion, scabies, ringworm, etc. We must make a deeper drive for the solution of the problem. We must make such conditions prevail in the rural areas so that diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera, conjunctivitis, typhoid and such other diseases disappear altogether.

The modern state is now realising the preponderant utility of prevention over cure and it is high time that we did not lag behind. The medical and public health budgets require a thorough overhauling and it is extremely encouraging to find that the Congress Governments of this

country are paying their serious attention to the transformation of the whole medical staff into public health staff by gradually leaving the hospital treatment in the hands of the honorary experts or subsidised Doctors.

With the advent of the District Board Doctors in every Thana, aided by the village guides the public health activities are bound to achieve great success. The present idea is to have a number of Union Boards in every Thana endowed with all sorts of administrative power. The village guides then will be under the direct administrative control of the executives of the Union Boards and the Thana Doctor will submit his inspection note to the Union Boards as well as to the District Health Officers.

Worshippers of Buddha

THE war drums are sounded.

Men force their features into frightfulness

and gnash their teeth;

and before they rush out to gather raw human flesh

for death's larder,

they march to the temple of Buddha, the compassionate,

to claim his blessings,

while loud beats the drum rat-a-tat

and earth trembles.

They pray for success;

for they must raise weeping and wailing in their wake,

sever ties of love,

plant flags on the ashes of desolated homes,

devastate the centres of culture

and shrines of beauty,

mark red with blood their trail

across green meadows and populous markets,

and so they march to the temple of Buddha,

the compassionate,

to claim his blessings,

while loud beats the drum rat-a-tat

and earth trembles.

They will punctuate each thousand of the maimed and

killed with the trumpeting of their triumph,

arouse demon's mirth at the sight of the limbs

torn bleeding from women and children;

and they pray that they may begot minds with untruths

and poison God's sweet air of breath,

and so they march to the temple of Buddha,

the compassionate,

to claim his blessings,

While loud beats the drum rat-a-tat

and earth trembles.

Rabindranath Tagore in the *Visva-bharati Quarterly*

AUSTRALIAN CHURCH, MELBOURNE

According to an advertisement appearing in our advertising columns, an Assistant Minister is required for the Australian Church, Melbourne, Australia, which was founded, and a fine building erected, over fifty years ago. Dr. Charles Strong, for nine years minister of the Scots' Church, one of the leading Presbyterian Churches, has been the sole minister, and has carried on the activities of the Church with the assistance of laymen and Associate ministers who have been appointed from time to time.

The Minister and members of the Congregation have been active workers for the improvement of Social and Industrial conditions; for the abolition of war and the promotion of International Co-operation and Fraternity; for the Moral training of the young; for Equality of Women with Men; for reform of the Penal system; for Temperance as well as the Scientific Study of the great Religious questions of today.

For years the Minister has edited the *Commonweal*, a monthly Journal devoted to the advocacy of Religious and Social progress.

WORLD AFFAIRS

"Italy has not yet forgotten the sanctions," declared Signor Mussolini after Herr Hitler's departure from a visit. She has forgotten, the world might conclude, only a recent document that she signed—the Anglo-Italian Pact. In the same speech, however, Il Duce had deigned to assure Mr. Neville Chamberlain, "It is our intention to respect the Anglo-Italian Agreement scrupulously". Scruples, however, are not a dictatorial virtue, and this profession of it certainly ill accords with the Dictator's resentful reference to the sanctions, or his reminder, "Mr. Neville Chamberlain's last speech was a recognition of the power of Italy," or with the concluding threat: "In an ideological war the authoritarian states must march solidly forward."

AFTER THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

This is no doubt hard on Mr. Chamberlain and his new babe—the Anglo-Italian Agreement. It is proving still-born. Secretly the British had calculated that the Austrian adventure of Hitler must cool off the Italian fervour for the friend appearing now on the Brenner. The Anglo-Italian agreement coming in its wake would 'tilt the Berlin-Rome axis,' Britain hoped, against Berlin. Rome, of course, could not be accused of encouraging this idea. But, the British Cabinet certainly expected a new turn in the diplomatic alignment, as is evidenced by the references from the British press. Certainly, they had a claim on Mussolini to be spared the humiliation that the Dictator's references to Mr. Chamberlain's speech involved. The Premier has been always so considerate. In the House of Commons when the Agreement was drawing on itself the criticism of the opposition, Mr. Chamberlain stated that the "settlement" in Spain was a pre-requisite of recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Pressed by Mr. Attlee, the Premier refused to define what he meant by 'settlement.' "I cannot tell the House even when this protocol and annex will come into force. No doubt, the situation will clear itself up as time goes on."

This is truly wise of the British Premier. Situation always clears up as time goes on—either it worsens or it improves, it simply peters out or remains where it was, steady and static. Anyway, the Premier's proposition showing that noble resignation to the inexorable decree of time cannot be contested. And time already is clearing up the show. The Führer arrived in Italy to receive a royal welcome, reviewed

the Italian manoeuvres, and returned with the friendship repaired and perhaps a totalitarian future course of action discussed and decided. Has the Berlin-Rome axis any way weakened? Time proves otherwise. So long as the two 'Have-nots' stand to gain more by their united march against the 'Haves' they are likely to tolerate each other agreeing on the comparatively minor matters of differing interests. So, the Anglo-Italian Agreement still waits to come into operation, and, the Franco-Italian talk for a negotiation, favoured by the British, could not get really a start; and, time proves now that Italy with a renewed faith in the Führer's alliance, would move away from it on the plea of the pro-Governmental leanings of the French in the Spanish war. The British Premier may have declined to define what the 'settlement' according to the Agreement meant, but Mussolini has interpreted it as nothing short of a victory of General Franco, and time is bound to show this to be the acceptable interpretation to Britain as well.

ABYSSINIA "LIQUIDATED"

In the League Council, meanwhile, time was taking its vengeance. Lord Halifax moved, according to the Agreement, for recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Only Russia and three others lacked this 'spirit of realism' and tuck to the old spirit of 'sanction'. Yet, to believe a French paper, Abyssinia is far from being thoroughly subjugated, as the following letter from the Duke of Aosta to Mussolini, quoted in the local European press, shows:

"The situation is really terrible. Italy's influence extends only within gunshot, and no further. The whole of the 6,000,000 natives are absolutely hostile. Within 80 kilometres of each Italian garrison the Ethiopian Races rule just as they did before the war... We lack everything; the natives refuse to sell anything to the Italians, having no longer any confidence in the paper money we offer them. The only money in which they have any confidence is the Maria Theresia thaler. The result is that the natives refuse to come to the markets frequented by the Italians, it would cost too much and be too dangerous to send bodies of police against them. Italian financiers in spite of the pressure of the Duce, have so far only invested 150,000,000 francs in Ethiopia, a sum which is altogether insufficient. Much more is necessary; it must be found at once in view of this situation many Blackshirts, who had meant to settle down as colonists in the country, have decided to return to Italy, where they spread most angry stories among their parents and friends... If a European war broke out we should be chased from the country in a few weeks."

The dark land of the Ethiopians offers an interesting commentary on the international history of the era and on the paradoxical politics

of the period. Introduced to the League by Italy, Abyssinia was to fall a victim, ironically enough, to Italian aggression, and, Italy found to her wrath Abyssinian membership of the League the only barrier to her aggression. Opposed by Britain in her application for membership of the League, Abyssinia discovered to her delight in Britain a valued friend in the League of her liberty and League principles. Standing on the principles and backed by the powers, the Negus refused to enter into any bargain with Italy outside the League, and, lost his entire Empire finally, while the League powers sat in conference, weighed evidence, debated sanctions, fumbled over any effective action against the aggressor. The League too has made history—and unmade many fond dreams. For the first time—and last too—its sanction clause was invoked against an aggressor member. It at once proved how hollow it is. Only false hopes were raised in the Ethiopian breast so that their betrayal was more thorough and more helpless. Horrified the League saw in the final chapter the use of poison gas by the civilizing mission of Mussolini, in which everything is blotted out. The League has witnessed many memorable scenes in connection with the Abyssinian affair—Sir Samuel Hoare and Laval and Eden, and lastly the Negus appearing personally with his final appeal. It heard now Lord Halifax's *Te Deum* over Abyssinia. The Abyssinian affair is liquidated at last—for the League and Britain. Time really clears up situation, as Mr. Chamberlain rightly said.

JAPAN'S CHINESE TIME-TABLE

Time, however, is likely to prove a handicap to the Japanese. The Chinese war is proving for Japan a long-drawn out affair. It would not follow the Japanese time-table; hence, Japan is likely to appeal to more drastic and more savage measures. Poison gas, as in Abyssinia, when victory appears about to elude the grasp, is likely to be last resort. It is already talked of, and, the League Council at Geneva has already received an appeal against it from the Chinese. Meanwhile, the reverses have been made good. The 'net of steel' round Suchow, the vital junction of the Lunghai and Tientsin-Pukow Railway, has closed, leading to a comparative disaster for the Chinese forces there. This success "sets the seal to the junction of the Japanese forces in North and Central China, and will make possible the long-delayed amalgamation of the Japanese fostered regimes in Nanking and Peking." "The city has

become," according to the *Reuter*, "a vast slaughter house." Japanese fury and hate will necessarily take worse turn as the war prolongs. In South China, on the occupation of the island of Amoy, probably meant only to divert Chinese attention from the North to the South, a similar scene of savagery was witnessed.

The story of how the Japanese invaders lined up prisoners taken at Amoy, and shot them down in batches, is related by a European ship's officer. Chinese refugees, states the Hongkong correspondent of *The Times*, allege that boats containing women, children and crowds of refugees on the water-front at Amoy were machine-gunned.

Still, the recent visitors from China maintain that the Chinese resistance is not wearing out. Japan's ability as a fighting force, as Mr. James Mill, foreign correspondent of the *Associated Press* of America points out in an Indian interview, has been generally over-rated. Her marksmanship in land and sea and from air is considered not so satisfactory. She has not met any first class power in a modern war. Hence, her strength as a fighting force is yet to be known. Her economic order of course will stand the present strain; for in spite of the western method of stupendous industrial development, it has so far not been sapped by the accompanying western evil of class war. The Samurai spirit and the semi-feudal mental outlook has up till now persisted though the old social structure is yielding to the pressure of new industrial life. It remains to be seen how long the subjective forces of an old order can triumph over the objective transformation of the new times. Any economic catastrophe, coming in the wake of a big war, must sweep off the shreds of the old. Does Japan stand that danger now? Not impossibly, if the war drags on as now for a year or two more, when Japanese intensiveness of the campaign is likely to exhaust the country, whereas the semi-primitive Chinese rural economy may slowly organise itself more easily into a sort of low-level equilibrium. Thus,

China, seemed to have ample money to carry on indefinitely. She had no trouble in getting foreign credits, whereas Japan had been compelled to finance the struggle almost entirely through forced internal loans. The Tokio Government had not been able to get any financial help even from Germany and Italy with whom Japan was allied politically.

Asked about the extent of Russian assistance to China in the conflict, Mr. Mill said that the Soviet is supplying China in a large way with aeroplanes, tanks and other war supplies, but all on a strictly cash basis. Up to the present the Chinese Government had purchased nearly 400 Soviet-made bombers, pursuit machines and observation planes. All of these are manned by Russian volunteer pilots who within the last two months have scored several notable success against the Japanese air force.—(A.P.)

THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS

The quick development of the Czechoslovak crisis in the third week of May, however, has eclipsed the Chinese war and the Japanese victories temporarily. There at last Europe is facing the inevitable catastrophe which it may be difficult to be postponed.

For some time the world eagerly speculated what the Dictators meeting in Rome decided. Will Trieste, the former Austro-Hungarian port, be returned to the Reich for a freer hand promised in the Mediterranean to Italy by the Führer? The Spanish position must have been reviewed, and so also the Central European and, more particularly, the Czechoslovakian situation. Everyone was curious, for the Dictators really dictate today in their own land as well as in others, in European politics as a rule. Other nations only propose, Hitler and Mussolini dispose. Britain and France,—France can now-a-days be always bracketed with Britain—proposed some days ago a solution, for example, of the question that challenges the Central European republic. It must have been one of "appeasement"—the Chamberlain line of solution. But Berlin would not appreciate these good offices of Britain. The Sudeten Deutsch was no concern of the islanders. Hitler disposed of these British attempts in God-like silence and with God-like disregard. His plans were already maturing. While Herr Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten Deutsch Party, was in London explaining to Hitler's British critics the reasonableness of the Sudeten German claims, the municipal elections in Czechoslovakia, to come off in the last week of May, and to be followed in June by the Czech election, were raising the Czech-German tension into a crisis. The Nazis cannot tolerate many things—least of all an election or a plebiscite unless conducted by them to shew up their majority. So, in Sudeten Germany riots are breaking out, scuffles occur; while German troop movements, explained to be usual, are reported on the frontier. For, has not the Reich a responsibility for protecting the Germans in a State which is failing to give the fundamental guarantee of safety to its people (the same plea, it may be remembered, that was put forward on the eve of the Schuschnigg plebiscite and was proved to be 'false from A to Z')? M. Hodza, the Czech Premier, in the deepening crisis has come forward with the maximum of concessions, an "autonomous administration" for the region, as far as permitted by the Czech constitution. But concessions will be no longer enough. Henlein Party invited to a negotiation to ease the position

declined to meet the Government. Hitler is again at Berchtesgaden and knows the value of the other tension that has been created over the Spanish question between Italy and France,—necessarily diverting the attention at the psychological moment of the Western Powers, particularly France, from the Czech situation to the Pyrenees—a planned diversion perhaps to keep the Mediterranean powers engaged while the Czech tension reaches the climax that the Dictator wants. Things are moving quickly in and around Czechoslovakia. On the Carpathian troops have been massed; the Polish and Hungarian minorities are not forgotten by the respective people; and Hitler is the model for all in the art of the solution of questions. Prague, in reply, has also called for the reservists to be trained in the use of new arms. For Czechoslovakia a temporary solution may be available if as a price for the Führer's grace, in addition to autonomy promised to the German minority, the Soviet alliance is repudiated. The ultimate logical consequence of it would certainly be a hegemony of the Reich over the country. The coming weeks may prove decisive, and the British Foreign Office is waiting to see how time clears up the situation.

FRENCH DILEMMA

France under M. Daladier is now incapable of having any effective voice on the Czechoslovakian position. Mussolini is cross with her. The Qui d'Orsay looks to the British Foreign Office for its policy and measures, and, even the last of the appeals of the Spanish Republicans, when Italian troops and arms were gaining for Franco important victories, had to be turned down by the Fronte Populaire Government of M. Blum. M. Daladier, his successor, is known to be dependent on Britain for his policy. So, France, it appeared, was to agree with Britain in refusing arms to the Republicans, and was thus to be a party to her encirclement by the Fascist powers. Beyond the Pyrenees, it was known, chains of aerodromes had sprung up in the insurgent territories, the complete control of which were in the hands of the Germans and Italians. M. Daladier and the French military staff discussed with Britain the defence plans of the two countries; and the consultation reached a decision of great value on all branches of defence—land and sea and air. This is a distinct gain for France, but certainly not in itself of such magnitude as to warrant France to leave Spain to her fate, or rather to Hitler-Mussolini-Franco. Supplies it appeared, therefore, trickled through

the French frontier into the Spanish Republican hands and the insurgent advantages were thus going to be neutralised. The result has been a quick and forceful warning from Mussolini and his Italian press who would never see their Spanish adventure to come to grief or its success delayed any more. Italian-French negotiations, under the circumstances, do not give, any promise of success and M. Daladier is likely to be pressed hard by Mr. Chamberlain to fall in with him here in a policy of further Italian appeasement and necessarily, resulting in a tightening of the Fascist grip around France, and finally to be wounded off with a break away from the Soviet alliance. Mussolini may consider even the Anglo-Italian Agreement endangered if France cannot be controlled in this matter. So, Czechoslovakian situation is developed now by Hitler, and Mussolini raises again the Spanish issue—as if according to a plan previously decided.

The position of France is really anomalous. A great people, a great empire, great in military strength and morale, France by her strategic position is precluded from taking an independent line. Her politics and decisions await on Britain's—and, make her yield the advantages to the Fascist Powers more and more as the British Government of the day move closer and closer to the Fascists. She is about to strengthen her forces in French Indo-China and French Africa, which was long overdue there, and at once by Mussolini the plea is raised that an increase of the French forces in the French Equatorial Africa would upset the balance there so as to prevent Italy from reducing her strength in Libya and Eritrea as agreed to in the Anglo-Italian Pact. Indirectly, therefore, it would amount to a pressure on France through Britain to abandon the plans. Thus France is being driven into a dilemma—friendship for Britain, or opposition to Fascists; London-Paris Axis or Paris-Prague-Moscow Axis.

BRITISH CONFLICTS

In fact the conflict between two opposing policies and ideologies tears not only France but most of the European powers. Great Britain, it has been observed by us before, is in a quandary too. Mr. Chamberlain and the ruling classes have no doubt made their choice—the inevitable choice that their interests forced on them;—and they are landed on the side of the Fascist powers, at a safe distance from the Soviet which had made a dangerous approach to Britain in the name of democracy and the League and other cherished ideals of Britain. But, it cannot be said yet that Britain has for that matter escaped

from the unenviable position in which conflicts of policy are unknown. The ineffectiveness at present displayed by the British politicians, in Office or in Opposition, appears, it is at last recognized, but “a reflection of the fundamental bewilderment prevailing among the British people on the major problems of foreign policy and contemporary ideological controversies.” A satisfied imperialist power has no reason to desire anything but peace; but the ambitious ‘Have-nots’ would not hear it. They do not appreciate British peace policy; they do not believe colonies are economically of no value; they do not understand that Britain's defence of democracy, which has brought her vast territories, is no mere hypocritical pretention of the “Perfidious Albion.” Britain finds herself thus misunderstood. Indeed, she herself cannot fully understand her own position in relation to the other forces. British public life is thus rent into puzzling and paradoxical divisions. The Conservatives in Office, for example, points out the *Statesman*, take rebuff after rebuff from the aggressive States silently. They suffer British imperial pride and imperial strategic interests to be challenged by these ‘Have-not’ powers. The socialist leaders, on the other hand, in defence of the democratic people, appear as champions of the Empire, its interests and honour, and advocate even a war policy—of course a war of intervention, a war ‘to make democracy safe’ again. Yet, they point-blank refuse to be united in any Popular Front lest bursting the narrowed dams of democracy the flood of socialist ideas and activity carry away the old Parties and old traditions of theirs. Mr. Lansbury and Lord Snell side with the Government on the ‘appeasement’ question; Mr. Churchill is often nearer to the Opposition though not actually in the same lobby on questions of foreign policy. The Duchess of Atholl, as a critic of the Spanish policy, addresses from the same platform as the communists. Good conservative tradition in the country delights in the exploits of the upstart ‘strongmen’ in Germany and finds in these men of the people, who swept away the old caste, a confirmation of itself and its faith in the soundness of its own ruling class. Socialists today, again strangely enough grow sentimental over the plight of the Jewish millionaires or aristocrats of Vienna.

This psychological conflict naturally expresses itself in practical inconsistency. Egypt and Ireland get at last rights for which they must be thankful to Mussolini and Hitler. Even India is sought to be reconciled with occasional gestures—the situation in the Far

East, Middle East and Europe are already too big to leave room for playing the old 'die hard' in India any more now. At the same time in Palestine, the air-way station of great strategic importance to the Empire, the Arabs must be held in leash. In Mexico, the oil interests of the British capitalist are too sacred to be handed over to the 'pink' Cardenas regime, and diplomatic relations are therefore, broken off. Were Mexico so strong the expropriation would have to be tamely accepted as was done when the British oil interests in Manchukuo were thrown out, or when to the Pehlavi's terms the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company silently submitted. At home, while the armament programme requires to be fulfilled within as short a time as possible the Amalgamated Engineering Union, on their experience of the past, refuse to be enthusiastic over longer hours as future security of employment is not guaranteed and the present unemployment of its members is not reduced. The Air Ministry itself was to come in for criticism in the House from the Opposition and Government Party as well for its failure to satisfy the demands of the times. The Cabinet has been reshuffled to quieten and still that criticism, dropping the Air Secretary, Lord Swinton, and the Colonial Secretary, Lord Harlech. The 'mediocrity of the British foreign policy' thus is as patent as the inefficiency of the heads of the Government to carry through even an urgent programme of national defence in so vital a branch.

It is pertinent to inquire why this conflict and confusion reign in British life and thought today. The cause has to be searched for in many fields; but delving deeper and deeper the conclusion becomes irresistible that inherent in British imperialism lies hidden the seeds of anomalies, the conflicts and contradictions that the system generates in its working, cut across the policies of its old Parties, and that ultimately will drive it to a war and disaster.

THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY

It is an irony of fate, that the man most sincerely desirous of peace, Lord Halifax, should unconsciously serve as the instrument of the War God to pave the blood-red path. It is but another paradox of the period. In an Empire with democratic traditions, in a people with rooted faith in 'ordered progress,' and believing its super-profits and dividends to be somehow the return of its muddled idealism, and a prize for its spiritual integrity,—a man like Lord Halifax alone could fulfil the purpose of history, leading to war and Fascism, inch by inch through

peace and democracy. Mr. Harold Laski's analysis of the man and the moment is worth remembrance and helpful to understand the position as we read it from the U. S. A. press.

"Lord Halifax, who has now taken charge of the Foreign Office for the time being, has many private virtues which endear him to his friends. He is deeply religious; he is an ardent lover of country life; he comes from a family in which, for three generations, the tradition of public service has been profound.

"Lord Halifax belongs to a class that is, I think, peculiarly English in outlook. He is kind and gentle in manner. He is always prepared for compromise on un-essentials. He is the perfect country gentleman. He gives the impression that his political life is something external to his real interests. Just as Earl Baldwin would have wished—but for the call of duty—to cultivate his garden, just as Sir Edward Grey always longed for his birds, so Lord Halifax has assured us that he would rather be Master of Foxhounds than Prime Minister. But the call of duty is too peremptory to be denied. His friends think him indispensable to the party, so that, for its sake, he cannot avoid the invitation to serve."

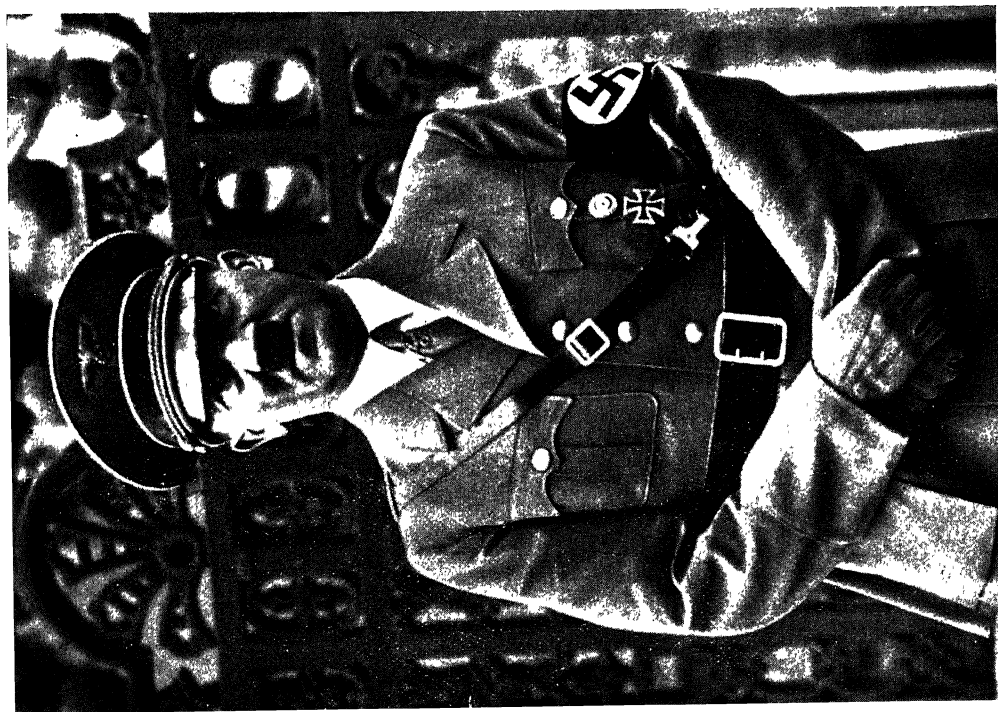
"Professor Laski believes that Lord Halifax is the most influential man in England with regard to English foreign policy, which means the foreign policy upon which European democracy must depend. He wishes to preserve peace at any cost, no matter if Austria, Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and other States, are all sacrificed—even European democracy itself. He fears that war would bring socialism. Hence, he prefers anything to war, even a victorious war, which might bring radicalism in its train.

"This makes Lord Halifax a perfect mark for the diplomatic duplicity and territorial aggression of Hitler and Mussolini."

That Hitler and Mussolini regard the world as an artichoke that they can eat as they wish he does not for a moment contemplate. That solemn engagements have no meaning for them he is not prepared to recognize. That they look upon Great Britain as the final enemy, to be destroyed when they have a Fascist Europe under their heel, does not occur to him... They will play with them just so long as it suits their purpose. He will be their willing tool, assuming always that the finer their words the more sincere are their intentions.

"In the end, Lord Halifax is likely to wind up with Fascism and defeat, which might be even worse than socialism and victory. He is likely to sell both British and world democracy down the river.

Lord Halifax is a grave danger to peace in Europe, because he has no notion of how intimate is the interdependence of peace and democratic institutions. All his gestures will be noble gestures. All his words will be pacific words. But, piece by piece, he will surrender the fortresses of democracy. He will betray them all like a gentleman. He will carry us over into what is effectively the Fascist camp in the simple faith that he is fighting the battle of democracy."



Herr Hitler after the *anschluss* (i.e., after the annexation of Austria)



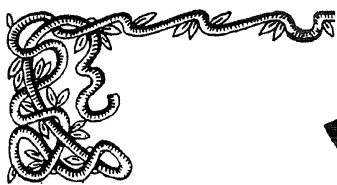
The niece of Field-Marshal Goering greeting Herr Hitler after his return to Berlin from the Austrian tour. The Field-Marshal also is seen in the picture



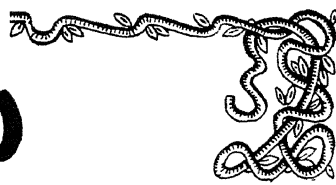
Enthusiastic reception given everywhere to Herr Hitler while he was travelling through German Austria after the *anschluss*



Herr Hitler speaking in Vienna when he proclaimed the annexation of Austria to Germany



Notes



Wife-stealing and Husband-snatching

Wife-stealing, whether by seduction, abduction or kidnapping, is considered wrong in all civilised countries, including India.

In India, and in some other countries, in communities in which polygamy is not forbidden, if a girl is married to a man who has another wife or more wives living, the girl is not necessarily a husband-snatcher, for generally such marriages are arranged by the guardians of the girls, who are generally minors. Even in these communities enlightened men look upon polygamy as wrong.

In the West, there is both wife-stealing and husband-snatching. Just as some men there seduce other men's wives and marry them after divorce or judicial separation, so some women wean some married men from the affections of their wives and marry them after the legal requirements have been satisfied. In these cases the men, too, are to blame.

In India, it has been known all along that some adult women of loose character wean some married men from the affections of their wives. But these disreputable women cannot be exactly spoken of as husband-snatchers. For the men, who become addicted to them do not become their husbands.

Some Western women, British, other European, or American, have been known to have married Indian men who had other wives living. Some of these Western women have done so not knowing that the men were already married; but some have done so knowing that the men had wives living. These latter may be rightly stigmatized as husband-snatchers. Of course, in these cases the men also are to blame.

Husband-snatching Facilitated by Some New Marriage Laws?

It is greatly to be regretted that in recent years some cases of husband-snatching by educated Indian women of respectable classes have

occurred, though their number has hitherto been extremely small. But, nevertheless, their occurrence is of evil omen. We shall mention a few instances.

A few years ago a respectable young woman, educated in India and abroad, married a young man of a different caste, who had a faithful wife living. This bigamous marriage was celebrated according to the (Sikh) Anand Marriage Act. Evidently they had recourse to this Act, as both Act III of 1872 and Gour's Special Marriage Act sanction only monogamous marriages.

Some weeks ago, a Hindu man, who had a devoted young wife living, professed to have become a Brahmo and went through a so-called Brahmo rite of marriage with an unmarried, respectable young Catholic woman, who also professed to have become a Brahmo. As soon as the affair became known to the President and Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, they strongly condemned this so-called marriage and declared it null and void, as it was both morally and legally wrong.

More recently, a young man, educated in India and abroad, having a devoted wife living, has married a respectable young woman similarly educated in India and abroad. These two persons belonged to different Hindu castes. So, in order to make the marriage legally valid, they had recourse to the Arya Marriage Validating Act.

Such cases of husband-snatching are ominous, as we have said. The last case has been callously characterized in some newspaper reports as a "romance." A sordid romance it may be, but what a tragedy to the poor faithful devoted first wife, who appealed to her unworthy husband to allow her to serve him as a slave!

The poor practically discarded first wives could not possibly compete with their rivals in winning or retaining the affection of their husbands. Most probably they were married when they were not even adolescent and so had not the charms of mature young womanhood to

capture the hearts of their husbands. Moreover, they did not possess the accomplishments of their rivals. These came upon the scene in the full bloom of their youthful charms and with all their accomplishments, and had an easy victory.

The subject is sickening and unsavoury. We do not wish to dwell upon it longer.

In all these cases the men, too, were guilty.

No honourable married young man ought to pose as a bachelor—particularly when mixing with young unmarried women. If any such young man finds the least sign of having attracted the favourable attention of an unmarried woman, he ought to make it known at once in some way or other that he is married, and avoid her company.

Far from trying to capture the heart of a married man, unmarried women ought to take all possible care to avoid consciously or unconsciously attracting or being attracted towards them.

In spite of Islam not prohibiting polygamy, it has been made illegal in Turkey. Perhaps in India, too, polygamy will be made illegal for Hindus, Moslems and others for whom it is not yet illegal. But in the meantime, our legislators ought not to enact any new marriage laws which do not prohibit polygamy, and they should amend those new laws already passed, mentioned above, in such a way as to prevent the validation of polygamous husband-snatching.

Tagore's Works in European Languages

In his very interesting and informative book of lectures, *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny* Mr. C. Y. Chintamani writes:

I did not see a book-stall at railway stations in England, France, Germany or Belgium where the works of Tagore in the languages of the respective countries are not stocked. A Norwegian gentleman with whom I happened to go from Paris to Versailles told me that Tagore's name was a household word in Norway and that he himself had read translations in his mother-tongue of all his important works. He remarked to me that the people of India must be the best educated in the world. When I told him that illiteracy was the badge of the tribe in our country, he exclaimed in wonder, "What, the countrymen of Tagore to be illiterate! Incredible!"

Are Indian Monthly Reviews Politically Insignificant?

In every chapter of the book mentioned in the foregoing note Mr. Chintamani has something to say on the press, and in the last chapter he has quoted "the following observations of an honoured and veteran publicist on the position of the press and of government's manipulation of it":

"In a modern community the newspaper is an essential part of government of the people." "The press might get on without politics, but politics cannot get on without the press." "Government themselves have been among the worst offenders in the manipulation of the press; and to increase their control would be the means of extinguishing their critics and making the rest their tools."

So, in treating of the subject of Indian politics since the Mutiny the author has properly devoted some space to the activities of the press.

The question is what is meant by the press. It may be that only the dailies and the weeklies constitute the press. But periodicals like monthly reviews are also subject to the press laws. Many of them also have had to deposit considerable amounts as security. They also are recipients of the kind attentions of Government press officers. But all this may amount to a mere technical, though unpleasant, recognition of the fact that these periodicals are a part of the press. The real question is whether they influence the politics of a country in any way.

Looking at Britain one finds that, not to speak of monthly reviews, even quarterlies like the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, etc., have done much to "develop and strengthen the political convictions" of the people. These and monthly reviews like the *Nineteenth Century and After*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Fortnightly*, "are devoted to critical comments on public events and literature...they are influential, and these publications are much quoted...." (*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, 1926) The *Edinburgh Review* ceased publication in 1929. The *Quarterly* and *Blackwood* came out as its rivals, soon after its publication. "These three journals together maintained the political and literary note of the founders, the political predominating." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition.) Mentioning the important British monthlies, the same *Encyclopaedia* states that the *Nineteenth Century* "took the foremost place in the political and literary field."

We do not in the least suggest any comparison between British and Indian periodicals. We know India is not Britain and the Indian press and Indian politics are different from the British press and British politics. What we suggest is that, just as British periodicals are not without their influence on politics merely because they are periodicals, so it is possible that Indian periodicals, too, may have to a slight extent either reflected or moulded the political ideas of their readers, or done both.

It is intriguing to find that, though

Mr. Chintamani mentions many dailies and weeklies in his book, he does not mention a single monthly. It becomes all the more difficult to understand or guess the reason why, when one finds that he has mentioned the names of three well-known journalists without referring to the monthlies edited by them.

Of the late Mr. Malabari he writes that "the *Indian Spectator* was Mr. Malabari's paper," and that it and the late Mr. N. N. Ghose's weekly "were the most thoughtful of weekly papers in the whole country". So, if the same Mr. Malabari's now defunct monthly review, *East and West*, had been named, it would not have been considered surprising. Mr. G. K. Gokhale had a high opinion of it, and it used to publish political articles also.

Of Mr. G. A. Natesan it is written, "Mr. G. A. Natesan has distinguished himself both as a journalist and as a public man". Mr. Natesan's fame as a journalist rests on his editorship of the *Indian Review*, whose name is not to be found in the book. Every month it deals with contemporary politics.

Of Mr. (now Dr.) Sachchidananda Sinha it is said:

"Lawyer, journalist, politician, speaker and debater. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has been in public life for nearly forty years and served his province and country well."

Dr. Sinha's fame as a journalist rests chiefly on his editorship of the *Hindustan Review*, which is not mentioned in the book. Mr. Chintamani himself had at one time much to do with its editing, and, if we remember aright, it was he who obtained political articles for a certain issue of that journal years ago from Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn and W. C. Bonnerjee. Perhaps at least these articles had something to do with "Indian politics since the Mutiny."

Mr. Shareef, C. P. Minister, Resigns

Mr. Shareef, Minister of Justice, C. P. and Berar, who distinguished himself by releasing two years before the expiration of the term of imprisonment a felon named Jafar Hussain who had been convicted for committing rape upon a minor girl, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted. The report of Sir M. N. Mukherji, to whom the case had been referred, left no other alternative to the Congress Working Committee.

This precious Minister of Justice ought to have been discharged as soon as his remarkable achievement came to be known. That he has been allowed to resign is in reality a miscarriage

of justice. But it has to be recognized that the Congress "High Command" must be extremely considerate and cautious in any matter in which a Mussalman of any kind is concerned. So what has happened must be considered the best that could have happened in the circumstances. And it has prevented the charge of vindictiveness being brought against the Congress.

"Liberality" and Free Speech

Professor Gilbert Murray gave two lectures in 1937 in the Universities of Bristol, Glasgow and Birmingham at the invitation of the Hibbert Trustees. These have been published in book form by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin under the title, *Liberality and Civilization*. He explained in the first lecture why he used the word "Liberality" instead of "Liberalism". It was "partly because I wish to keep clear of mere party politics."

"A superfluity or reserve" is "that great necessity of civilization without which civilization soon perishes."

"A reserve of wealth whereby to keep oneself alive through special trials and have something to give to others who need it more. A reserve of security, whereby, not being always on the edge of fear, man can afford to be tolerant, to be kindly, to listen to opinions or put up with habits which differ from his own. A reserve of leisure, from which proceeds all progress, all increase of knowledge and reflection, all the sciences and arts."

The professor continues:

"So far, I think, most people will agree. The next characteristic of liberality is one of fundamental importance. A free man must obviously be able to think freely. If he is deliberately harnessed in blinkers or forced into a particular groove from which he cannot escape, he is not like a free man, not "liberalis." And in order to think freely he must have freedom of speech. It is not merely that most of our serious and useful thinking is the result of talking things over with other people: the thoughts of a man who never expresses himself and never listens to other men cannot remain healthy or normal. But beyond that it is for most people quite impossible to think clearly without putting the thought into words, looking at it and trying again. To deny the right of free speech results in a denial of free thought; and to be denied the power of thinking is the direst slavery."

The Path of Madness and of War and the Paths of Peace

Professor Gilbert Murray observes in the same book regarding the activities and attitude of some governments:

"The governments of certain great nations have chosen a path which, to the eyes of most of us here, seems the path of madness and of war. The rest if they hold together are still strong enough not merely to resist their attack successfully—that is not what we want—

but by clear warning to prevent that attack being made, and thus, by closing the road that leads to war, gradually to turn the aggressors towards the paths of peace. But this depends on two unsolved questions."

The first is:

"Can the peace-lovers work with as much devotion and enthusiasm for truth and common sense as the warmongers for what they call national honour, and we call falsehood and unreason? Can sober men stand up to fanatics? Or will the fury of a few madmen beat down the half-hearted resistance of many sane men?"

The statement of the other unsolved question follows:

"And secondly, can nations that have been trained in an age-long tradition of cautious isolation, realize that the age for that has passed and that each one will perish unless all stand together?"

Professor Gilbert Murray continues:

"We have promised in the Covenant of the League to protect one another. For the first ten years that promise was kept, but of late, since the failure of the World Disarmament Conference in 1931-1933, the forces of peace have been progressively weakened, and on each occasion when a weak member of the League was attacked by an enemy, the strong members have looked on, mumbled a protest or an apology, and let the destroyer work his will. That is the road of old custom, of mental inertia, of the sluggishness that waits numbed and passive while all those who might befriend and help are destroyed one by one; the way of dead wood, not of the living tree."

The Professor concludes by stating what he thinks ought to be done:

"Against the awful weight of blind tradition and bewildered selfishness let us throughout Europe who believe in Liberty and are free in thought and speech see that our eyes are open and our consciences alert; let us see that, under repeated disappointments, our sane courage does not fail us, till we or our children can at last, throughout the world, bring to men of goodwill peace and brotherhood."

Words of sage counsel and resolve undoubtedly. But who will listen?

Development of Village Industries

The All-India Village Industries Association has been doing useful work. The May number of the *Gram Udyog Patrika* states:

At the last Board Meeting sub-committees were formed and deputed to recommend to the Congress Ministries a programme for the development of village industries. The Secretary reported that as the former governments had been following a policy which was city-centred, its servants were ill suited to carry out our programme and therefore the preliminary programme of work submitted by our Association was in effect a plan to supply the need of workers by getting workers trained in accordance with our ideals. Training in the following industries were suggested by us:—

Paddy husking and flour grinding, gur making from cocoanut, date, palmyra and sago palms, bee-keeping, oil pressing by bullock ghanis, paper making from village waste, soap making from sajimati and indigenous materials, tanning and bone crushing. Some governments

have acted on our scheme with modifications. It is too early to report any progress yet. (Further details will be found in our Annual Report for 1937 to be published shortly).

Among these industries many are still carried on in Bengal villages, e.g., paddy husking, gur-making from the date palm, oil pressing by bullock ghanis. If village industrialists have inventive skill and exercise it, they can improve the traditional industrial methods and invent new ones. This has been done at Sodepur by Babu Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan in the tanning and bone crushing industries, the industry of making matches, and oil pressing by ghanis. Gur-making from cocoanut and palmyra palms may be tried in some Bengal districts.

The All-India Village Industries Association is soon going to open the All-India Village Industries Museum at Wardha. It has a training school, of which the academic year will begin on the 15th June this year. In connection with these two associations there should be a Village Industries Research Institute. Perhaps Babu Satish Chandra Das Gupta will be able to suggest how this Institute should be conducted—if, of course, the idea commends itself to the Association.

Teaching of Crafts According to Wardha Scheme

According to the Wardha Scheme of Basic National Education, the training of boys and girls from seven to fourteen is to centre round some rural craft, to be chosen according to the agricultural and other economic conditions of the areas where the schools are to be situated. The crafts will no doubt be taught and practised according to the prevalent traditional methods at their best. But many, if not all, of these methods are capable of improvement. Without going in for power-driven machinery methods followed in big factories, contrivances can be thought of for improving rural industrial methods. Research relating to such contrivances may be carried on in the Village Industries Research Institute whose foundation has been suggested in the previous note.

Wardha Scheme to be Considered by Central Board of Education

Simla, May 23.

The Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, appointed to consider the Wardha Scheme of Education will meet in Simla on the 28th June, next.

This Committee, it may be remembered, was appointed by the Board in its third annual meeting held in New

Delhi on the 28th January to examine the scheme of educational reconstruction incorporated in the Wardha Scheme in the light of the Wood-Abbott Report and other relevant documents, e.g., the reports of committees appointed by certain Provincial Governments, and to make recommendations.

While we support this move, we have to observe that of the twelve members of the Committee the majority—perhaps all with a very few exceptions—are conversant more with the problems of high and higher education than with elementary or basic education. We do not know how many have practical acquaintance with rural conditions and the village crafts round which basic education to be given according to the Wardha scheme is to centre.

If it be not too late, a few members should be co-opted from institutions actually carrying on the work of revival and practice of rural crafts and the work of rural reconstruction.

Industrial Advisory Board of Experts

The Congress Working Committee, it is said, has appointed or intend to appoint a board or a committee of experts to prepare or suggest industrial and other schemes for the economic advancement of the provinces of India. Such a body is urgently required. Foreigners, mostly British, have already occupied much of the industrial field in India and are actively engaged in trying to occupy the remaining portions. In the process, they are destroying some of the industries started by Indians on up-to-date modern models. The seven Congress provincial governments at least ought to try their utmost to save these industries and help to start all possible industries to supply the Indian market and oust from it the ever-increasing kinds and quantities of foreign manufactured goods which are finding their way even to remote villages.

It is stated (May 25) that the members of the Bengal ministry have been discussing the question of a comprehensive survey of the industrial programme for the province and that schemes are already before the cabinet in this connection. Possibly other non-Congress ministries also are engaged in similar discussions or have finished them.

There ought not to be any "caste-feeling" dividing the Congress and non-Congress ministries. Some industries are provincially inter-related. Why cannot all the ministries, Congress and non-Congress, take counsel together for the industrial advancement of the whole country? Leading industrialists of the Indian States should also be invited to give the ministries the advantage of their experience.

Question of Non-European United Front in South Africa

Durban, May 23.

At a reception in honour of the Agent General, Mr. Ram Rao, at the Orient Club the President of the Natal Indian Congress strongly repudiated the rumour that the Congress favoured a non-European united front. He stated that only the smallest minority supported the proposal. Supporters of the United Front movement stated that their object was not a united front of non-Europeans against Europeans but a united front of all sections of the South African nation, including Europeans, based on goodwill. They indicated, however, that the present trend of the Union Government legislation in discriminating between Europeans on the one hand and non-Europeans on the other contained the inherent danger of the non-European sections combining to protest in their common interests. The Union Government therefore had the remedy in their own hands.—(Reuter.)

Tagore Birthday Banquet in America

We have received the following communication from Mr. N. R. Checker, president of the India League of America.

A banquet to celebrate the seventy-eighth birthday of Rabindranath Tagore was tendered by the India League of America in the Aldine Club, well-known centre of civic and cultural activities on Fifth Avenue in New York City, on the evening of May 6th last. The toastmaster, Mr. N. R. Checker, the president of the League, welcomed the guests of honour who were among the chief speakers, including Mr. Joseph Auslander, head of the department of poetry of the Library of the Congress (Washington, D.C.), one of the outstanding contemporary American poets, Miss Audrey Wurdemann and Mrs. Stella W. Herron, both distinguished poets, Prof. Arthur U. Pope, eminent Iranist and former professor of philosophy at the University of California, Khuda Bux, "the master of magic," from Kashmir, and Ram Gopal, the danseur from South India, and Madam and Miss Brunner, painters.

It was truly a brilliant gathering in which representative American and Indian talent was conspicuously represented.

The toastmaster opened the after-dinner programme with introducing Madam Boulter, acting secretary of the League, who then sang in French, "The song of India".

The first speaker, Prof. Arthur U. Pope, whom Mr. Checker welcomed as "India's most steadfast and consistent friend of nearly forty years past", paid a rarely brilliant and comprehensive tribute to the poet, from which these points are elicited:

"It is impossible to summarize in a few minutes the manifold contributions to the advancement of our times of so genuinely a great man of our age as Dr. Tagore.

"I believe that there are three characteristics which, above all, shine forth in the great poet-philosopher: candour, courage and compassion.

"As examples of his candour and courage, displayed at times when it was perilous to do so, I recall his slashing rebuke to Western civilization during the World War. His compassion is profound and most alluring, and more than anything else, perhaps, the expression of India's traditional genius at its best.

"I met Dr. Tagore in Moscow, and the most vivid recollection I have was of his glowing enthusiasm and optimism after he had seen the kindergarten system of the Soviets. In the company of these happy, beautifully brought up Russian little boys and girls the great Hindu Poet's spirit rose to exalted levels, and he saw in New Russia's training of the children a new hope for mankind.

"No other man has done so much as Dr. Tagore to reveal and enhance the gems of India's traditional culture. Nevertheless, he has another side, that of the purifier, of the rejector of old and worn-out creeds, institutions, and attitudes. Let not modern India become complacent. To observe Tagore's Birthday suitably, one must continue to strive for truth, respecting neither ancient habits nor new-fangled pseudo-scientific shibboleths."

Mr. Auslander followed Dr. Pope :

"Prof. Pope has stolen my thunder, and has called attention to the philosopher George Santayana's statement that through the use of most carefully selected words the poet—when he is a really great poet, like Dr. Tagore—enables us to discover the truth, and most important of all—the truth about ourselves.

"Reading Tagore's poetry and meeting him on one occasion, in New York, shaped my own course to which I have adhered—the pursuit of poetry, the endeavour to discover truth through this art.

"The poet Tagore does not need us, does not need our celebration in his honour. But we do need him, need him more than ever at this critical moment of humanity."

Mr. R. K. Rakshit, of Calcutta, one of the leaders of the Indian students in America, and now a businessman, told of the influence of Bengal village life upon the career of Rabindranath.

"Under his great father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, he has united the village and the modern city cultures, thus arousing a fundamental renaissance out of the soil of our ancient land,"

said Mr. Rakshit.

Dr. Gobind Behari Lal, Science Editor of the Hearst Newspapers and International News Service, paid to the poet "a scientist's and a Punjabi's" glowing tribute, making specially these points:

"On four occasions when I met Rishi Tagore in the United States, new aspects of his greatness were impressed upon me. In 1915-16, he was the prophet of compassion and world unity, in 1927 or '28, while touching the Port of San Francisco, he was the reincarnation of an ancient Vedic Aryan leader raising the standard of civilization and power of our race, in and far out of India. In his last visit, when he landed in New York, he was the supreme Teacher, eloquently praising New Russia's efforts

to banish illiteracy and superstition from a semi-Asiatic former autocratic empire.

"One of Tagore's songs is: 'Some day the Sun shall have its last look upon me.' Well, how can the Sun ever have its last look upon itself? For to us, Rabindranath—whose very name means the Lord God of the Sun—is for ever the harbinger and creator of Dawns, of Re-births of nations and humanity."

Nirmal Das, a Hindu poet and artist, praised Dr. Tagore as "the supreme patriot"—who had started the 'rakhi-bandhan'—the day of dedication to the freeing of India—at the time of the Partition of Bengal. Ever since his stirring songs have been sung by the heroic Bengal patriots, marching to their dooms.

The meeting concluded with the musical rendition, and chanting, by Mr. Das, Madam Boulter and others, of Dr. Tagore's patriotic lay: '*Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka jaya he Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā.*'

"Victory, victory unto Thee—O Lord of India's Destiny!"

Peasant Satyagrahis of Mansa State

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, has given the following message to the peasants of Mansa State:

"I sympathise with the peasants of Mansa State in the fight that they have been carrying on against the State authorities for the last eight months. I hope that they will continue their struggle in accordance with the principles of satyagraha—viz., truth and non-violence. If they do so, they are bound to win in the long run."

The peasant women of Mansa in particular have shown their heroism in a signal manner. They deserve to gain their object.

Why Germany Annexed Austria

The American pocket periodical, *World Events*, writes:

The Nazi annexation of Austria carries to completion a program which had been formulated in the days of Bismarck by the Pan-Germans and which after the World War came to be known as Anschluss. This German-Austrian union was viewed as a voluntary coming together of the two countries, both Germanic in language and culture. Hitler's action, however, was not Anschluss but conquest, and the Nazi hordes have acted as conquerors since they took control.

Economically, this union was always looked upon as favoring Austria and the situation is no different today. Austria's balance of trade has been unfavourable and the deficit was largely made up out of tourist spending. Germany will receive the valuable iron mines of Styria, extensive forests with their lumber, and great hydro-electric potentialities. But unless Austrian industry is to be ruined entirely, this will not materially relieve the economic stress of Germany.

Indeed, one of the reasons why Hitler struck was the fact that some of these Austrian raw materials, which had hitherto been exported to Germany, were about to find other markets. Germany imported Styrian iron ore but was unable to pay for it. In 1937, Austrian exports

to Germany of iron ore rose enormously. Since it was not paid for, it was planned to curtail this export to Germany by 40 per cent. This would have spelled disaster for German armaments, hence the annexation. Sentimental and pan-German reasons also played their part.

American Support For Militarism

World Events supplies the following figure:-

Just for the record: Shipment of U. S. arms and war materials for January, 1938 to Japan, \$538,243; to China, \$380,091; to Brazil, \$60,991; to Rumania, \$537,312. Shipments of U. S. scrap iron to Japan: 1936—\$14,000,000; 1937—\$39,000,000.

The shipments of United States scrap iron to Japan have almost trebled in one year!

Anti-gas Precautions India's Greatest Need!

From distant America comes the news that "India is to have all the anti-gas precautions which England has"! So India is really in equal partnership with England! But the *Pioneer* asks:

Why spend money for air-raid shelters when public lavatories are lacking? Why sign-boards and instructions when 90 per cent of the people are illiterate? Why emergency medical aid posts for people who receive no medical attention in normal times?

And the Indian peasantry ask: Why not allow us to be gassed, as we cannot be fed.

University of Hawaii Scholarships

The *Oriental Institute Journal* of the University of Hawaii writes:—

The University of Hawaii plans to offer in June, 1938, ten scholarships for graduate students in the field of Oriental Studies. The generosity of several Honolulu friends makes these scholarships possible. Details will be announced in a pamphlet which may be procured on application to the Director of Graduate Studies, Dr. Paul S. Bachman. Each scholarship will amount to one thousand dollars, a sum sufficient to enable the student to come to Hawaii and to work solely for a master's degree. The student who in his undergraduate days has studied basic courses in economics, political science, anthropology, sociology, literature,—and the histories of Japan, China, India,—and who has a knowledge of French or German,—will find himself better able to do graduate work in Oriental Studies. If, too, he has a reading knowledge, however slight, of Japanese or Chinese or Sanskrit he will have a considerable advantage; but, for the present, knowledge of an Oriental language is not required for admission to the graduate department of the Oriental Institute.

The person who intends to devote his life to a study of the cultures of the Orient should learn at least one Oriental language. The Oriental Institute provides instruction in Japanese and Chinese, and this year, with the presence of Dr. Johannes Rahder, of Leiden, it is offering an elementary course in Sanskrit (a course we expect to offer in 1938-39, with Dr. J. Takakusu, of the Imperial University, Tokyo, as the instructor).

We could wish some Indian Sanskritist were at Honolulu to teach Sanskrit in Hawaii University.

An Indian Liberal's Reply to an Indian Socialist

It appears that a Bombay socialist gave last month a broadcast talk on socialism from the Bombay station of the All India Radio, in the course of which he attacked the Indian Liberal party. Sir Chinnanal Setalvad answered the socialist through the same medium. Here is part of his reply:

Mr. Socialist, it appears that you have woefully misunderstood the aims and objects of the Liberal party. It is a gross perversion of facts to say that the Liberal party is a rank conservative party of capitalists and landlords. If the list of members of the Liberal party is scanned, one will find it made up of middle class people who are working for their bread in the professions and other walks of life. The capitalists and landlords are not in the Liberal party. Some big businessmen and industrialists are sitting on the fence and are supporting the Congress without openly joining as members thereof. It is equally incorrect to say that the Liberals are content to acquiesce in British rule and bask in the favours it can bestow. They want complete responsible government of the character that Canada, Australia and other dominions are enjoying. Dominion Status for India under the Statute of Westminster is what Mr. Gandhi has said he would be satisfied with and the Liberals are asking for that and nothing less and still you will malign them for not joining the cry of Independence. To ask for complete severance of the British connection will obviously be suicidal in the present condition of Indian defences.

As regards social justice Sir Chinnanal Setalvad observed:

The Liberals have consistently stood for the raising of the standard of living of the masses, more equitable distribution of profits between capital and labour and even nationalisation of certain industries. The Liberals want socialism of a character suitable to this country. But they are strongly against the socialism—really Communism—of the Soviet Russia type that you are in love with. You want to uproot the present structure of society and enforce perfect equality among all people. This is an idle dream which, if attempted to be enforced, must lead to civil war, suppression of individual liberty and freedom, destruction of the family system and ultimately mass executions as in Russia. Your socialism is pure Bolshevism. You want perfect equality between all human beings when nature has made inequality. Is there equality anywhere in the Universe? Cast your eyes on the stars and planets, the animal world, the earth itself, is there any equality? Some countries are endowed with fertile lands and vast mineral resources while others are denied such bounty of nature. Take human beings. Some are born with robust health and keen intellect while others are denied all this and some are even blind and decrepit. Some women are endowed with beauty and intellect while others are plain and even ugly or with no brains. Nature knows no equality.

We have no desire either to adversely criticize or support any of the statements made

by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Those who have knowledge of present-day conditions in Russia will be able to assess them at their true value. Only with regard to family life in Russia we should like to quote what Dr. Sherwood Eddy, the famous American Christian traveller and worker, author of *The Challenge of Russia*, has written in the American quarterly, *World Christianity*, first quarter, 1938, page 37, after his 13th visit to Russia:

"The family and the home have received a fresh emphasis. Divorce has been made somewhat more difficult, and abortion is prohibited except where the health of the mother demands it."

As regards what some leading socialists and communists and some others of their party think of human equality, we take the following from our Notes in the last April number:

We shall quote a few sentences from a "highly provocative book," *Heredity and Politics*, by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, "one of the most outstanding and challenging personalities in science and politics to-day."

This book was published in England on the 8th February last and has been just received.

In the first chapter, devoted to an examination of "The Biology of Inequality," Professor Haldane writes:

I wish to examine certain statements regarding human equality and inequality, some of which have been used to justify not only ordinary policy but even wars and revolutions. . . .

We will first consider the doctrine of the equality of man. I will quote from a great revolutionary document of the eighteenth century, the American Declaration of Independence, which was published in 1776 and is mainly due to Jefferson.—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This or a very similar doctrine of equality was important for the French Revolution. What did it mean in practice? The thirteenth and fifteenth amendments to the United States' constitution were needed to abolish negro slavery and racial discrimination in the matter of the franchise. For whites it meant a very considerable measure of equality before the law, and it has, I think, meant a somewhat greater equality of opportunity than exists in England; but it did not give rise to any systematic attempt to bring about economic equality."

Coming to more recent times, the author observes:

Modern revolutionary theory is much more modest in its statements regarding equality, though in practice it goes somewhat farther in that direction. "The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity." So wrote Engels, and the passage was considerably amplified by Lenin. Modern revolutionary theory looks forward to two types of society; Socialist society in which each citizen works according to his

ability and receives in accordance with the amount of work done, and Communist society in which each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. There is a certain approximation towards Socialist society in the Soviet Union, but Communist society remains an ideal. Neither of these theories is equalitarian. Stalin in a report to the seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. said: "Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or the period of Communism." Further, so far as I know, official Communist theory includes no clear statement of the origins of inequality other than economic.

Now, although Jefferson regarded the truth of human equality to be self-evident, there is remarkably little positive evidence for the Jeffersonian theory, and its interest is, I think, mainly historical.

In conclusion Sir Chimanlal criticizes a dictum of Bernard Shaw thus:

You will give the same remuneration to a Marconi or Edison as you would give to a labourer. This is your scheme, which, on the face of it, is highly undesirable. You quote Bernard Shaw as saying 'that the idiots are always in favour of inequality of income and the really great in favour of equality.' One may well ask how Shaw who is really great is acting up to this pronouncement. Is he distributing to the needy his huge royalties on his works? And is he not living in comfort and luxury, while millions in his country are unemployed? In the same manner, do all those who profess to be socialists practise the equality they preach? Why do the socialists live in well-furnished flats, dress well and move about in motor cars, instead of denying to themselves those amenities or sharing them with other people? Why do you Mr. Socialist work and earn the four gold mohurs that you speak of and why do you entertain the pleasant vision of earning 50 gold mohurs, which I hope and wish you will do very soon? But that will not be equality.

Linguistic Hungerstrike!

Newspapers have printed the news of the hungerstrike of a Tamil-speaking person in Madras who has resolved to fast unto death unless Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras Premier, withdraws his order to introduce Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools. We do not in the least approve of this hungerstrike.

It is reported that many meetings are being held in Tamil Land to protest against the order to teach Hindi as a compulsory subject.

Perhaps feeling runs high there in this matter, as can be guessed from a cartoon which has appeared in a Tamil paper, in which Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is represented as stabbing his mother (-tongue). Such cartoons should be condemned.

We do not know whether the Madras ministers are thrusting Hindi upon an unwilling public. We have no means of knowing whether the majority of Tamil-speaking persons are for or against the introduction of Hindi. Of that the Madras ministers are better judges than any

outsiders can be. All that an outsider can say in general terms is that the introduction of Hindi in schools as an optional subject in all non-Hindi-speaking tracts would be moving along the line of least resistance.

Hindu-Moslem Unity Talks

We have written much on this subject recently in previous issues as well as in years past. We have not found any reason to change our opinions. The reason why we write again is that the subject continues to be a current topic. Our difficulty in writing on it is that neither Mahatma Gandhi, nor Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, nor Shri Jinnah, has yet issued any statement of what has passed between them either orally or in writing. These will appear, no doubt, on some future date. But that may be too late a date for us to write upon them for the present June number.

Shri Jinnah's Attitude and Demands

Shri Jinnah has contradicted the news that it was he who wanted to have a talk on the subject with Mahatma Gandhi or any other Congress leader. We are not concerned to ascertain whether he is right or wrong. The pose is that he, the president of the Moslem League, which is at least as great an organization as the Indian National Congress (never mind what Viceroy may think *in practice*),—he cannot approach anybody in thought, word or deed! It is the other party which must seek him out. So Mahatma Gandhi *waited upon* Shri Jinnah. It is to be hoped, the humour of the situation has not been lost even upon Shri Jinnah. A Sanskrit poet* prayed to Providence, "Arasikeshu rasasya nivedanam sirasi mā likha, mā likha, mā likha," "May I not be destined to make an offering of humour to those who do not appreciate humour" (*free translation to suit the occasion*). Such prayers are not always favourably responded to. We hope Mahatma Gandhi never offered any such prayer unsuccessfully.

There are numerous Mussalmans in India, not to speak of others, who do not admit that the Moslem League is the sole or the chief representative organization of the Indian Muhammadan community. The very small number of members of the League is a sufficient proof of that fact. But Shri Jinnah wants India and the world outside to believe that it is. By *waiting upon* him Mahatma Gandhi and the

Congress President may have misled those in the world outside who do not know to fancy that the Moslem League is at least as important a representative body as the Congress and that Shri Jinnah is the Dictator of India or at least the arbiter of India's destiny who has a stranglehold on all freedom movements. One cannot be sure how many living outside India may be misled to form such a wrong impression, but in India itself there are most probably a certain number of Muhammadans who will be impressed with the great importance of Janab Jinnah Sahab.

Let us consider what Shri Jinnah is reported to have demanded.

It is reported that he has demanded that the Congress should discontinue the Moslem mass contact movement. The object of this demand is plain. It is that the Congress should not have a larger number of Moslem members than it has at present. Perhaps it is also implied that those Muhammadans who are already members of the Congress should cease to be so. But if they do not resign of their own accord, are they to be driven out? Has the Congress any power to do so according to its constitution?

Even before Congress started the Moslem mass contact movement, many Muhammadans had become members of that body. So, even if Congress discontinues the Moslem mass contact movement, still many of them may seek to join that body. Can Congress refuse to enroll Muhammadans as members according to its constitution?

Supposing that by changing its constitution Congress drives away all its Moslem members and refuses to admit any new recruits from that community, does Mr. Jinnah expect all the present and all the would-have-been members of Congress to become members of the Moslem League? Vain hope. If all these nationalist Moslems had been convinced that their political principles were identical with those of the Moslem League, they would have joined the League long ago. But they did not.

Moreover, the Moslem League party is not the only or the chief Moslem party in the country. That community has many other important parties, which need not be named. If Congress drives away all Moslems from its ranks and refuses to admit any new recruits, nationalist Muhammadans will join Muhammadan organizations other than the Moslem League. The League did nothing to help the Frontier Pathans in their hour of need. Congress stood by them. Why will they join the League?

What Shri Jinnah seems to want is that

*We ought to have quoted from Arabic, but we are sorry we do not know it.—Ed., M.R.

Congress should become a practically Hindu body, that the Moslem League should be the only organization having Moslem members, that there should be a coalition between Congress and the Moslem League *on his terms*, and that this coalition party should prevail upon or force the British Government to do only that which he wants, or at least not to do what he disapproves of.

As Congress is not likely to commit political suicide as a national organization by acceding to this reported demand of Shri Jinnah, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further.

Another demand of his is said to be that there should be a larger number of Muslim ministers in the cabinets of Congress provinces and that these Muslim ministers are to be nominated by the Moslem League, that is, by Shri Jinnah. We think only the ablest men among the elected members of the provincial legislatures should be appointed ministers, irrespective of their creed, race, or caste. But as a matter of expediency and policy and by way of compromise Congress may agree, as it has already agreed, to have a certain number of Muslims in the cabinets;—it may agree even to increase their number. But why should it and how can it agree to their being nominated by the Moslem League? It should not and cannot so long as it retains its formal national character and does not divest itself of that character.

Of course, as in many other matters, so in the choice of the Muslim members of the Congress provincial cabinets, Congress has practically yielded to Moslem communal feeling by choosing only those persons as Muslim ministers who were the nominees of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad.

If Congress were to accede to the Moslem League's (or Shri Jinnah's) demand that Muslim ministers must be nominated by the League, the question might be asked why similarly the Hindu ministers were not to be nominated by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal, or the Varnashram Swarajya Sangha, or by them all jointly. But, though Congress is for the abolition of untouchability, perhaps all those Hindu bodies are untouchable—there must be no contact with them, no recognition of them: Congress is the Brahmana among all Hindu(?) organizations, others are Pariahs! Is that so? Our idea is different. Congress is a national organization. It includes all races, religious communities, castes and classes. Therefore, it is competent to negotiate with the Moslem League, as well as with

Hindu bodies. That it does not do so with the latter does not prove that it is a mere Hindu body. But Shri Jinnah looks upon it only as a (not *the*) Hindu organization. He cannot be blamed. For, if Congress wanted to behave like a *national* organization and to be looked upon as such, in arriving at any decision on any question of national importance it ought to have arrived at its decision either without consulting any communal body or leader or after consulting all the principal communal bodies or leaders. It has not adopted the former course. Therefore it ought to have adopted the latter, that is, it ought to have consulted all the principal communal bodies or leaders. But it is consulting the leader of only one organization of only one community.

Another demand of Shri Jinnah is reported to be that Congress must give up direct and indirect propaganda in favour of Hindi being made the national language of India. Here Congressmen (and non-Congressmen, too) may put him the question, "Will you and other Mussalmans discontinue direct and indirect propaganda in favour of Urdu?" As Shri Jinnah wants everything relating to the Mussalman community, even its politics, to be the exclusive concern of the Moslem League, why does he want to dictate what non-Moslems should or should not do? He wants to reduce Congress practically to the position of a Hindu organization and to make it practically admit that it is one. If so, why will he not allow it to exercise its freedom as a Hindu body? Why will he not allow it to decide either in favour of Hindi or Urdu as the national language? We do not mean to say that these are the only two possible alternatives. Even Azad, a Bengali organ of Bengali Mussalmans (who are the largest provincial Moslem group in India), wants Bengali to be made the national language. But that is only by the way.

Shri Jinnah is reported to have put forward many other demands. But we will notice only one more. He wants *Bande Mataram*, even in its mutilated form, to be given up as a national song of India. As in the case of the demand discussed in the previous paragraph, so in the case of this it may be asked, if Congress is to be looked upon and to look upon itself as a Hindu organization, why it should not be free to use *Bande Mataram*, in its entirety or in part, as a or the national song of India.

Evidently Shri Jinnah wants freedom for himself and his organization but would deny it to others—which is a characteristic of dictators and despots.

Alleged Congress Terms Offered to Shri Jinnah

Two of the terms said to have been offered to Shri Jinnah by Mahatma Gandhi are that all members of the Moslem League should sign the Congress creed and pledge, *i.e.*, practically become Congress members as well, and that the Moslem League should whole-heartedly participate in the Congress struggle for freedom including opposition to the Government scheme of Federation.

There is nothing new substantially in these terms. At the so-called Round Table Conference in London, Mahatma Gandhi promised to give the Moslems a blank cheque provided that they joined the Congress in the national struggle for freedom. But that condition was not accepted. So the blank cheque remains in the cheque-book of the Naked Faquir—it has not been torn off and delivered to the Moslems to be filled in by them.

Will Shri Jinnah accept Gandhiji's terms now? Will the Moslem League and other Moslem organizations? One does not know--cannot guess.

But suppose Shri Jinnah does accept them, will Gandhiji and will Congress give up opposition to the Communal Decision (very lukewarm opposition amounting almost to acceptance though it be), which Shri Jinnah and the bulk of Mussalmans want to remain intact?

We do not know. But this we do know that Hindu India outside Congress-Hindu India will never be reconciled to the Communal Decision. This Hindu India outside Congress-Hindu India is not at present as organized an entity as Congress-Hindu India. But Congress acceptance of the Communal Decision will go a great way to generate the heat necessary to fuse this India into one whole. But organized or unorganized, there are men in this Hindu India who are prepared to fight the Communal Decision to their dying day.

Mr. P. R. Das on Bengali-Bihari Question

Mr. P. R. Das has been dealing with the Bengali-Bihari question in a statesmanlike manner. He has raised the question to the high plane of Indian nationalism. In the course of his speech delivered at the Ranchi Union Club Hall on the 23rd May last he said:

"It has been suggested to me that I should claim the right of a minority community in Bihar. I wholly deny that politically the Bengalees form a community in Bihar. Politically we are all Indians, and I contend that no ministry has any power to exclude us by reason only of the fact that we are Bengalees."

But some of them are being excluded solely on that ground. Let us take a flagrant instance cited by Mr. P. R. Das in the course of his ably argued and soberly worded speech. Said he:

I am going to give you one instance to illustrate the principle upon which the Bihar Ministry is working. Ramkrishna Mukherji was a candidate for a post in the office of the Conservator of Forests, Bihar. There is no doubt whatever that he is a native of this province. He also took the precaution of arming himself with a domicile certificate. There was no doubt whatever that he was the best candidate and that he was strongly supported by Mr. Owden, the Conservator of Forests. His application was turned down by the Government. I am informed that Mr. Owden wrote a special letter to the Government and pointed out that Ramkrishna was the best candidate and that he was a native of the province, although he bore a Bengali name. To this Mr. Owden received the following reply, a copy of which was forwarded to Ramkrishna. The reply was as follows:—

"With reference to your letter No. 7978, dated the 2nd March, 1938, I am directed to refer to the Government orders conveyed in this department letter No. 749/R, dated the 31st December, 1937, and to say that Babu Ramkrishna Mukherjee is a Bengalee and as far as his appointment in your office is concerned it is immaterial whether he is a native of Manbhūm or domiciled therein. As already admitted by you there is undue preponderance of Bengalees in your office, and further appointment of Bengalees in your office, (whether native or domiciled) until other communities had had their due representation is not desirable."

I ask you to judge whether this is not petty communalism of a most aggravated kind and totally inconsistent with the Congress resolutions.

Mr. Das went on to put other questions.

I ask you, who is communal? Remember provincialism is only another name for communalism. Are we communal, because we are protesting against appointment in public services on communal or provincial lines? Or is the Bihar Ministry communal in so far as it recognises the principle that different communities are entitled to representation in public services on communal lines? On behalf of the Bengali Association I demand the withdrawal of the Brett circular, the Houlton circular and the Owden circular. I demand the withdrawal of these circulars not on narrow provincial ground but on national ground because the working of these circulars must inevitably prevent the growth of an Indian nation. This is exactly what the great framers of the American Constitution foresaw, and they took early steps to prevent the catastrophe.

Mr. Das told his audience what exactly the framers and amenders of the American constitution did.

The great danger of Provincial Autonomy is the centrifugal force to which it gives birth. The great men who devised the American Constitution were fully aware of this danger. As you know, there were different independent states in America before their union. The great American Constitution, while it left the existence of the different states untouched, provided that the citizen of each state should be regarded as the citizen of the United States of America and must have equal rights and privileges in every other state. Even this was not found

sufficient to prevent the fissiparous tendency in the different states; and so by a celebrated amendment the Federal Assembly passed a law prohibiting the different states from passing discriminating legislation against the citizens of the other states. It is upon this amendment that the great American nation was built; and it is worthy of note that the Australians adopted this celebrated amendment as part of the Australian Constitution. I humbly beseech the Prime Minister to study this amendment. When Provincial Autonomy comes into existence there is a natural tendency to exclude those not of the Province on protective grounds. It is an unfortunate tendency; but it is a natural tendency. But once you regard those not of the province as foreigners, you make it impossible for the growth of an Indian nation. The genius of the American people solved the problem for the American. Is India going to lag behind?

The "great danger" of provincial autonomy was foreseen by the members of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee. And, therefore, in order to strike a blow at Indian unity they provided for provincial autonomy. We have repeatedly quoted their exact words from their Report in support of our assertion.

"As I understand the Congress viewpoint," said Mr. Das, "there is one people, one nation, one India, and we are all the children of the Indian soil."

Duties go with rights. If Bengalis in Bihar are equal citizens with Biharis, they owe a duty to Bihar no less than the Biharis. They have all along been comrades in arms with the Biharis. Let them continue to do their duty to the province with undiminished—nay, increased, enthusiasm.

Provincial and Communal Division of Occupations

Assignment of certain percentages of different occupations along provincial or communal lines is bad. But if any such allotment is to be made, all occupations must be treated in this way. This, however, is impossible. Central and provincial governments in India have not promulgated any rules as to what per cent of the people of any religious community or of any province are entitled to become skilled labourers, unskilled labourers, artisans and mechanics of different kinds, followers of handicrafts of different kinds, peasants, traders, merchants, bankers, etc. People of some provinces, communities and classes have special aptitudes for some kind or other of these classes of occupations. That there is no exclusive or restrictive law, regulation or rule about these occupations is greatly to their advantage; and it is justly so.

Similarly there are other people of other provinces, communities or classes who have an aptitude for Government office jobs or jobs in

different Government departments. What has been done by the Central Government and some Provincial Governments is to lay down that for them there is to be no open door to talent in these offices and departments but that they are to be either excluded or to have a very limited number of appointments.

So Governments strike a blow at only these people of these provinces, communities and classes! The plea is that all classes and communities must be duly represented, according to their population ratio, in government departments and offices. But are they proportionately represented among the total number of men qualified for these jobs by education? And why should not all classes and communities be proportionately represented in *all* occupations? Can any government undertake to see that they are? Obviously no government can.

The net result is that there is free competition in some occupations, whilst there is none in others. This is highly unjust to those who are or make themselves fit for the latter, and cannot make for contentment and peace.

It does not make for efficiency in the public services either, or for national solidarity.

Vernacular Medium in Orissa

We read in the papers that recently there was a conference in Cuttack to consider the question of the medium of instruction in schools. There is no question that the mother-tongue of every child should be the medium through which it should be taught.

"Opinions were expressed as to whether Oriya should be the only medium of instruction."

For Oriya children it should certainly be the only medium. But for Bengali children, Bengali should be the medium.

Calcutta University recognizes all the principal languages of India—even some aboriginal languages. But it is regrettable that in some provinces outside Bengal even some Congress "nationalists" seek to deprive Bengali children of the human right of learning through their mother-tongue!

What is both tragic and amusing is that some Assamese and Oriya Congressmen who are enthusiastic in pushing the idea of teaching Hindi in Assam and Orissa schools (and they are rightly so) seem to be even more enthusiastic in seeing that Bengali should be excluded from their schools, though it would be difficult to find educated Assamese and Oriya gentlemen and ladies who do not understand Bengali and though Hindi is not so generally known in

Assam and Orissa as Bengali. If arrangements can be made for teaching Hindi, surely it is not impossible to make arrangements for teaching Bengali to Bengali children, there.

By all means teach Hindi, but why seek to deprive Bengali children of a right which other children of all provinces enjoy or should enjoy? It is particularly regrettable and condemnable that now that there is *Nationalist* Congress rule in these provinces, Bengali children are sought to be deprived of a human right which they had been enjoying under the previous purely bureaucratic rule.

There was a time when the Russian, German and Austrian Empires tried their worst to deprive the Poles of the knowledge of and the right to cultivate their mother-tongue Polish and its literature. But these *Imperial* attempts failed. So must fail all *Provincial* attempts, if any were made, directed against the Bengali language.

We should be prepared to support campaigns against the use of the Bengali medium for Bengali children if the deprivation of these children of a natural right could be shown to be necessary for making non-Bengali children great scholars!

"Mr. Shareef's Case"

Pachmarhi, May 25.

Despite Mr Shareef's resignation his fate, it is felt, is not definitely sealed. A largely attended public meeting held here last night adopted resolutions recording sorrow at his resignation and urging the Congress High Command to review his case in the light of Mr. Shareef's motive in releasing Zafar Hussain which was dictated by humane consideration for his forlorn family.

By another resolution, the Congress Working Committee was further urged to restore the confidence of the Moslem public by not accepting his resignation.

Later, a local deputation waited on Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel and acquainted them with the trend of the above-mentioned resolutions.

Another influential provincial Moslem deputation headed by Nawab Riyat Ali waited on Maulana Azad and requested him to continue the policy of having a Moslem Minister on the provincial Cabinet.—(U. P.)

One can only pity those who attended this "largely attended public meeting" and "adopted resolutions recording sorrow" etc. etc.

Mr. Shareef could have easily helped Zafar Hussain's forlorn family himself and asked his friends to do so. It was not at all necessary to release the man before he had served out his full term. There are thousands of prisoners guilty of far less heinous offences whose families are more forlorn, destitute and friendless. But no minister, not even the highly humane Mr. Shareef, with his delicate percep-

tion of moral values, released them on that ground untimely. Mr. Shareef released not only Zafar Hussain but his "pimps and procurers," too. Were their families also in a forlorn condition?

The telegram does not say what answer Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel gave to the "local deputation" which waited upon them, nor whether the two unenviable leaders gave the deputation a "*patient hearing*," as the phrase goes.

"The Moslem public" must be in a very peculiar ethical condition indeed, if its confidence cannot be regained except by considering the pre-concerted rape of a minor girl as a trifle.

Certainly the confidence of the Moslem public is worth retaining by having a Moslem minister in place of Mr. Shareef. Only his ethical sense should be better developed than that of Mr. Shareef.

"Uniting" The People of India!

London, May 25.

Responding on behalf of India and Burma to the toast of the British Commonwealth at the Royal Empire Society banquet in London Lord Zetland made a reference to the Federation.

"We sought," said Lord Zetland, "and to a large extent we have already been successful, to give the people of India a unity that they never before possessed." But there remained the supreme act in the story of unification of the Indian people bringing together beneath the dome of a single political edifice, the new democracies of British India and the ancient autocracies of the Indian States. That was the supreme task to which their energies were now devoted." Etc.—(Reuter.)

It is literally correct that the people of India are going to have a kind of unity which they never possessed before! But it is also a historically correct statement that they have and had a different and better kind of unity, which we along with others have repeatedly referred to and explained.

Some European idealists dream of Pan-Europa. They should seek the assistance of Lord Zetland to elaborate their plans. They will simply have to bring the democracies and the autocracies of Europe under the subjection of Japan and give the whole the pompous name of Federated Pan-Europa.

The "new democracies" in India are not democracies at all. "The ancient autocracies of the Indian States" are autocracies so far as their subjects are concerned, but are "servocracies" so far as the suzerain British power is concerned.

Lord Zetland speaks of "the people of

India." Where has his lordship discovered this horde of human beings? The Government of India Act of 1935 does not know it. There one reads of Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Moslems, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Aborigines, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Labour, Commerce. But where are "the people of India?"

That "the people of India" are nowhere mentioned or referred to in the Act; that they have been deliberately divided and sub-divided; that there are different grades of citizenship for Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Moslems, Sikhs, Scheduled Hindus, "Caste Hindus," Aborigines; that there are separate electorates for artificially separated groups; that there are varying degrees of weightage for some non-Hindus and for the Indian States' rulers and "lightenage" for Hindus in some areas; and that the people of the Indian States have been kept entirely without any franchise—are the contents of the "unity" which the British Government has given to "the people of India."

To be brought under a common subjection is a very precious kind of unity indeed.

Lord Zetland spoke of united India playing a part as a member of the [British] Commonwealth. No such part is assigned to her in the Act. The expression Dominion Status was deliberately excluded therefrom.

"Criminal Tribes" and "Scheduled Castes"

Christians, it is said, do not believe in caste. But the British Government does.

"Scheduled castes" are virtually asked to admit that they are an inferior people, in consideration of some illusory advantage given to a few of their members. Some castes have been classed as "scheduled" in spite of their protests. Some particular members of some scheduled caste may be intellectually, morally, physically, and even complexionally superior to vast numbers of "caste Hindus"; yet they must bear the badge of the tribe, "Scheduled."

The labelling of large numbers of people from generation to generation as "criminal tribes" is a very much greater offence against humanity than to label some as "scheduled castes." For the word "scheduled" has no moral implication, "criminal" has. The very name acts as a dead weight upon the moral nature of its victims, hindering their moral growth. No wonder there have been protests against the continuance of this offensive nomenclature. It should be done away with.

Kenya Land Reservation for Europeans

Mr. Ishardas, M.L.A., one of the members of the East African Delegation, who sailed for Kenya on the 25th May last, and Mr. C. F. Andrews have issued the following joint statement to the press:

"The announcement that an order-in-council at Westminster and two bills in Kenya will be shortly introduced in respect to the Kenya highlands has brought to a head an issue of the gravest character. The reservation of the highlands for Europeans was one of the main subjects of controversy in the Kenya conversations of 1923 and the Indian position has always been that there should be no racial discrimination whatever. The Secretary of State, however, has insisted on reserving the highlands for Europeans for what he has called "administrative purposes". He has also given the assurance that there would be no change made in the legal position.

"Now in spite of the Colonial Secretary's assurance that the legal position would remain unchanged, there is, in our opinion, a practical certainty that these new Acts which are contemplated will finally take away the rights which both Indians and Africans have always claimed with regard to the highlands.

"The issue is so vital that the question cannot be left open. It appears to us, therefore, necessary, at the earliest possible moment, to send a deputation including prominent Indians, both from Kenya and India to meet the Colonial Secretary before he takes any final action.

"Such steps seem to us to be the only way in which the full weight of Indian opinion can be given on the spot at the present moment in London itself."—(A.P.)

That is a correct view.

More Burma Rebellion Prisoners Released

Rangoon, May 24.

A further batch of 25 Rebellion prisoners, who were recently transferred from Thayetnyo and Myingyan Jails to the Rangoon Central Jail, has been released.

Five more prisoners have been granted conditional release, and their release will be effected as soon as the necessary documents have been prepared and executed.

Prior to their release the prisoners presented an address to the Hon'ble U. Paw Tun, who accompanied by U. Chit Maung, Judicial Secretary, visited the jail, and assured him that they would in future lead a peaceful life.

U. Naginda, who was confined in the Alipore Central Jail, arrived yesterday by the s.s. *Karagola* under escort. He was taken to the Rangoon Central Jail, where he was released.

This brings the total number of Rebellion and political prisoners, who have been released, to 62; while those, who have been granted conditional release, number 14.—(A.P.)

Zanzibar Indian Association Congratulated On End of Clove Deadlock

The Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber have today sent the following cable to the Indian National Association, Zanzibar:

"Committee Indian Merchants' Chamber congratulate your Association on successful termination of clove deadlock. Your sacrifices for the cause you championed have

evoked unstinted admiration. The fight put up by our countrymen in Zanzibar to assert and preserve Indian rights abroad will go down to history and the success is also success for the cause of Indians overseas."—(A.P.)

In Zanzibar the credit for this victory belongs to our Indian countrymen there, who have never wavered in the fight. In India in awarding praise one must think of the Indian National Congress above all and its leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel. Mr. C. F. Andrews is no less entitled to praise. The Clove Boycott Committee, the volunteers who literally bore the brunt of the boycott struggle, the Imperial Citizenship Association, the members of the Central Legislature who raised the question there repeatedly, and the daily and other newspapers who kept up public interest in the boycott have all done their duty in the matter in a laudable manner.

The Congress and the States' People's Fight for Freedom

In the latest resolution on the subject passed by the Congress Working Committee it has refused permission to the political organizations in the Indian States to use the word "Congress" before their names. This has caused dissatisfaction among the people of the States. But the Working Committee has explained that this had to be done to give effect to the letter and the spirit of the resolution passed at the Haripura session of the Congress which laid down that the internal struggle of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. In his presidential address at the recent session of the Deccan States' People's Conference Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has explained why Congress passed such a resolution.

"The claim of Congress is to secure complete independence for India. Therefore the attention of Congress is directed towards that struggle alone. It could not possibly direct its attention and weaken itself by participating in Indian States' affairs."

This may appear to be a rather unsympathetic attitude. But it is useless to profess sympathy if it cannot be implemented. Congress must look to its resources first. Is it powerful enough to engage in a sort of triangular or perhaps a pentangular fight? Can it simultaneously fight British Imperialism and its servant the Government of India, their allies the British men of business, the rulers of the Indian States, the capitalists and the landholders of India? We ourselves on some occasions had suggested that Congress should not issue a challenge to so many parties at the same time.

It is not that Congress has not been fighting the States' subjects' battle at all. In fighting British Imperialism Congress is fighting their battle, too, indirectly. Those among the rulers of the States who are tyrants count upon the sovereign power to come to their rescue should their subjects show signs of rebellion or actually rebel. If British imperialism in India be weakened and if it ultimately gives up its grip on India, the tyrants among the Indian rulers must come to terms with their subjects and Congress, for their own resources are not sufficient to enable them to be defiant. And Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress president, has told these rulers that Congress will not tolerate autocracy. Moreover, all the ruling princes are not senseless and despotic. Some of them have sense enough to be able to read the signs of the times and shape their conduct accordingly. The influence of Congress is being exercised and felt in this way.

The people of the States may naturally call to mind the words of the Irish poet addressed to his compatriots:

"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Themselves must strike the blow who would
be free?"

Shri Jinnah-Sri Bose Talks

According to the Associated Press of India, the following is an account of the Shri Jinnah-Sri Bose conversations which was available in Allahabad:

The negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bose proceeded rather slowly in the early stages. It was suggested to Mr. Bose by prominent Congress leaders that he should request Mr. Jinnah to reduce in writing the points, whereon he wanted to have a settlement. Mr. Jinnah expressed unwillingness to give anything in writing but indicated that before taking up other questions dealing with safeguards, which Mr. Jinnah considered of secondary importance, it was essential they should agree on the preamble to be attached to any agreement arrived at between the Congress and the League. The preamble was to state clearly that the Congress on behalf of the Hindus enters into an agreement with the League representing Mussalmans the terms of which were to be specified.

Mr. Jinnah in the course of talks is reported to have also mentioned that all Ministries should be formed afresh and that Muslim Ministers in the newly formed Cabinet should be nominees of the League.

Mr. Bose consulted Congress leaders present in Bombay and it looked as if negotiations should terminate at that stage. After prolonged discussions and consultations Congress leaders however decided to state clearly the Congress position in a memorandum, which was ultimately handed over to Mr. Jinnah.

The memorandum stated inter alia, that Congress as a national institution recognised the need for satisfying the communities living in India that their rights were safe in its hands. In pursuance of this principle the Congress was willing and ready to discuss and come

to an agreement with the league, but it was impossible for the Congress to reduce itself to the level of a communal organisation. As regards the demand that Muslim Ministers should only come from the League the Congress took the stand that it was prepared to extend the present Congress ministries with a view to including representatives from the Muslim League but the demand that the present ministries should be dismissed and new ones formed was not acceptable. The Congress did not ask for any representation in the Punjab and Bengal Ministries, but only stated what it was prepared to do in Congress Provinces. Mr. Jinnah then wanted time to consult the League Council before he proceeded any further.

It appears that during Mr. Gandhi's last interview with Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jinnah expressed a desire that until the negotiations concluded the Congress flag should not be made to fly on public buildings. There was also some talk regarding the singing of "Bande Mataram."—(A.P.)

Assuming that the above is a faithful summary of the conversations between the two leaders, one is at once struck with Shri Jinnah's characteristic unwillingness to give anything in writing. How can he possibly do so and lose the advantage of adding fresh "points" to his fourteen or twenty-one already before the public?

Shri Jinnah wants Congress to settle terms with him on behalf of the Hindus recognizing him as the representative of the Mussalmans! So Congress must admit that it is a mere Hindu communal organization and that the Moslem League alone represents the Moslem community. Two patent falsehoods are to be embodied in the preamble before Shri Jinnah can proceed further.

At his bidding all Congress ministries are to be re-formed and the Muslim members thereof must be nominees of the Moslem League. A rather tall order.

As regards the alleged Congress reply, we do not find it possible to praise the willingness of the Congress to enlarge the present Congress ministries in order to take in Mussalman members nominated by the Moslem League, that is, by Shri Jinnah.

In the first place, who will pay these additional members? Not certainly the Congress leaders. The present number of ministers is in all provinces quite sufficient for the conduct of provincial state affairs—in some there is a superfluity of ministers, and the coffers of no provincial government are full to overflowing. Has Congress any moral right to waste the taxpayers' money even to a small extent to satisfy Shri Jinnah?

In the second place, it being well known that the Moslem League is not the sole representative of the Moslem community, supposing Congress agreed to take in some additional Muslim members as ministers, where is the

guarantee that some other Moslem organization, new or old, will not demand a similar concession on its behalf? *Oliver Twist* has had many re-incarnations and may have yet more.

As regards the Congress flag, it was extremely merciful of Shri Jinnah that he demanded only a temporary and provisional, not a permanent, discontinuance of its flying on public buildings and that he did not demand the flying of the Moslem League flag in lieu of or in addition to it.

Regarding the singing of "Bande Mataram" we have nothing to add to what we have already written.

The demand that in the preamble it should be stated that Congress was entering into the agreement on behalf of the Hindu community as its representative was perhaps also meant to undermine the position of the Hindu Mahasabha as the principal organization of the Hindu community.

It need not be made plain that Shri Jinnah does not want one united Indian nation or people, but two main separate "nations."

It may be observed here incidentally that it may be that Congress has not hitherto consulted the Hindu Mahasabha with regard to any Hindu-Moslem unity agreement, not because it is hostile towards it or considers it of no account, but only to avoid complicating matters further. A *Moslem* League is trouble enough, why invite fresh trouble by consulting Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, etc., also? That may be the feeling of Congress leaders.

Congress Working Committee and the Frontier "Teacher-Abductor"

The public cannot have forgotten the case of the Frontier teacher Abdullah Shah who was concerned in the abduction of the girl Ram Kuar and who has been re-instated by the Frontier ministry in his post of teacher. The Congress Working Committee had this case under its consideration at its last meeting in Bombay. It has simply asked the Frontier Premier to hold a judicial inquiry into the case, as if the conviction of the man after open trial by a competent court and the upholding of the conviction by the Appellate Court were not sufficient!

In the past history of many countries, peace was obtained by a King giving away a sister or a daughter *in marriage* to a victorious monarch. But, however humiliating to the defeated such peace might be, the damsel was given away in marriage, not dishonoured in any way. It is to be hoped that to wink at dis-

honour done to womanhood is not the latest idea of having peace between two parties.

The Tribune of Lahore, which is nearer the Frontier than most of us and which is not hostile to the Congress, observes:

The decisions of the Congress Working Committee with regard to the action of the Frontier Government in re-instating a teacher who had been convicted of an offence involving grave moral turpitude will not, we are constrained to say, give satisfaction to the public. The facts of the case have already been set forth in these columns. In essence and in substance, though not in form, it is on all fours with the C. P. case; and it might have been expected that having definitely decided that the C. P. minister responsible for the premature release of the C. P. prisoner should go, the Working Committee would at least have expressed its frank and unequivocal disapproval of the action of the Frontier Government in this case. This is exactly what it does not appear to have done. All that it did was to direct the Premier to hold a judicial inquiry through the machinery of the Government to see whether the re-instatement of the teacher was legally justified. In the Frontier case, as in the C. P. case, the issue that is predominantly involved is not a legal but a moral issue, and no judicial inquiry is needed to enable the Government to come to the right decision on that issue. A person convicted of the offence of which the individual concerned in this case was convicted is the unfittest person in the world to be entrusted with the duty and responsibility of a teacher.

Government of India Act to be Amended ?

For some time past there have been rumours that, in order to induce Congress to work the federal part of the British-made constitution of India in the same way as the provincial part is being worked by the Congress ministries, the British Government may amend the Government of India Act in some particulars. This rumour may not be entirely unfounded. British imperialists must have been by now duly impressed with the undoubted strength of Congress and its hold on the people of India. What Lord Lothian and Lord Samuel has told the British public and their own personal friends in private conversation must have strengthened this impression. It may be that, when Lord Linlithgow goes home on leave, he, and the provincial governors who have already reached England or will go there ere long, will be consulted as to the probable amendments required. Perhaps it is one of the objects, if not the main object of their visit.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the Congress leader, may have gone to Britain as India's unofficial ambassador to prepare the ground. What he has been saying in public has been cabled to India. But it is certain that this does not constitute the whole of the activities of this able

diplomat. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is also going to England. But he goes with other objects. And he is not the man for half-way houses and compromises.

There have been rumours, too, of another, so-called, Round Table Conference in London; and it is said Mahatma Gandhi has been invited to take part in it.

It is probable that there is a modicum of truth in these rumours. So, it would not be untimely to discuss what amendments would be required to make the British-made constitution acceptable to Indian nationalists. Indian publicists have repeatedly enumerated them. Some are of a radical character, some not so. We ourselves have written on the subject on many occasions. Even our last May number contained a note on How Federation Can Be Made Acceptable. Hence, so far as this journal is concerned, repetition of the points is unnecessary.

But two amendments we must insist upon. All the sections of the Act based upon the Communal Decision must be deleted or radically changed. Congress, our greatest national organization, has called it anti-national and anti-democratic. If an opportunity comes for pressing amendments upon the British Government, Congress should demand that it be set aside.

As it has done the greatest injustice and the greatest wrong to the Hindu community, all representative Hindu bodies, particularly the Hindu Mahasabha, ought to actively agitate against it in India and send a strong deputation to England to agitate there and place the Hindu case against it before the British public, Parliament and Cabinet.

The Indian National Liberal Federation is also a national organization and has repeatedly protested against the Communal Decision in its resolutions. It should renew its activity in this respect now.

The other important amendment required in order to make the Act acceptable is as regards the chapter on "Discrimination". India should have as much power of discrimination to safeguard her own interests as the British Dominions and the independent countries of America, Europe and Asia have. Nothing less can satisfy Indians. We cannot allow our country to be sucked dry by foreigners. Political Swaraj and economic Swaraj are both vitally important and necessary.

And, of course, dyarchy at the centre must go, all subjects being placed under the charge of responsible ministers.

Object of Mr. Nehru's European Tour

Allahabad, May 26 (Delayed).

"I am not going to Europe for a pleasure trip, though I love pleasure trips. I am not going there to recoup my health, because my health is quite good even now. As for meeting my daughter she could have come to India if it were only to see her. Therefore my chief object in visiting Europe at this juncture is to study the European situation as the Indian problem is not separated from the world problem and we have to keep in touch with the world problem to fulfil our mission which we have taken in hand for emancipation of India and whatever we can contribute from our side for a solution of the ills present in various struggles going on in many parts of the world."

Thus said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a party given in his honour this evening by the Allahabad City Congress Committee on the eve of his departure to Europe.

Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon who spoke on behalf of the City Congress Committee said that Pandit Nehru's visit just now to Europe was most opportune on account of the various world problems. He had no doubt that Pandit Jawaharlal who by his very name shined with his sincerity and devotion to country's cause, would come out successful in his mission of study and travel which would benefit India by the information and knowledge of his. His visit, Mr. Tandon observed, would also raise the status of India in the estimation of the world which was very necessary for the solution of world problems to which India could no more remain as a passive spectator. He wished safe return to Panditji and a successful journey.—(U. P.)

No More Provinces to be Constituted ?

Recently the Under-Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons that the British Government had no intention to constitute more provinces. In spite of that pronouncement those who want a separate Karnataka province and a separate Andhra province have been carrying on their agitation in favour of the constitution of such separate provinces. There is no finality in politics, no settled fact.

What Bengalis want is not a new province. They want that all the Bengali-speaking areas adjacent to the province of Bengal, which were at sometime or other parts of their province and are integral parts of the home of the Bengali people, should be given back to the province of Bengal. They now form parts of the provinces of Assam and Bihar. Biharis got a province of theirs in 1912. No Bihari-speaking area lies outside Bihar. Oriyas have got a province of their own by the new Government of India Act, and they are agitating for the inclusion in their province of whatever Oriya-speaking tracts still lie outside it. There is no just reason then why the desire of the Bengalis should not be fulfilled. Congress has passed a resolution in favour of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar province being transferred to Bengal. And, as we have said, the pronouncement of the Under-

Secretary of State for India does not go against the fulfilment of the desire of the people of Bengal.

Bengalis all over India should be up and doing.

Linguistic Provinces

What we have written in the foregoing note does not mean that we are not conscious of one drawback of dividing India into many provinces on a linguistic basis. The advantages do not require recounting in detail. The advancement of education is facilitated, cultural progress is made easier, administrative work is smoothened, —and so on. Let us dwell a little on the other side of the medal.

Many languages are spoken in India. Even the principal ones number more than a dozen. And they have growing literatures of their own, embodying their culture. When India comes to have a national language—whatever it be, even then these languages will continue to be used and these literatures go on developing.

The people of India have thus got to learn to live amicably like one people, though consisting of separate groups speaking different languages. If there be multilingual provinces, then we get the opportunity there of serving apprenticeship in the art of fraternizing with persons speaking languages different from our mother-tongue. But in mono-lingual provinces there is much less of this opportunity and much greater linguistic isolation and separation.

We should be distinctly in favour of multilingual provinces if the biggest linguistic group in such provinces or the group whose name the province bears, did not seek to discriminate against other groups as regards educational facilities, employment in the public services and industrial and commercial openings. Unfortunately, while in the bigger provinces, this discriminatory spirit is not in evidence, in some of the smaller ones it is very much so.

If the re-distribution of areas on linguistic lines eased the situation a little in this respect, then that would be an additional argument in favour of linguistic provinces.

Prosperity of Bengal Landholders

The district of Bakarganj, with its headquarters in Barisal, is said to be the granary of Bengal. Thence comes the following bit of news, indicating the prosperity of the landholders of the district :

Barisal, May 22.

It is reported that as many as 303 permanently settled estates and 516 Khas-mahal tenures could not pay off the Government revenue due for the last March "Kisli" and have been classified as fit to be advertised for sale by auc-

tion. The number is reported to be the highest and the amount of default the heaviest in this district in recent years. —(U. P.)

Czechoslovakia

The tact and firmness of the leading Czech statesmen of Czechoslovakia, and the fact of Britain, France and Russia having given indications that they would not remain unconcerned lookers-on if Germany invaded Czechoslovakia, appear for the present to have prevented a German-Czech war. But the danger is not quite over yet.

River Physics

Professor M. N. Saha has written in this journal more than once on the subject of river training and generally on river physics. For the industrialization of India and for facilitating inland water traffic the importance of the study of river physics and of research relating to it, cannot be exaggerated. The subject has been recently drawing public attention. This has led us to publish in this issue a synopsis of a symposium on river physics specially prepared for the occasion by Dr. Saha himself. We have no doubt it will be found instructive and interesting.

"Herr Funk Carries Out Predictions by Dr. Das"

Under the above caption Mr. Lemuel F. Parton, a well-known American journalist, has contributed a note to the *New York Sun* of the 8th March last, in which he writes, in part:

About eight months ago this writer quoted an interesting prophecy about Europe, made by his friend, Dr. Tarak Nath Das, lecturer at the College of the City of New York. Dr. Das said that within a year or less England would lure Italy away from its German alliance by a shrewd deal in credit and raw materials. There have been some interesting developments in that line, and another prophecy of Dr. Das is pertinent today. He said that, after Mussolini began to bargain, Germany would begin to make overtures to the democratic Powers, which happens to have everything that the absolutist Powers need.

So here today is Walther Funk, Germany's new Minister of Economics, bidding for United States trade, suggesting a world plan for international currency stabilization, and announcing that "we will leave nothing undone to promote trade relations with foreign countries." Herr Funk was appointed to his present post in January 15, and at that time there were at least two European correspondents who saw in the reorganization of the ministry a move by Germany to bargain rather than shoot its way out.

Oxford Municipality Fights Lord Meston

The Calcutta Corporation and consumers of electricity in Calcutta know to their cost

how high the rates charged by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation were in former years and are even at present. Lord Meston is the president of this corporation. He occupies a similar position in the Oxford Electric Company. It is interesting to note that, as an article published in *Science and Culture* for May last shows, Oxford Municipality has been fighting practically the same Lord Meston about its supply of electric power. The article shows that as the result of the fight, the Oxford Municipality was able to reduce the electric charges to one-third of the rates charged by Lord Meston's concern. The article also shows how capitalistic intrigues have been hindering the development of even such places as Oxford in free, independent and democratic Britain.

How much more strenuous will the fight against foreign capitalists in India have to be if this country is to make sufficient progress in industries and generally in economic conditions.

Capital Versus Labour in Cawnpore

The struggle between capital and labour in Cawnpore continues. How we wish it could be brought to an early close peacefully with justice to both parties, instead of being fought out to the bitter end!

A Lesson from Australian Defence Plans

[Special Correspondent to *New York Times*.]

Sydney, Australia.

Between \$70,000,000 and \$75,000,000 will be spent on defence by Australia this year. . . .

All spheres of defence will be covered by the new plan now being prepared by the Government's Advisers, but the chief points are bettering naval and aircraft protection and strengthening the country's position as a manufacturer of munitions.

The steadily expanding range of military aircraft has meant increasing concern in Australia. Each advance in design of military planes brings Japan's bombers, hopping off from the near-by Caroline or Marshall Islands, within easier range of one of the longest and most unprotected coasts in the world. To give greater security the Government means to post anti-aircraft batteries at strategic points along the coast, and it is now considering providing dwellers in the largest cities with gas masks.

In addition, the Australian Navy—never built up to pre-war standards, when it had a battle cruiser, four light cruisers and six destroyers—is to be reinforced. . . .

First objective of the expanded defence plans is the security of main ports against sea and air raiders. . . .

MAKING OF MUNITIONS

When the Australian Defence Council, composed of naval, military and air chiefs, under the chairmanship of the Federal Minister of Defence, met in mid-March it considered a scheme to expand munitions production in this country. . . .

Last year Australia spent \$57,500,000 on defence: two years ago the total was \$40,000,000. With the vote of \$70,000,000 this country falls into line with the recent move of Prime Minister Chamberlain to make over Britain's plan of rearmament.

Australia's population is less than 1/30 of that of India. But the Australian people are free and, therefore, when they spend money for national defence, they train Australians to take charge of all branches of national defence including air forces and navy. India has virtually no navy although we are told that India might be a prey to Japanese imperialism. We are also told if the British forces and military control be removed from India, some time, then the country may be a victim of attack by land by Russia or some other nation. What can Indian statesmen do to increase Indian national efficiency in the field of national defence? We can give no definite answer.

Externment of Some Released Prisoners

Two Kakori prisoners, whose home is in Bengal, were recently released from prisons outside Bengal. They came back to Bengal, but have been externed from the province by the Government of Bengal.

They had not been doing or planning to do anything unlawful here. They were externed evidently because of their past record. But for that they had already undergone punishment. Why then this fresh punishment, and that without any fresh trial?

In some provinces some men in power, or in possession of influence, appear to have made up their mind that even Bengalis with a clean record and with satisfactory educational qualifications must not be allowed to make a living there. Such being the case, Bengalis whose past record is not satisfactory must find the problem of keeping body and soul together very difficult in such provinces. Hence, it would be easy to suspect them of "bad livelihood" or no ostensible means of living at all, and extern them on that ground alone. Should that happen and they be externed from outside Bengal also, where are they to go? Would it not be more humane to keep them in prison for life?

We have said, it would be very difficult for such men to make a living outside Bengal. That was not to suggest that it was easy for educated Bengalis to make a living in Bengal. It is not. What we meant was, if a man had to die, it might be some consolation for him to die in the midst of his near and dear ones.

Sino-Japanese War

The people of China have been putting up a very brave fight and are on the whole regaining lost ground. That is happy news.

The Japanese, however, have not thrown up the sponge. They are about to use their powerful navy to the full against South China. On the sea China is no match for Japan. But after landing anywhere the Japanese are sure in the long run to meet with stubborn resistance.

The reshuffling of the Japanese Cabinet shows that Japan's plans have not been on the whole successful. The reshuffling has been obviously made for a more successful campaign. But it is a question how long Japan's financial resources will last.

Palestine

Palestine is far from being quiet. The British Government evidently intend to cope with the unrest and disturbances there by repression, some of the methods followed being those made use of in Bengal.

Spain

That the rebels in Spain have succeeded to the extent they have and have been going on with their campaigns are due in great part to the help they have been receiving from Italy and Germany in men and materials. But that the republican government of Spain have been fighting against such tremendous odds is due entirely to the courage, patriotism and tenacity of purpose of the loyal Spanish population:

Britain's War Preparations

London, May 27.
The old reluctance to join the army has disappeared and the best men in the kingdom are joining. At some depots full records of enlistments are being registered weekly, declared Mr. Hore-Belisha, in a speech at Devonport.

He mentioned that the country was now spending a million sterling a day on rearmament.

In anti-aircraft there are 40,000 men compared with 5,800 in 1936.

Although the rush of recruits was unprecedented in the last two months, all men had been provided with accommodation, equipment and training. The weekly intake in the regular army was twice the last year's figure. —(Reuter).

Some Bengal Cabinet Decisions

Darjeeling, May 28.
It is understood that the Cabinet has sanctioned a sum of two and half lakhs of rupees for the Youth Welfare Scheme. This scheme contemplates the appointment of 25 physical instructors, who will go round the schools, and besides looking after the physical well-being of the students will organise inter-school sports and games.

The Cabinet, it is learnt, has sanctioned seven and a half lakhs of rupees for the establishment of a first class Commercial College in Bengal on the lines of the Sydenham College of Bombay. There is a suggestion to name the college after an eminent industrialist of the province.

The Cabinet is understood to have decided to observe one week a year as the "Water Hyacinth Week" when organized efforts will be made all over the province to destroy the pest.—(*United Press*).

The special problems of the districts of Bankura and Birbhum have not been receiving any attention of the Cabinet, so far as our knowledge goes.

Honouring the Peaceful Brave

World Events for May 1st writes:

May 30th is Memorial Day. The Peace Heroes Memorial Society, continuing its sixteen year effort to demilitarize this holiday, will hold its annual service of remembrance for heroes and heroines of peace. After a program of hymns, readings and an address, the group will place flowers on the grave of a policeman, a fireman, a railroader, a factory worker, a nurse, and a scientist who lost their lives in the performance of their duties, and of a woman who died in childbirth. Headquarters of this group are in Cincinnati, but these exercises are being held in many parts of the country.

Persons interested may obtain a copy of the publication, "Service of Remembrance for Heroes and Heroines of Peace" by writing to the Secretary of the Peace Heroes Memorial Society, Abraham Cronbach, 842 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

It is seldom, if ever, that mothers dying in childbirth are honoured as heroines—not in any case in India, where their number is enormous.

Lord Zetland's Word of Caution Anent Federation

London, May 28.

An important statement respecting Federation was made by Lord Zetland at the Bombay dinner.

After paying tribute to the services rendered to Bombay by Lord and Lady Brabourne, Sir Roger and Lady Lumley and congratulating Lord Brabourne on his appointment as Acting Viceroy during Lord Linlithgow's leave, Lord Zetland said,

"Let me say a word as to the future. One of the greatest achievements of Britain in India has been the gift of unity of her peoples. In spite of the immense differences in race, religion, language and culture, her people are stirred today as never before by the consciousness of nationhood and our task is to prepare in the constitutional sphere a dwelling place for this new consciousness.

"There are, I know, criticisms of the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act on the part of both the Princes and those who speak for British India. Yet I should hope that room may be found within the framework of the Act to accommodate the reasonable requirements of both the provinces and States.

"I can understand, for example, the views of those who will represent the provinces in the Federation as a result of the election, that some elements of popular choice as distinct from pure nomination should enter into the selection of those who represent the Princes. Well, that

is for the Princes themselves to decide. There is nothing in the act to prevent it; nor will the Paramount Power be found standing in the way of any Prince who seeks to temper the rigid autocracy of bygone days with a more liberal system, as indeed some at least of the Princes are tending more and more to do today.

"But here let me put in a word of caution. The fact that the Viceroy is shortly coming home on leave has given rise to speculation. I have seen it suggested that he is coming home to discuss with His Majesty's Government changes in the Federal structure embodied in the Act, and I should fear that silence on my part in the face of such suggestions might be assumed to indicate my concurrence with them.

"Let me say at once, then, that so far as I am aware there is no foundation for any such suggestion. The Federal provisions of the Act were the outcome of prolonged and exhaustive examination and discussion over a term of years, and in my view there is not the least likelihood of His Majesty's Government or of Parliament being willing to consider before even deliberation has come into operation any alteration in its structure.

"Both the Viceroy and I are ready at all times to listen to comments on Federal provisions of the Act, whether by the Princes or by those who speak for British India, but within the framework prescribed by Parliament there is in my view ample scope for providing people of India with a degree of political cohesion which they have never before possessed in all the age-long epochs of their history.

"Let it not be said of India when this generation stands at the bar of history that they discarded lightly an occasion which if it be not now grasped may never recur."—(*Reuter*).

The speech is characteristic of the superior British imperialist. He will humiliate himself *vis-a-vis* strong independent nations and their dictators, but his pose is that of adamant firmness in the presence of a people subject to them.

The oft-repeated talk of the generous gift of unity which Britain has made to India has become so nauseating that we had better say nothing more about it.

Lord Zetland's speech shows that the British Government has felt the necessity of some changes. But he has not been able to say what he has said, in a gracious manner. He reminds Indians as the arbiter of their destiny not to ask for the moon, not to expect too much. They may have some crumbs, if they are sufficiently humble in their supplications and sufficiently moderate in their prayers. All the changes must be within the framework of the constitution, which is sacrosanct.

John Bull is in a particularly generous mood: he will not interfere if any ruling prince "seeks to temper the autocracy of bygone days with a more liberal system" by introducing some elements of popular choice as distinct from pure nomination.

Finally, there is the threat that, if Indians of the present generation do not eagerly clutch

at the British-made scheme of federation, they may never have such a good thing again. But this does not seem to have stamped any Indian political party into a mood of eager acceptance of the proffered gift.

Transactions of the Bose Research Institute

The publication of this, the eleventh (1935-36) volume of the Transactions of the Bose Research Institute of Calcutta, by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., just received, has a melancholy interest. This is the last volume of which the great scientist passed the proofs. He did so on the 20th November, 1937, and breathed his last three days later. The date of publication of the volume is May 9, 1938.

The frontispiece bears a fine portrait of Sir J. C. Bose sitting in front of one of his marvellous instruments.

The volume has an eight page introductory chapter by Sir J. C. Bose.

There are twelve papers in this volume on biological, biochemical, genetic, anthropological, and physical subjects, by S. C. Das, B. K. Palit, A. Guha Thakurtha, B. K. Dutt, H. N. Banerjee, N. C. Nag, A. K. Pain, H. K. Nandi, Sasanka Sekher Sarkar, Arun Kumar Dutta, Radhesh Chandra Ghosh, and R. C. Majumdar.

The illustrations, which are many, are excellent.

What Hindu Mahasabha Stands For

From a speech delivered last month at Ajmer by Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, president of the Hindu Mahasabha, one can get some idea of what the Hindu Mahasabha stands for. A summary is reproduced below.

The president of the Hindu Mahasabha began by referring to the questions frequently put to him by persons who doubted whether the Hindu Mahasabha was a national body.

He explained that the aim of the Hindu Mahasabha was practically the same as that of the Indian National Congress, namely, the achievement of absolute political independence. But the Swaraj envisaged by the Hindu Mahasabha was different from that contemplated by the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha wanted that, in a free and independent India, every community should have equal rights and privileges. It did not demand more rights for the Hindus because they formed the majority and it was prepared to give equal rights to the Muslims including the protection of their language and culture. If the Congress had also stood for this principle, he would have been the first to join the Congress.

Clarifying the difference of outlook between the Mahasabha and the Congress, Mr. Savarkar said that

while the latter tried to differentiate between the two communities, Hindu and Muslim, the ideal of the former was to recognize only a common citizenship in which merit alone counted. To prefer a Muslim matriculate to a Hindu graduate was not nationalism but communalism. He claimed that, in this respect, the Hindu Mahasabha was more national than the Indian National Congress.

Continuing Mr. Savarkar paid a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress leaders for creating a spirit of awakening in the country.

But he did not see eye to eye with them in their attitude towards the Muslims which attitude he characterized as 'anti-national'. He said that Mr. Jinnah wanted to keep the Muslims as a separate entity and wanted the Congress to recognize the existence of two nations in India. The Hindu Mahasabha did not want the Indian nation to be so divided up, but the Congress leaders were forcing the Hindus to have their separate entity. If the Congress did not consider it communal to negotiate with the Muslim League, why should it neglect the Hindu Mahasabha? The Congress, asserted Mr. Savarkar, had gained strength and attained its present position by the sacrifices made by the Hindus. He further averred that the sacrifices, if any, made by the Muslim community in the cause of the freedom of the Motherland were negligible, while every grain of the soil of India was covered with the blood of those Hindus who had laid down their lives in the fights for the freedom of India. The Hindus loved the Congress but not so the Muslims. As a matter of fact, by going out of its way to meet the Muslim League, the Congress had itself proved that it was predominantly a Hindu organization.

Mr. Savarkar went on to point out very forcefully that, if the Hindus were in a majority in India, it was not a gift of the Muslims and the Hindus were not obliged to them for this circumstance.

On the contrary, the Hindus had every reason to feel proud of themselves and take credit for the fact that they had been able to maintain their majority in spite of every effort of Muslim Kings to convert them into a minority. The Hindus had strength enough to resist any onslaughts. They were the primary race of Hindustan and Hindu culture had been recognized as one, of the highest among mankind. To the Hindus, India was not simply their Motherland but their Holy Land, the land of their forefathers, the land of the Ganges and the Jumna. The Muslims on the contrary did not even consider India as their Mother country and were constantly dreaming of their Pakistan.

In this connection, Mr. Savarkar referred to an utterance of Maulana Shaukat Ali to the effect that, if India did not become free, the Muslim would not lose anything because they had other Muslim countries to which they would migrate, but the Hindus had no other land to go to in such a case.

Mr. Savarkar, by way of reply to Maulana Shaukat Ali, requested him to clear out of India bag and baggage without the least possible delay and leave the Hindus to their fate. Because the Hindus had no other country where they could go, it was all the more necessary

for them to fight for the freedom of India and they would never think of leaving their Motherland but would continue to fight for its independence until their object was achieved.

Mr. Jinnah was claiming that the Congress could not win Swaraj without the help of the Muslims but Mr. Savarkar was not prepared to accept this claim.

The Hindus, he said, would continue to fight for their country in spite of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Fazlul Huq who were emitting fire and brimstone against the Hindus. In the present age of democracy, there was always the rule of the majority; the Hindus were in a majority in India and they had, therefore, every right to rule their country. The Hindu Mahasabha wanted nothing more for the Hindus than what was their right. This, said Mr. Savarkar, was not communalism. If this was communalism, was not, he asked, nationalism also communalism in relation to humanity. Why should not mankind be considered as one and the world as a whole? But the fact was that there was a Hindu nation and a Hindu culture and if any community fought for its legitimate rights, it could not be accused of communalism. The Muslim League was communal because it demanded more than what was right for the Muslims.

In conclusion, Mr. Savarkar said that the Hindus would never leave the Congress because they had worked and sacrificed the most for the Congress.

The Hindu Mahasabha was not against the Congress and was prepared to work shoulder to shoulder with it in all national matters. The Indian National Congress was a great organization but the Indian nation was supreme. The Indian National Congress was only a means to an end, the Indian nation. The Hindu Mahasabha would continue to exist even after India was free because it would be necessary even then to safeguard Hindu interests and to prevent encroachments upon Hindu rights. He exhorted the Hindus not to feel ashamed in calling themselves Hindus and to prepare themselves for sacrifices in the cause of the Hindu nation.

Mr. Savarkar said that, on his own part, he was always prepared to go ahead of any person who called himself a nationalist to sacrifice his all for the Motherland.

Hindu Mahasabha on Unity Talks

The Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee has passed a long resolution on the Bose-Jinnah unity talks of which the concluding paragraphs are quoted below:—

"The Working Committee reiterates as emphatically as possible its protest against any attempt on the part of the Indian National Congress to enter into any agreement whatsoever with the Muslims in the name of Hindudom as a whole. It will be pure misrepresentation to call it a Hindu-Muslim agreement and cannot be binding on Hindudom as a whole unless and until the Hindu Mahasabha which alone represents the Hindu community is consulted on the issues raised and sanctions such agreement under its own hand and seal.

"The Hindu Mahasabha deplors the fact that evasions of the Congress in not maintaining a purely nationalist attitude and pondering to Muslim communalism indefinitely postpones the building up of a strong united nation

and perpetuates the stronghold of British Imperialism on the people of India.

"The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, sternly enjoins upon the Congress to step out from any attempt to settle the communal question as by its anti-Hindu and notoriously pro-Muslim attitude it has ceased to be qualified for the task.

"Finally the Hindu Mahasabha warns the Government not to acknowledge any such Congress-League agreement as a Hindu-Muslim settlement, or to proceed to frame any constitutional changes on that basis."

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee on the Shareef Case

The following classic pronouncement is taken from Sir Manmathanath Mukherji's report on the Shareef case:—

"Although in exercising clemency the authority concerned is moved by considerations not merely of justice but also of expediency and broadly speaking takes a much wider outlook of the entire situation than what a court of justice is permitted to do, yet if the limits within which clemency may be legitimately exercised are transgressed, the clemency is bound to have its repercussions on the moral foundations of the entire social structure, weaken the prestige of the authority concerned and bring into disrepute the administration from which the clemency proceeded. Looked at from the standpoint of the community at large, punishment of a crime affords them a sense of security which they lose if the punishment is remitted on a ground which is wholly unjustifiable. The view of the Hon'ble Minister that the offence was of a technical nature is entirely unsupportable; and the way in which the clemency in the case of Zafar Hussain was brought about, viz. by the remission, in the first place, of the sentence in respect of three pimps and procurers as regards whom any clemency was entirely out of the question, must be severely deprecated."

The Question of India's National Language

The *Bihar Herald* writes:

"We have noted not without some misgivings that there is a movement in Bengal for dislodging Hindi from the position of the national language of India."

After noticing and admitting the force of some of the arguments of the protagonists of Bengali, it observes:

"But what is play to the Bengalis in Bengal may well be death to the Bengalis in Bihar. It is the sacred duty of every Bengali who means to stay on in Bihar to learn to speak and write not simply Dr. Suniti Chatterji's bazaru or basic Hindi but very, very good Hindi. In no other way can they win over the hearts of their Bihari brethren and hold their own in the economic struggle . . . Even for our brethren in Bengal, the agitation against Hindi is distinctly suicidal. Its only certain result will be to oust the Bengalis more and more from positions of leadership in the Congress. When Madras and Orissa are making Hindi a compulsory second language it is idle for the Bengalis to cavil at it. They do not realise that other provinces are stealing a march over them. The majority of the population in Bengal are Muslims. Though their mother-tongue is Bengali they do not object to Hindusthani. Mr. Fazlul Huq can speak English, Ben-

gali and Urdu with equal ease. So can many other Bengali-Muslim leaders. Why should the Bengali-Hindus who parade their intellectual superiority so much fail to do something which the backward Muslims do not find difficult? Let the Bengalis follow the glorious example of S. Subhas Chandra Bose who can speak Hindi as well as anyone else in India."

The Modern Review has allowed different views on the question of India's national language to be expressed in its pages in order that the public should know them. But personally the editor of this journal does not believe that the bulk of non-Bengalis would favour Bengali even if the case for it were very much stronger than it is. He has told Bengali audiences so in some of his speeches to them on some occasions, mentioning his reasons, which need not be repeated. Personally he holds that on the whole Bengali is best fitted to be the national language of India.

As for Bengalis in Bihar learning Hindi, certainly they should do it, at least in their own interest. Bengalis dwelling in different provinces of India will find it to their advantage to learn the languages of those provinces.

Whether Hindi be or be not ultimately adopted as the national language of India, for

purposes of business it ought to be learnt. When we were in Germany 12 years ago we found Pandit Tarachand Roy of the Panjab teaching Hindi in Berlin University. The Germans, understanding the commercial advantage of knowing Hindi, had engaged him to teach it.

Whatever may happen in future, under present circumstances, no public man can make his influence felt in the Congress unless he can speak Hindi well.

Finally, Hindi has a literature for which alone it would be worth one's while to learn it.

As regards Bengali Muslims, we have to state it as a mere fact that their foremost Bengali organ, *Azad*, is in favour of making Bengali the national language of India.

Purloining From Our Pages

A Bombay paper has lifted an article from our last April issue without acknowledgment.

We have no detective on our staff to find out all who may be similarly guilty, as it is not our intention to pillory all plagiarists. It is only by chance that plagiarism of this sort meets our eyes.



The big winner wants to stop



The Union

INDIANS ABROAD

Indians, at home or abroad, generally fight a losing game. They do not fight, unless of course it is forced on them by the pitiless world. And, even when they have to, they do it rather in an amateurish manner, more to lose than to win. The Indian abroad, however, must shed off some of his virtue of quietism—he has to be more alert, more active, more ready to defend himself in a world of strange faces and hostile forces. He is to make his way in an unknown part of the globe and he must hold himself there. The law of life—and the law of self-defence—he learns in that new world, which is not friendly to him. This perhaps accounts for the fact that the greatest Indian fighter of the century—truly Indian too as a man of peace—has had his first training in South Africa. Who knows how much the Indian struggle owes in this respect to the Indians abroad? Yet, victory seldom graces our long suffering, we know, whether in India or overseas. The Zanzibar Indians' success, therefore, comes to all Indians as a relief—and a message of hope.

ZANZIBAR SETTLEMENT

At last a settlement has been arrived at between the Indians and the Zanzibar authorities and in general the Government had to yield to the clove traders over 50% of their demands. The Secretary of the Indian National Association, Zanzibar, addressed the following letter to the Congress Office, Allahabad, thanking handsomely the Congress and informing it of the terms of settlement of the dispute.

"I am enclosing herewith the text of the agreement on the clove dispute reached between the Indian community and the Zanzibar Government as a result of negotiations carried on for the last three weeks. The agreement on our side is subject to confirmation of the Congress. The credit of any settlement goes to the Congress and India for the marvellous support given to the Zanzibar Indians. The Zanzibar Indian community owes a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Subhas Chandra Bose and Sardar Vallabhai Patel for organising and intensifying boycott. The terms of settlement have given satisfaction to all sections of the Indian community at Zanzibar. The Indian community highly appreciated your untiring efforts on our behalf in this fight."

POINTS FROM AGREEMENT

The main items of the agreement are as follows:—
"The monopoly of purchase by the Clove Growers Association is entirely given up. There is only to be a licence

system for persons desiring to deal in or export cloves. The Clove Growers Association will enter on the market as any other dealer, except that it will fix the minimum price. The Association will not also sell direct to overseas markets so long as the normal flow of exports is maintained. There is only one stipulation that the exporter will buy fifty per cent of cloves, that he exports from the Association. The Government of Zanzibar will invite the Indian National Association of Zanzibar acting in consultation with the Chamber of Commerce to submit a panel of names from which British residents will select an Indian representative to serve upon the Board of Management of the Clove Growers Association and the Advisory Committee. Indian traders will also have the benefit of buildings and marketing centres near the depots of the Clove Growers Association upon the payment of a fee for their use. The Clove Growers Association will neither employ buying agents, nor grant Credit facilities for purchase of cloves, nor any increase of the number of Association's buying depots is contemplated. From the terms, it is understood that the Indian trader will thus be completely free to carry on his trade and there is no danger of his being ousted by the Association."

The decision on the Agreement is still pending. So far however the Agreement is a concession to demands of Indian traders in Zanzibar.

We congratulate the Zanzibar Indians heartily on their victory, however partial. They have proved their worth and proved as well that right, even when that is on the Indian side, may sometimes win. The Indian National Congress, which valiantly took up the case of these traders, and went so far as to organise a boycott of clove in India of course deserves our congratulation. The Secretary, Foreign Department, A. I. C. C., may legitimately write as follows:

"I welcome it as a major achievement of the Congress foreign policy," said Doctor Rammanohar Lohia commenting on the terms of the Agreement. Continuing he said, "Throughout the equatorial belt of the British empire where Indians live and work and trade, justice and freedom are being fought for and I am happy the Congress is in a position to further this fight."—(U.P.)

The Government of India too did not let down the Indian case, we should recognize, and stood by the Zanzibar Indians, and deserve all praise for that. More courage, more faith in their strength, and a determination not to take things lying down—this must be the message of Zanzibar to all Indians abroad.

KENYA HIGHLANDS

Zanzibar has won the fight that was forced on it, Kenya Indians are unwillingly being pushed into one just about the hour. The whole land question in Kenya is now coming ahead.

It will be discussed in the next session of the Kenya Council, arising out of the Bills which the Government published to implement the recommendations of the earlier Commission. A memorandum of the Kenya Government was laid on the table, and the Bills, it is stated, will be shortly introduced to form Land Boards for Native and European Reserves. "The White Highlands from which Indians are being debarred will have more or less the seal and approval of law." "The question will not be subject to further discussion," points out *The Kenya Daily Mail* (April 24, 1938) "as was promised to the Government of India in the White Paper of 1923." With regard to the Highlands the memorandum proposes:

As regards the Highlands a Notice giving a detailed definition of the boundaries of the Highlands will be published shortly. This will subsequently appear in a Schedule to the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance and in due course the Highlands Order in Council will define the Highlands by reference to that Schedule except as provided in the Crown Lands Ordinance and the new Native Lands Trust Ordinance the boundaries so defined will be unalterable.

This Order will provide for the establishment of a Highlands Board consisting of the following persons:—

- (a) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of the Colonial Secretary who shall be the President of the Board;
- (b) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of the Commissioner for Lands and Settlement who shall be Vice-President; and
- (c) five persons not holding office in the public service of the Colony four of whom shall be chosen from time to time by the European Legislative Council and one of whom shall be nominated from time to time by the Governor.

FUNCTIONS OF HIGHLANDS BOARD

The proposed functions of the Board will be to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the land situated in the Highlands and in particular to make representations to the Governor when in the opinion of the Board, anything in relation to the administration, management, development of control of these lands is not in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands. The Board will also be required to give or withhold its consent in all matters in which its consent is required by any Ordinance for the time being in force in the Colony; and provision will be made requiring the Governor to consult the Board on all matters relating to the disposition of land within the Highlands.

No provision, it is seen, for Indian representation is made and the land interests or requirements of the Indian community in Kenya are entirely ignored. The powers of the Boards are such that "they practically become the bodies to use the veto powers of the Governor." Yet, successive ex-Secretaries of State for the Colonies and

Foreigners, as pointed out by the Indian representatives in the Kenya Legislative Council, "assured the Indian community essential safeguards about their future in regard to the control and administration of the Highlands." To take only two of them, the one of the then Secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, came in 1935, and the other from Mr. Ormsby-Gore only last November. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement in the Commons ran as follows:—

"It is not intended that the Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the Highlands area shall include any provision involving legal or administrative discrimination on the basis of race or nationality in connexion with the occupation of land in that area. The issue of the Order will not affect the policy which had been followed since 1906."

In vain would one point out the declaration of Mr. C. E. Mortimer, Acting Commissioner of Local Government, Lands and Settlement, as quoted by *The Statesman* correspondent (April 14, 1938), running as follows:

"Such an unequivocal statement leaves the policy of H. M.'s Government on this point beyond all doubt, and I trust the honorable mover will accept that statement as the declaration which he desires and that it will go far to dispelling the unhappy phantoms of uncertainty and disquietude to which reference has been made."

The present authorities are determined to squeeze out the Indians and Africans. 'Racial discrimination' is a term apparently meant for application against Indians—in India or abroad.

KENYA AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

It was only in last April that the Council of State in Delhi accepted Mr. Ramdas Pantulu's resolution on the Kenya position:

This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take prompt action not only to prevent the issue of the proposed Order-in-Council by His Majesty's Government implementing the recommendations of the Kenya Land Commission but also to remove the ever-increasing disabilities imposed on Indians in Kenya, specially in pursuance of the so-called administrative practice which prevents Indians from acquiring and occupying land in the Highlands by grant, transfer or lease and which is now sought to be legalised and so widened as to shut out Indian settlers both from the African reserves and the European Highlands and to discriminate against them in favour of even non-British European settlers.

The Government of India readily accepted the resolution with great pleasure.

Sir Jagdish Prasad, replying for Government, stated that it was and had always been the policy of the Government of India to safeguard the honour and interests of Indian nationals abroad. He quite appreciated that the implications of the proposed Order-in-Council would be to give moral acquiescence to the "administrative convenience." The Government of India had already represented to the British Government the strong feeling in India on the subject.

The Government of India, therefore, must be on their trial now. It is a fight against them. Indeed, the Deputy Leader of the European elected members in the Kenya Council, Major F. N. Cavendish-Bentinck, concluded his speech on their resolution, asking to give effect to the Kenya Land Commission Report, with the following significant words:

"As far as the White people are concerned, threats from the Government of India leave us cold. We don't want racial troubles, but if they come I know who is going to win."

The European imperialists would certainly now fail to remember the service of the Indians in defence of the East Africa during the Great War. The interest of Kenya would also hardly count, though the Indian leader Mr. Pandya may point to that,

Umbrage was taken by the European representatives of the Legislative Council at the fact that Mr. Mortimer could not undertake to fix "the qualifying adjective 'white' or 'European' before the word 'Highlands' in the proposed Order-in-Council."

COMMUNALIST ABROAD?

It is the more tragic therefore to read, in the face of the above, the following in a leader of the *African Tribune* of Mombasa, Kenya:

Reactions of the recent Indian elections in Mombasa are now being felt. In a recent article, the *Tribune* referred to the "gentlemen's agreement" whereby one Muslim and one Hindu were to stand for election as a guarantee of mutual good faith between the two great communities and an indication of the harmony that prevailed between them. Unfortunately, this excellent arrangement was broken by some self-interested party of the contract with the result that two Hindu not Indian representatives were returned to the Legislative Council, the election being carried on totally on communal basis.

SOUTH AFRICA

South African Union is in the throes of an election in the middle of May now.* It is not devoid of interest for the Indians. The United Party, with Generals Hertzog and Smuts as their leaders, stand for a more liberal outlook in which racialism plays no part, at least openly. The Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan of course is frankly a 'racialist' party. The two pronouncements quoted below (from the *Statesman*) will speak for themselves, and give us an idea as to how the Indians would fare under the respective Parties if they come to power.

Generals Hertzog and Smuts of the United Party, in their manifesto to the South African people, said: "We want a victory that will make this country safe for us and our children against the disintegrating forces of mere party divisions and racial strife." General Hertzog further said in his first election speech: "Division with its anti-South

African, anti-British, anti-Jewish, anti-Native policy,—a policy that is inherently anti-everything from which political capital can be struck—is a policy of despair, carried on the wings of selfishness and hate, eating out of its own entrails and promoting its own destruction."

The Nationalist Party manifesto which was signed by Dr. D. F. Malan, Dr. N. J. van der Merwe and Mr. J. G. Strydom, runs, in part, as follows: "The Party would abolish the Cape Native Franchise, keep surplus natives from the towns and introduce residential segregation. A stop would be put to the wholesale buying of land for natives, and the native would be left to acquire land by his own initiative and in accordance with his real needs. Segregation of non-Europeans would be enforced in industry, with a quota system of employment where desirable. Cape coloured voters would have separate representation. The Party would prohibit mixed marriages and the employment of Europeans by non-Europeans."

THE INDIAN POSITION

The Indian position in South Africa is neither strong nor happy. The list of their grievances will be as long as the list of their shortcomings. We learn from the *Indian Opinion*, whose 'call to youth' on the grounds we heartily endorse:

The Indian in the Natal and Transvaal Provinces has not the franchise—that bulwark of all democratic countries—and he must need therefore to be always on the alert. The Indian labours under tremendous difficulties both in Natal and Transvaal. Employment is difficult to obtain. The Natal Railway System which at one time employed several thousands of Indians and which owes a great deal to them for its development, now employs only a few hundred. The White Labour Policy is driving our men to the streets. Notwithstanding the prosperity that South Africa is now enjoying, the economic condition of our people has not changed for the better. "Equal pay for equal work—a clause which beautifies the Capetown Agreement, is not worth the paper that it is written on." The State which should set an example by paying the Indian an economic wage is, constantly in breach of the formula. (The wages that are being paid to the Indian employees in the Railways and Harbours, will send any civilized country to shame. Our Teachers who are in the employ of the Natal Education Department, are paid niggardly. Our graduates at the Sastri College who put in as much work as the European staff, are paid much lower than their European confreres. These are naked truths that our youth must face. What is going to happen to the hundreds that the Sastri College turns out every year? Is the Indian youth going to sit with folded arms and Micawber-like, wait until something turns up?

AGENT-GENERAL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Rama Rau, the new Agent-General in South Africa arrives in Natal about the same time. He succeeds to some great name and to a difficult task. We would wish him all success, and, happy and loving welcome from his countrymen in South Africa.

G. H.

Indians in Mauritius

THE new session of the Legislative Council has been opened today, 12th April, by the new Governor, Sir Bede Clifford. In a very long

*The elections have since returned the United Party with a clear majority.

address His Excellency has referred at great length to the political and economic needs of the Indian population and he will shortly lay before the council a plan for the revision of the constitution whereby the interest of all classes of the Indian people will be fully represented. In anticipation of those reforms His Excellency has taken a very bold step in appointing two Indians as members of the Legislative Council in the place of two European members (one official and the other non-official) who are now on leave. The two members are: Messrs. Abdool Latiff Osman and Seeparsad Seerbookun, both of them being small planters. The former is the elder of Mr. A. R. M. Osman—the first Indian to be appointed as magistrate in this colony, now acting as substitute Procureur General. Referring to the new members, Sir Bede, in his speech, says,

"But to remove any justification for the charge that the Government is out of touch with, and contains no representative of the working classes, I have decided to nominate two representatives of the small planters and labourers to the vacancies caused by the absence, this Session, of the Commissioner of Police and Mr. Robinson. I have deliberately selected for these posts, men who belong to the agricultural class and I have pleasure in welcoming them to the Council today. I am sure they will show that even if they are inexperienced in public and political affairs and have had lesser opportunities for education than some of us, they are nevertheless capable of acquainting us with the outlook of their people on all matters directly affecting their interest"

With these appointments, the number of Indian members on the Legislative Council is brought to four. The other two are the Hon'ble R. Gujadhur now on leave in India and the Hon'ble G. M. D. Atehia, Mayor of Port Louis. At no time more than two of our people sat on that Council.

The report of the Commission of Enquiry that was appointed to enquire into the unrest on sugar estates that occurred in August of last year has also been laid on the Council table. It is a voluminous publication covering more than 250 pages in which all the facts relative to the strike of Indian labourers have been fully stated.

We can only publish the summary of the principle conclusions and recommendations.

IMMEDIATE AND REAL CAUSES OF THE UNREST

(1) The immediate cause of the outbreak of the unrest was the cut of 15 per cent in the Uba cane carried out by the directions of the Manager of Sans-Souci Estate Co., Ltd. This cut itself would not have brought about such a big strike and such a widespread manifestation of discontent had there not been other causes at work as well. The real cause that brought about the outbreak of the strike was the cumulative effect upon the workers of Dr. Cure's labour campaign and his speeches delivered to audiences of Indian and

other workers on Sugar estates on behalf of the Mauritian Labour Party which he founded, assisted by his associates, Mr. Anguetil and Pandit Sahadeo. At the same time, a general rise in the standard of living of the Indian inhabitants in Mauritius has been an important element in causing discontent amongst Indians with their present lot.

INTERFERENCE AND INTIMIDATION

(2) During the course of the strike, interference with men working on their way to work definitely took place, but no evidence has been placed before the Commission to show that systematic intimidation or threats or reprisals were ever addressed to workers to induce them not to work. There is, however, evidence of what the Commissioners call "mass fright" as a result of which numbers of persons left their work, as they were afraid of outsiders coming after them, and this as a result of false rumours. There was no organised form of intimidation directed by a central or local organisation for the purpose.

ARMING OF ESTATE PERSONNEL

(3) The estate personnel on the majority of the estates were armed with a view to defence, shortly after the outbreak of the unrest. This is deprecated, although in a crisis similar to that through which the Colony has just passed all persons in any way likely to be concerned are entitled to have the maximum amount of police protection available at their disposal.

THE SHOOTINGS AT UNION-FLACQ AND L'ESCALIER

(4) The enquiries of the Commission into the shootings at Union-Flacq and L'Escalier show that:

- (a) active preparations were made beforehand by the factory management of Union-Flacq Sugar Estate to arm and to open fire, in defence of life and property, should any hostile mob enter the estate;
- (b) the pointing of rifles at the crowd of members of the estate personnel was a provocative act on their part, though this was not the cause of the rush on the factory and the firing which ensued;
- (c) the firing took place owing to the fact that the factory staff were, at the moment firing took place, in fear of their lives owing to the hostile action of the crowd in the estate yard;
- (d) that firing could have been avoided had the Police been present in sufficient numbers to deal with the situation and it is unfortunate that Police in sufficient numbers did not arrive until just after the firing had taken place;
- (e) the Manager refused to allow one of the lorries available on the estate to be used as an ambulance to take the wounded labourers to hospital, an act greatly to be deprecated;
- (f) the shooting at L'Escalier by the Police was inevitable.

SPEECHES OF DR. CURE IN THE COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT AND ON BEHALF OF MAURITIUS LABOUR PARTY

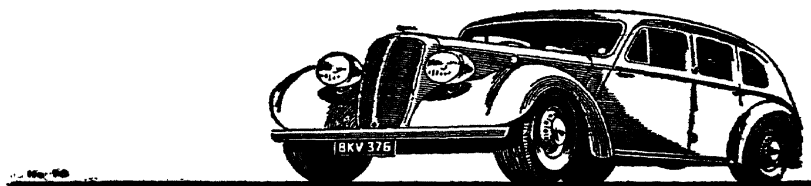
(5) The speeches of Dr. Cure in the Council of Government, while an elected member for the Plaines Wilhems Division, and his own account of the speeches delivered by him during the course of his campaign on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party, compared with the verbatim reports and notes taken by the Police, show that Dr. Cure has carried on a systematic political campaign on behalf of labour. Certain statements made by Dr. Cure at his meetings were of a nature likely to be exacerbate racial feeling and intensify colour

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prejudice and occasionally, highly inaccurate statements were made by him without any trouble being taken to verify whether they were correct.

THE SOCIÉTÉ DE BIENFAISANCE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE L'ÎLE MAURICE

(6) The constitution by Dr. Cure of the Société de Bienfaisance des Travailleurs de l'Île Maurice was carried out principally to enable him to lodge a complaint with regard to, an alleged failure by Great Britain and Mauritius to implement international obligations with regard to labour. This object was not made known to the competent authority by Dr. Cure when he applied for the incorporation of the Société de Bienfaisance as a friendly society under the Friendly Societies Ordinance of 1874. The resulting legal position might with advantage be investigated by the Government's legal advisers. The Mauritius Labour Party have sent a student of economics named Jomadhur to England to act there as a representative of the Labour Party, with a view to getting into touch with labour leaders in order to secure greater recognition by the British Government of the aims of the Mauritius Labour Party. The necessary expenses incurred by Mr. Jomadhur from the funds of the Société de Bienfaisance and this appear to be *ultra vires* the powers and constitution of the Society.

AMENDMENT OF ORDINANCE NO. 22 OF 1874

(7) The Government's legal advisers should be invited to consider the possibility of altering the terms of ordinance No. 22 of 1874 under which Friendly Societies are constituted in order that power may be given to an outside authority to investigate the affairs or finances of any Friendly Society.

POLITICAL CAUSES OF THE UNREST

(8) Several witnesses, in addition to Dr. Cure, have appeared before the Commission and are unanimous in stating that some of the causes of the unrest are of a political nature and arise out of the fact that the present electoral system results principally in the return of representatives of one section of the community only. The Commission have carefully borne these representations in mind and have come to the conclusion that one of the causes of the present unrest is political discontent. The Commission abstain from making any specific recommendation on the political aspect of the unrest, as they are aware that the question of adjusting political representation in Mauritius is already engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government in England.

GRIEVANCES OF SMALL PLANTERS

(9) Small planters generally complain that they do not receive sufficient sugar in return for canes which they send to the mills to be crushed. As a result of their investigations, the Commission have come to the conclusion that small planters in Mauritius, generally speaking, receive more generous treatment in respect to their canes than any other Colony or Country. They recommend that a Committee of experts be set up to determine the minimum amount of sugar to be received by small planters from the factory, such amount to increase with the increase in the sucrose content of their canes, and that a Standing Committee of small planters should be set up, the Chairman of which should be the Director of Labour, to supervise the application of the decisions of the Committee of Experts.

CUT OF 15% IN THE UBA CANE

(10) The complaint of the small planters with regard to the cut of 15 per cent in the Uba cane is justified in the sense that they received no specific notice, until they had brought their canes to the weighbridges

in the ordinary course, that the cut would be carried out. On the other hand, the amount hitherto paid by estates for the Uba cane appears to have been too high. The actual amount which contributes a fair return should be determined by the Committee of Experts, the setting up of which is recommended to determine what is a fair amount to go to planters in return for their canes, based upon the sucrose content of such canes. No cut however should be made of the 1938 crop. Thereafter, a progressive reduction in the amount given in respect of the Uba cane should be made extending over a period of years, if the findings of the Committee of Experts, show that the deduction is in fact justified. At the same time, the Department of Agriculture should continue the experiments, they have been making to find a cane to replace the Uba cane.

RELATIONS OF SMALL PLANTERS WITH CANE DEALERS

(11) Another complaint of small planters is in connection with cane dealers or intermediaries. Their complaint that they are forced by the estates to deal through a certain cane dealer whether to do so or not is justified, especially when the operation of this constraint is examined in the light of the limitation of Area system. On the other hand, cane dealers, play a part in the present financial organization of the sugar industry in advancing *faisance valoir* to small planters in circumstances where neither the factory nor a Co-operative Credit Society would do so. The evil part of this system is that which deprives small planters who are under no financial obligation towards the cane dealers, of their freedom to send canes to the factory of their choice, under their own name or that of their authorised representatives and on terms arrived at in direct negotiation with the factory, either personally or through their authorised representatives. The general principle to be observed is that the small planter must not be adversely affected, nor his liberty of action taken away, by arrangements entered into by parties unknown to him.

SMALL PLANTERS AND LIMITATION OF AREA SYSTEM

(12) A further complaint of small planters is against the limitation of Area system. In principle the Commission agree that as matters stand at the present time, it is in the interests of the sugar industry as a whole to avoid ruinous competition which would result from outbidding each other for small planters' canes. On the other hand, when agreements are entered into between estates for limitation of area, the small planters, either individually or through their representatives, should be consulted. The system of limitation of area should be operated by means of regional agreements to be entered into between mill-owners and representatives of small planters on terms agreed to by them. This might be carried out by means of the Standing Committee of small planters, the setting up of which has been recommended in direct negotiation with the representatives of estate Managers.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY SUGAR FACTORY

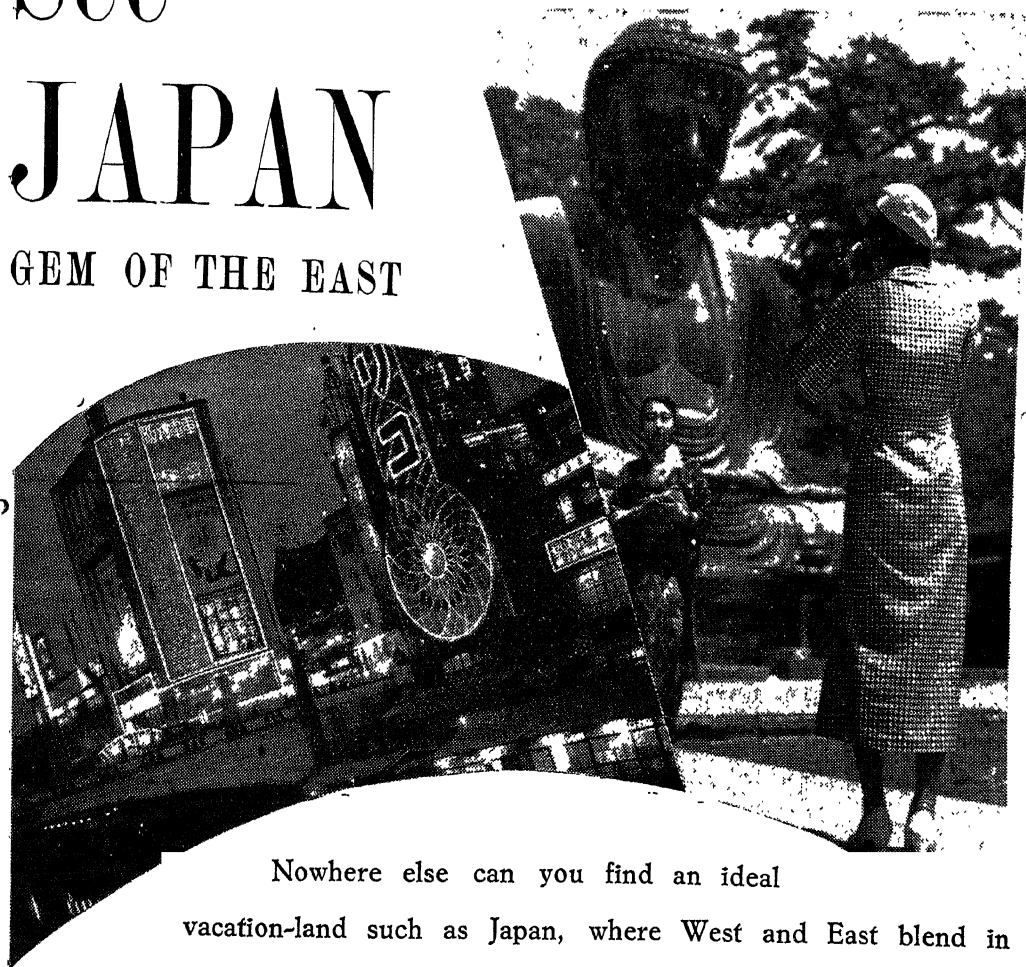
(13) The Commission investigated the possibility of the creation of a Co-operative Credit Society Sugar Factory but upon examination of all the factors involved came to the conclusion that any increase in the number of factories would be bound to result in a diminution in the amount of small planters' canes available to supply the factories already in existence, and that being so, decided that they are unable to support any such proposal.

SMALL PLANTERS AND THE AGRICULTURAL BANK

(14) The Commission recommend that if possible the limit of Rs. 5,000 contained in the Agricultural Bank Ordinance of 1936 should be reduced to Rs. 1,000; in

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order to ensure that small planters may benefit by long term mortgage loans under the terms of the Ordinance.

WEIGHING OF CANES AT WEIGHBRIDGE

(15) The Commission recommend that small planters should be allowed in all cases to check the weighing of their canes upon arrival at the weighbridge, and that periodical inspections of the weighbridges should be carried out by Government Inspectors. The weights and the weighbridges should be tested at least once a year by a Government Inspector and stumped by him to the effect that both are correct. A representative of the small planters should be present at each weighbridge at the time the canes are weighed to certify that the weight of each consignment of canes delivered at the weighbridge is correct.

PAY OF ESTATE SERVANTS TO BE INCREASED

(16) The Commission recommend that the pay given to estate servants at the outbreak of the strike should be increased in cases where no increase was made during or after the strike, to the extent of 10 per cent in respect to cash wages, without prejudice to any decision arrived at by those entrusted with the duty of implementing the wage fixing machinery.

PAY OF CASUAL LABOURERS TO BE INCREASED

(17) The Commissioners have come to the conclusion that all things considered the average day labourer is underpaid. They similarly recommend that in cases where no increase was made during or after the strike, wages of casual labourers should be increased by at least 10 per cent without prejudice to any decision come to by those persons who will eventually be entrusted with the duty of implementing the wage fixing machinery.

PAYMENT OF CASUAL LABOURERS TO BE MADE BY ESTATE

(18) The Commission recommend that payment of the wages of casual labourers should be made in each case by the estate direct and not through the entrepreneur. The names and full details of all casual labourers should be kept by the estate and the amount and remuneration of all tasks should be made public.

AMENDMENT OF WORKMEN COMPENSATION ORDINANCE

(19) The Commission recommend the amendment of the Workmen's Ordinance of 1931 so that the period within which notice of an accident may be given shall be extended to six months and that notification of such accident by employers should be made compulsory.

OLD AGE PENSIONS, SICKNESS INSURANCE, WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

(20) The Commission recommend in principle the institution of old age pension and sickness insurance schemes, and the making of better provision for the maintenance of widows and orphans, though these schemes will obviously require careful investigation before adoption.

TRADE UNIONS

(21) The Commission are in favour of the establishment of Trade Union and the introduction of legislation into the Council of Government to that effect.

ADOPTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF A MINIMUM WAGE

(22) The Commission recommend the adoption of the principle of a minimum wage and the application of a sliding scale of wages above the minimum fixed. They also recommend the appointment of wage fixing committees, including representatives of employers and employed, presided by a person having a knowledge of labour questions in relation to the sugar industry.

CONCILIATION BOARDS

(23) Conciliation Boards composed of employers and employed should be set up with the object of composing peacefully any difference which may arise between them.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND ENACTMENT OF A NEW LABOUR ORDINANCE

(24) The Commission recommend the establishment of a Department of Labour and Social Welfare to deal with all questions of labour and such matters as old age pensions, sickness insurance and supervision of the welfare of widows and orphans. The carrying out of the duties of the new Department of Labour should be assured by fresh legislation, and the enactment of such legislation and the repeal of the Labour Ordinance of 1922 are recommended. The appointment of an English official with Indian experience to take charge of the Department for an initial period of eighteen months is recommended, after which he should be replaced by an English official having experience of labour conditions in Great Britain, who should be assisted by two English labour experts to be appointed at the same time as the acting Director of Labour, and who should work under his guidance and inspiration. After the departure of the acting Director, the person appointed from England would finally assume direction of the new department.

MAURITIUS SUGAR SYNDICATE

(25) The committee of the Syndicate might be strengthened by the inclusion of small planters.

THE INCREASE IN WAGES POSSIBLE

(26) The present economic position of the sugar industry is such that an increase in wages can be made.

THE ESTATE MANAGERS

We cannot conclude our survey of the labour problems confronting the sugar industry in Mauritius without a reference in general terms to those men who are responsible for the day-to-day work of running the sugar estates. We have had the advantage of hearing the evidence of many of the estate managers and in general have been favourably impressed both by the frank way in which they spoke and by the obvious grasp they had of the facts and technique of the industry. Most of them have spent a life time in the occupation of growing the sugar cane and manufacturing sugar and we doubt so far as facts and technique are concerned, whether there is much left for them to learn.

Nearly all the above recommendations will be accepted by Government. The Labour Department has already been established and a Director of Labour has come from the Malaya Federated States to take charge of that service. The Commissioners are of opinion that the Indian Government has always taken a paternal interest in the progress of Indian labourers outside and in support of their belief, they refer to the coming to this island of Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh to enquire into the conditions of Indians, on behalf of the Indian Government. There is every likelihood of a change for the good in the state of Indians of Mauritius and they are very hopeful of the administration of Sir Bede Clifford. 1938 is likely to be our *annus mirabilis* writes a correspondent of ours from Port Louis, Mauritius.

H. K. HAZAREE SINGH

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NOTES

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Centenary

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the principal literary society of Bengal, celebrated the centenary of the birthday of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in a manner quite worthy of the place which he occupies not only in Bengali literature but also in the national life of Bengal and India. Not a politician himself, he has been the inspirer of political thought and action and the influence of his writings has been felt also in the economic, social and spiritual spheres.

On the first day of the celebrations a public meeting was held at the Senate Hall. Sriyut Hirendranath Datta was quite fittingly chosen to preside over this meeting and all subsequent gatherings held in connection with the centenary. The meeting was attended by the leading personalities in the worlds of literature and education and in public life of Bengal who were present in Calcutta that day or could come from mofussil stations, some like the Poet Rabindranath Tagore and the Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose being unavoidably absent. A vast concourse of students and the general public thronged the hall. Some notable non-Bengalis were also present.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram". It was followed by Mangalācharanam in Sanskrit by Mahāmahopādhyāya Phanibhushan Tarkavagish, an auspicious introduction in the form of a prayer for the attainment of success at the beginning of all undertakings.

Messages sent by the following persons

among others were read at the meeting: Rabindranath Tagore, Subhas Chandra Bose, Amarnath Jha (Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University), Srimati Sophia Wadia, W. C. Wordsworth, Sarat Chandra Bose, Karnatak Sahitya Parishat and Gauhati Sahitya Parishat.

An excellent inaugural address, instinct with fervent patriotic feeling, was delivered by Sriyut Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

He would like, said S. J. Mukherjee, to conclude his observations with one more remark. The chairman had suggested that the University should take the initiative in founding study circles among the student community for proper appreciation of Bankim's works. The chairman had also suggested that the University should organise a special examination on Bankim literature, at a nominal fee, in the month of Poush or Magh next. Those who would come out successful would receive certificates and he who would occupy the first place would be suitably rewarded. S. J. Mukherjee heartily supported the idea and hoped that there would be no difficulty for the University to accept the suggestion.

In conclusion S. J. Mukherjee prayed that the object of the celebration be crowned with success. Let no Bengalee think that he had paid his due tribute to Bankim's memory by a few days' celebrations. It would not be done until and unless the message of Bankim was preached in every hearth and home of Bengal and the Bengalee chose the proper path and built up his national life fearlessly, inspired by Bankim's message.

"Let Bengalees sink their differences, be united, be full of action and self-reliant without being dependent on any others. Bankim Chandra used to hate the coward Bengalee. If the Bengalee can stand up as a man, disregarding all obstacles, Bankim's blessings would be on Bengal and Bengalees would be able to rehabilitate themselves."—(*Amrita Bazar Patrika's* translation.)

The president, Sriyut Hirendranath Datta, then delivered his speech.

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The creator of Bengali literature, observed S. J. Hirendranath Datta in the course of his address, the memory of Bankim would live for ever in the heart of the Bengalee race. Not only a novelist, Bankim Chandra was poet, philosopher, historian, litterateur, archæologist and theologian. In fact his genius, which hardly bore any parallel, embracing a number of spheres, had considerably enriched the Bengali literature.

Today, the speaker went on, Bankim centenary was being celebrated all over the province. It was not impossible that in many cases the celebrations would end with holding of meetings and exhibitions without leaving any lasting effect. But two things which had been undertaken by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat were expected to be of permanent value. First, the Centenary edition of Bankim Chandra's entire works, of which *Kapal Kundala*, *Ananda Math*, *Dharmatattva* and *Vijnan Rahasya* had already been published. "Kamala Kanter Daptar" would soon be published. In that connection S. J. Datta referred to the munificent donation of Rs. 10,000 made for this purpose by Kumar Narasinha Malladev of Jhargram. Poet Rabindranath had wholeheartedly approved of the enterprise undertaken by the Sahitya Parishat.—*A. B. Patrika*.

The president also referred to the examination to test and reward knowledge of Bankim Chandra's works, already announced by the Vice-Chancellor. The Sahitya Parishat has come into possession of what at present remains of the great author's family residence in *Kānthālpārā*, near Naihati railway station. The Parishat will get the residence properly repaired and maintain it in good condition.

The poem which Rabindranath Tagore had specially composed for the occasion was read.

Srijukta Sarala Devi Chowdhurani related some personal reminiscences of the great author, as she had seen him about 50 years ago.

Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee made a very brief speech on the work done by Bankim Chandra as an editor and journalist.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar read a learned and convincing paper, enlivened with wit and humour, to show that Bankim Chandra was not anti-Moslem.

In the course of an article entitled "Bankim in the eyes of a non-Hindu," Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, M.A., B.L., a noted Bengali publicist, expressed the opinion that Bankim as a man was greater than Bankim as a Hindu.

He had a great love for humanity. He felt for the humblest peasant. Today peasant movement was sweeping over the country. But fifty years ago he had written immortal words supporting their legitimate cause. He had advocated the cause of women. He had raised his voice against tyranny and oppression.

English literature without Shakespeare would dwindle into nothing. Similar was the case with the Bengali literature. Very little would remain if Bankim's contributions were left out. But it must be admitted that Bankim was greater than Shakespeare. Shakespeare did not solve any problems nor did he attempt to set up an ideal before his nation. But there was practically no problem which the great Bengalee had not dealt with. He had set up an

ideal before his countrymen which would never fail to inspire them.

Accusations might be levelled against him, said Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, but Bankim was too great for those. He never cherished any hatred for the Muslim community. That was abundantly proved by the fact that he had never attacked Islam or its Prophet although he might have attacked certain Muslim individuals. It would be absolutely unfair to call it a hatred for the Muslims. For instance, his pen-picture of Aurangzeb could not be construed as an attack on the religion he followed. Besides that, historians were not unanimous on that point and it had not been proved that Bankim's version was wrong. He had depicted an age when tyranny, injustice and oppression reigned, and if he portrayed the oppressors, it was not because they were Muslims, but because they were oppressors.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika's* abridged translation.

Srijut Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S., spoke next, making some telling remarks in his characteristic manner.

A Hindi poem was read. After the reading of summaries of some papers received from outside Bengal, the function came to a close for the day.

Reports of the second and third days' celebrations are summarized below from the *Hindustan Standard*.

Kānthālpārā, the birth-place of Bankim Chandra, was en fete on Sunday the 26th June, when a large number of literary men from Calcutta paid a visit to the place and held meetings in connection with Bankim Centenary celebrations.

The first batch of literary men, headed by S. J. Hirendranath Datta and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, reached Naihati station by the Chittagong Mail. Others who joined them later travelled by different local trains.

The visitors took great interest in going round Bankim Chandra's ancestral home and seeing things for themselves associated with his loving memory. Bankim Chandra's drawing-room where he composed his "Bande Mataram" and used to write for the *Bangadarshana* is located in a single-storied building and this became the centre of the greatest attraction on the occasion.

From Naihati station to Kānthālpārā the parties proceeded singing the "Bande Mataram" song, attracting large crowds on the way.

At 9 o'clock in the morning a large crowd collected in the compound of the house when a public meeting was held in celebration of the Bankim Centenary. S. J. Hirendranath Datta presided over the meeting. The speakers addressed the meeting at great length on Bankim Chandra's invaluable contributions to the cause of Bengali language and literature and also to the cause of Indian nationalism.

In the evening an exhibition of the early editions of Bankim Chandra's works, interesting documents in his hand-writing etc., was opened at the 'Ramesh Bhaban' attached to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Hall in the presence of a big gathering.

This was followed by a social gathering at the same place where recitations from Bankim Chandra's works were given.

Select scenes from Bankim Chandra's 'Kamalakanta' were also staged on the occasion.

The closing function of the centenary was marked by inclement weather. But,

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In spite of pouring rain a large gathering was present at Ramesh Bhaban in Upper Circular Road on Monday evening, 27th June, at the closing function of the Bankim Birthday Centenary Celebrations. S. J. Hirendranath Datta presided.

Messages were read from Babu Rajendra Prasad and Hon'ble Mr. N. Qanungo, Minister, Orissa expressing their sympathy with the organisers of the celebrations.

The proceedings commenced with the "Bande Mataram" song sung by S. J. Dilip Kumar Roy and his pupil Miss Uma Bose in a new tune.

This was followed by recitations and readings from Bankim Chandra's works, the singing of a song of Ramprasad's, the singing of a Kirtan composed by Bankim Chandra and of a humorous song by the same author.

Extending his hearty thanks on behalf of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to all those who had endeavoured to make the Bankim Birthday Centenary Celebrations a success, S. J. Hirendranath Datta hoped that these celebrations would at least result in inducing the young men and women of the country to read more closely Bankim Chandra's works. Bankim Chandra passed away at the age of 56, but during this comparatively short span of life he had succeeded in laying Bengali literature under a deep debt of gratitude to him by his priceless contributions, which had no parallel in the history of the literatures of the world. The speaker had endeavoured to have some knowledge of the principal literatures of the world and he could say this that the literature produced by Bankim Chandra would occupy a prominent place in world literature. He hoped that Bengalis would not deprive themselves of the priceless legacy which had been handed down to them. They would be raising their lives to a higher and nobler plane by reading the literature produced by Bankim Chandra. Bengalis had special reasons to be proud of the fact that they could claim Bankim Chandra as one of those born in their province.

"Bankim Parichaya"

In commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Bankim Chandra the Calcutta University has published a brochure, entitled "Bankim Parichaya", containing selections from the writings of the great Bengali novelist, with the purpose of acquainting the younger generation with the ideals he preached.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee on Bengali Literature

It is not generally known that Bankim Chandra Chatterjee contributed an article on Bengali literature to *The Calcutta Review*, in 1871. Srijiut Manmathanath Ghosh, M.A., has enabled the *Hindusthan Standard* to re-publish it in its Bankim Centenary Number. We reproduce the concluding paragraph of the article below. Readers will bear in mind that it was written 67 years ago, and that during this period Bengali literature has made great strides.

But here must end our brief and imperfect sketch of Bengali literature—a literature which, with much that is

feeble and base and utterly worthless, yet has within it what may encourage no small degree of hope for the future. Its character is for the most part imitative, but what literature, save that of Greece, has ever been independent and original in its youth? Once and again has a voice from that holy land of beauty and truth awakened the torpid heart and mind of Western Europe. Horace himself, the most spontaneous and genuine of all the Latin poets, entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the importation of a new form of poetry from Greece. An imitator in those days meant an imitator of Latin authors—the imitation of Greek being almost implied in the excellence of any work. And when Europe woke again from the long sleep which followed on the dissolution of the Roman Empire, it was on the translation and imitation of Greek and Latin authors that its energies were employed. Is there no imitation in Dante himself? It may seem improbable that European ideas will ever really be assimilated by the people of India—that all we can effect here is a superficial varnish of sham intelligence. But everything cannot come in a day, and there was a time when it would have seemed almost equally improbable that the little remnant of intelligence preserved in the Latin Church, and the study of classical antiquity, would have grown into what we now see among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West. The Bengalis may not seem to have the fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action; but it was chiefly among the supple and pliant Italians that the revival of learning in Europe began; and it is possible to imagine that the Bengalis—the Italians of Asia, as the *Spectator* has called them—are now doing a great work, by, so to speak, acclimatising European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.

The "Manchester Guardian" on Indian Federation Problems

The "Manchester Guardian" writes in the course of a leading article:

"Not for the first time there are rumours of some action by the British Government to clear up the obscurities in India's political future. Many of the sanest observers in India believe that there will be an opportunity this summer, such as has not been since the War and may not be again, to settle the relations between India and Britain in a peaceful and profitable manner."

"It is believed that Indian leaders are prepared to negotiate with regard to the Federal side of the Government of India Act, that there are suitable grounds for negotiations and that such negotiations stand a reasonable chance of success.

"This optimism is still tentative. It has received no official encouragement and it has been damped, if not drowned, by Lord Zetland's Bombay Dinner speech. There is a feeling that Lord Zetland was unnecessarily brusque. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it", India will certainly leave it.

"Lord Zetland and the Viceroy have to decide whether some radically new approach to the problems of Federation—new discussions and new understandings—are not immediately necessary. If they decide that there is no such need the whole Act may crumble and nobody would care to say what the state of things in India will then be.

"There is plenty of evidence from India that it will be worth England's while to reconsider Federation. It may be said that to suggest negotiations now ignores the rights and susceptibilities of the Princes. The future, however unpalatable it may be to some people and however the

circumstances may be used to avoid admitting it, must be thought of in terms of a self-governing India and immediately that means free and equal discussions of the difficulties."

Perhaps Lord Zetland's brusque tone was adopted deliberately in order that Indian leaders might not demand any radical changes in the government scheme of federation. He seemed just to give a condescending hint that suggestions for slight alterations in it within the framework of the government scheme might be considered. Whatever the real belief of British statesmen may be, they give themselves airs of being complete masters of the situation so far as India is concerned. They would have Indians believe that they (Indians) are completely at their mercy and that the federal scheme may or may not be changed just as suits the convenience of the British people and parliament. But Indians have been seeing Britain bending the knee again and again before non-Indian armed might. It may be that is just because Britain is not yet ready for a big fight. But her possible enemies, too, are not idle. They are keeping pace with Britain or perhaps outstripping her in the race for increased armaments.

Indians and the Government Scheme of Federation

As in the last great war, so in any future one, Britain must depend to a considerable extent on India's help. In the last war India helped Britain depending on the latter's good faith. In and after the hour of victory India found that she had been deceived. She is not going to be deceived again.

But the success of India's plans for winning the kind of federation she wants and freedom through or along with it, does not depend on the breaking out of a war of some great power or powers with Britain. In times of peace and by thoroughly peaceful means India can have her way. Not that Indians are spoiling for a fray, however peaceful, with Britain. They should know—many do—that they must be cautious, not over-confident, and must not indulge in bluff. But their leaders know India's great strength, too. And they will undoubtedly use it at the right time.

In the last resort, India may have recourse to civil disobedience; and it is not unthinkable that, when she does it next, the Indian sections of the services may adopt a helpful attitude, if not one of active participation.

But though we are not in the secrets of the Congress leaders, we have reasons to think that they are not at present thinking of the last re-

source. If the British Government do not modify their federal scheme in the way the Congress may suggest, the seven Congress cabinets in seven provinces and their adherents in the provincial legislatures may adopt means to make federation impracticable or at least very difficult to work. Such means are to be found in the Government of India Act itself. The Congress party in the remaining four provincial legislatures may co-operate with their fellows in the other seven, as far as they can.

Changes in the Federal Scheme to be Demanded

In the meantime, as early as possible, all parties in the country should formally inform the Secretary of State for India what changes they want in the federal scheme.

Who are the parties who should do it?

There are those who will work or may feel obliged to work—however reluctantly—the federal scheme even if no change in it be made. But that does not certainly mean that they are satisfied with it. So they also should tell Lord Zetland what changes they want.

It will not do to think or say that this has been done repeatedly before. No. Repetition is the soul of agitation. The Secretary of State is not going to turn research scholar or employ research scholars to ransack the files of Indian newspapers or even the files of the India Office to find out what changes in the federal scheme this Indian party or that may have suggested in the past. So they should tell him again what they want.

The Congress or a section of it may have already informally told him through Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. And Congress may say that they are not going to petition the British Government. But it will do, if after consultation with Gandhiji, a statement of the changes demanded be published in the press.

The other parties in the country, who will not care if they be accused of pursuing a "mendicant policy," may communicate to the Secretary of State the changes which they want. To name some of them—

The All-India Women's Conference; the Indian National Liberal Federation; the Hindu Mahasabha with its branches; the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal; the Varnashram Swarajya Sangha; and other Hindu bodies; the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations; the All-India and Provincial Christian Associations; the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and other Sikh organizations, may

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place their suggestions before the Secretary of State. The various commercial, industrial, Labour and Peasants' organizations may similarly make their suggestions known.

The British Government will not accept any suggestion which runs counter to British policy, or unless driven to a corner, as it were. But that is no reason why we should moderate our demands or why the world should not be apprised of any particular demand. Attention is drawn below to a few important probable ones.

The Communal Decision must be scrapped, if Indians are to live as a nation and to govern themselves according to the principles of democratic self-rule. We have repeatedly stated our objections to it from the date of its publication, and notably in our presidential address at the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference in Bombay, and need not repeat them. Congress has declared it anti-national and anti-democratic, and should feel bound to work for its scrapping if it wants its practice to be in consonance with its profession. It got a very good opportunity for getting it substantially altered, if not altogether scrapped, when it was called upon to consider if it would accept office in the Congress majority provinces. At that time Congress ought to have made the scrapping or substantial alteration of the Communal Decision one of the conditions on which it would be prepared to accept office.

Another opportunity has now come to demand a similar change. Congress should seize it.

It is owing chiefly, if not solely, to the Communal Decision that the political unity of India under British rule has been destroyed to a great extent. The *form* of government in all the provinces may at present be the same, but the spirit is of one kind in some and of the opposite or at least a different kind in the rest. Some are governed, as far as the law permits, according to Congress principles; others according to a different policy.

Therefore, if Congress principles are to triumph in the governance of the whole of at least British India, if all the provinces are to be Congress-ruled provinces, and if the political unification of the whole country is to be completed instead of being destroyed or retarded, Congress ought to work for the scrapping of the Communal Decision. With reference to it, scrapping is the maximum demand. **The minimum is that provincial minorities must be given the advantages which all-India minorities enjoy under it.**

.. Some of the other changes which should be

made in the British-made federal scheme are that there should be no dyarchy at the Centre, all subjects—including defence, foreign affairs, and the like, being placed under the charge of Ministers; that all items in the Budget should be votable; that the Chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act should be deleted; that the representation given to the Indian States should be proportionate to their population; that the members of the federal legislature representing the States should be elected by the people of the States, not nominated by their Rulers; that the Railways and other means of transport should be under the control of the legislature; and that the elections to the federal legislature should be direct but not through the provincial legislature.

Japan Fights China with Narcotics

It was reported some time ago that Japan intended to use poison gas in her war with China, and there were some wordy Occidental protests or rumours of protests, to which Japan was not likely to attach any importance. Meanwhile another kind of poison is being used by Japan in order to unman and dehumanise the Chinese. The following account of it is given by the No-Frontier New Service of America:

London (NNS).

....For many months reports have been coming from China that the narcotics situation in China is becoming steadily worse, due to the sale of poisonous drugs by Japanese and Korean traders protected by extraterritoriality. Muriel Lester, well-known British crusader for peace and social justice, thereupon went to China to investigate a situation which she had previously studied in China. Her report of conditions is, to say the least, alarming.

The Nanking Government had ordered a vigorous fight against the traffickers and users of heroin and morphine by fixing the death penalty for salesmen and incurable addicts. All of this work has now being nullified by the Japanese, apparently for the purpose of demoralizing the Chinese population and making it unfit to fight the Japanese invaders.

The Japanese themselves no longer carry on this trade but have transferred it to Korean agents who operate under Japanese protection. These drug salesmen operate openly through countless "joints" and Muriel Lester encountered no difficulty whatever in purchasing the demoralizing narcotics in a dozen different places.

In Peking many small clinics have been opened by the Japanese which advertise the various diseases which they cure. These are nothing but drug dispensaries which take this way of operating since the "joints" were closed up. At village fairs similar clinics have been set up which promise to cure tuberculosis and other diseases. They dispense nothing but heroin and morphine and when the patient returns feeling worse after his first treatment he is told to persist in the use of the "medicines" sold to him.

Drug pedlars in large numbers follow the Japanese

armies and go to work on the Chinese population in the conquered territory. A foreign Christian remonstrated with Korean drug runners and asked them: "Why do you come to China?" "We were sent here", was the reply. "Why do you ply this trade?" "That was the part assigned to us", they explained.

Insulting and Humiliating China's Womanhood

Japan has bombed many places in China from the air, killing thousands of women, children and non-combatant men and wounding, maiming and disabling larger numbers of the civilian population. China is a vast and densely populated country. The death of even a few millions will not depopulate it. Yet, massacre is massacre everywhere, and cannot but be felt as a cruel blow.

But worse far than the slaughter of innocents are the outrage and humiliation, worse than death, to which girls and women are being subjected in some areas in China. They are being stripped naked and compelled to expose themselves while being photographed by Japanese cameramen in this condition. We have received photographs from a reliable source, showing girls and women in this condition. They are not fit for reproduction, nor have they been sent to us for that purpose. They were meant to be seen by the Congress President, to whose Calcutta address we sent them on June 11 from Ghatsila in a registered closed cover, containing a covering letter and some appeals for help on behalf of China.

Appeals For Help to China

China stands sorely in need of medical and other help, as the documents sent through us to the Congress President show. Other documents are expected early and will be forwarded to him as soon as received.

Disastrous Floods in China

Coming on top of the destructive war waged by Japan in China, the recent floods have caused a havoc which is staggering in its immensity. More than a hundred thousand have been swept off and many times that huge number have been thrown into dire distress. Chiang Kai-shek and other Chinese leaders remain undaunted in the face of this calamity. If the floods have in any way embarrassed the Japanese armies, they may be considered as a kind of natural help received unexpectedly by the Chinese.

Their patriotism and firm resolve are beyond all praise.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Spain

As one who has been thrice president of the Indian National Congress and who throughout his political career, whether in office or not, has been enthusiastically active in the cause of India's freedom and independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sure to be accorded a very warm reception by all lovers of liberty wherever he may go. Such has been his reception in Spain. He has been quite close to the front in that country. He has been struck by the calm fortitude of the people and the regular and methodical way in which they have been going about their daily work though exposed to imminent danger. The republican government of Spain appeared to be sure of ultimate victory, and he shares their confidence. The Spanish Government, he thinks, has now a better army than at the beginning of the war.

Gandhi-Jinnah Correspondence

The Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence has been published. We have read all the letters, but now know no more of what Mr. Jinnah wants for the Muslim community than we did before we read them. What he wants for himself and the Moslem League, we could guess before reading these letters, and the correspondence confirms that guess. He wants the Moslem League to be considered the sole representative organization of the whole Mussalman community and to be considered equal to the Congress. He wants himself to be recognized as *at least* as great a leader as any other Indian leader.

Gandhiji's letters make distressing reading.

Jinnah-Nehru Correspondence

The letters which have passed between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in connection with what has come to be known as Unity Talks, have been published in the press. Their publication has been pronounced unauthorized by Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The News Agency which was responsible for their publication has offered a public apology for their publication and explained how it came about. Mr. Jinnah has characterized it as a breach of confidence. Technically, perhaps, all these three politicians may be right. But we do not see what harm

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has been done by the public coming to know what actually passed between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal. On the contrary, the correspondence must have led even many Congressmen to wonder why after the receipt of so many non-committal letters from Mr. Jinnah, the Congress High Command continued to cherish any hope of a settlement with the Moslem League, or, what is the same thing, with Mr. Jinnah. Those whose attitude towards the Congress is friendly admire the optimism of the Congress High Command. What critics of the Congress think need not be investigated by us. We have been struck by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's extreme courtesy and his continued effort not only not to give offence to Mr. Jinnah but also to be as forbearing and accommodating as possible. He was also able to suppress the least inclination to take offence even when it would not have been unnatural or unjustifiable to do so.

Mr. Nehru's observations on Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points are fair, clear and convincing.

Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has expressed the view that the Congress High Command know best when to publish documents of public interest. Certainly, when they are in exclusive possession of such documents, they are the best judges when and how to publish them. But all newspaper editors are not to be presumed to be irresponsible men, not competent to decide what ought or ought not to be published in the public interest. Any correspondence of Congress leaders relating to public matters, not marked confidential, may be published in newspapers without any reference to the Congress High Command; if the editors think such publication to be in the public interest, or at least not likely to affect such interest prejudicially. None of the letters included in the Nehru-Jinnah correspondence was marked confidential.

Many influential and respectable newspapers have published even confidential state documents and have sometimes rendered public service thereby. And sometimes these newspapers have not been very scrupulous as to the means adopted for getting hold of these documents.

The Gandhi-Jinnah and Jinnah-Nehru letters were not state documents and were not marked confidential. Nor were they of a private or personal character.

We think their publication has promoted the interest of the country, though the time and energy spent on them could have been used to better purpose.

A Suggested Preliminary to Unity Talks

In the current number of *Prabasi*, published on the 15th June last, we have suggested that instead of allowing Mr. Jinnah to press the Congress to recognize the Moslem League as the sole Moslem organization representative of the entire Mussalman community, Congress might and should have asked all Moslem representative bodies, including the Moslem League, to settle among themselves first which Moslem body, if any, was to be considered as representative of the whole community. But if they thought that no single body represented the whole community, then the next thing for the Congress to do would have been to ask all these Moslem bodies to choose their representatives—one each, and Congress could have carried on negotiations with these representative Mussalmans.

Mr. Jinnah's and Moslem League's Representative Character

Congress could not have recognized the Moslem League as a body and the only body representing the entire Muhammadan community. Such recognition would have been based on an obvious falsehood, and it would have been suicidal on the part of Congress. It is a national, not a communal, organization. Its recognition of the Moslem League as the sole representative of the entire Muslim community of India would have meant that it had no right to enrol Moslem members and consequently that the Moslem members already on its rolls had no business to be there. This would have gone against the national character of Congress. It would have been reduced to the position of an organization of a somewhat communal character entitled to have only Hindu and other non-Moslem members. But its right to enlist even these latter was subject to Mr. Jinnah's challenge; for he wanted Congress to declare that it was negotiating with him on behalf of the Hindu community.

As a matter of fact many Moslem bodies and many notable Mussalmans have denied the Moslem League's sole representative character.

Equality of Congress and Moslem League

Mr. Jinnah has all along been insisting that Congress should always carry on conversations with the Moslem League on a footing of equality. It can be treated as a just demand if it means that Congress was not to dictate to the Moslem League, that the latter would be perfectly free

to offer any terms of settlement it liked, and that it would also be perfectly free to accept or reject any terms offered by Congress. But it is not true in the ordinary sense or senses that the Moslem League as an organization is equal to Congress as an organization.

Congress is a national, non-communal organization, drawing its members from all the races and religious communities inhabiting India and from all classes of them. The Moslem League is a communal organization, enrolling only Moslems as members.

Congress can enrol members from the more than 350 million inhabitants of India. The Moslem League can enlist members only from the Indian Muslim community some 80 millions strong.

Congress claims to have more than 30 lakhs of members. The Moslem League has not perhaps as many hundred members, and certainly not as many thousand. It is said the Moslem members of Congress alone number more than a lakh.

Congress has from the very beginning striven for the good of all Indians and for the freedom of the whole of India—of all Indians. Its political goal was for long freedom of the kind enjoyed by the British Dominions, but latterly it has been independence. The Moslem League has only recently verbally accepted India's independence as its goal.

Numerous members of Congress have made great sacrifices and undergone great sufferings, many dying in the process, in order to bring India nearer the goal of independence. The Moslem League has done nothing of the kind.

Congress has set its heart particularly on the economic and other welfare of the masses of India, irrespective of their creed and caste, and the Congress ministries in the seven provinces under their charge have been striving by legislation and other means to further this object. The Moslem League has not identified itself either in word or deed even with the Moslem masses—not to speak of the Indian masses in general.

The difference between Congress and the Moslem League can be further elaborated. But more need not be said to show the utter absurdity of Mr. Jinnah's demand that the Moslem League should be recognized as equal to Congress—except, of course, in the limited sense explained in the first few lines of this note.

No organization which is communal, in any sense, can be treated on a footing of equality by Congress except in that sense.

Mr. Subhas Bose's Reaction to "Manchester Guardian's" Comments

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, said in the course of an interview with a press representative on the 22nd June last in connection with the comments of the *Manchester Guardian* on the problems of Indian Federation:

"India will never accept any ties with Great Britain which may be forced on her against her will. But she may contemplate friendly and cordial relations with the latter through a treaty voluntarily signed by her."

He continued:

"I must say at the very outset that I do not know of any Indian leaders being prepared to negotiate with regard to the federal side of the Government of India Act. I had made it clear more than once that mere amendments of the Government of India Act will not meet the demands of the Indian people. What they stand for is the substitution of the Act by a constitution framed by the Indian people through their representatives.

"The framing of such a constitution need not be such a difficult task as some may be disposed to think. To use the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, what is wanted on the British side is a 'radically new approach'—not merely to the problems of federation but to the problem of India as a whole. That radically new approach will consist, as suggested by the *Guardian*, in visualising the future in terms of a self-governing India by which I mean free India. If the British Government can treat the Indian people as a free nation, it should not take more than 24 hours to settle the outstanding differences between India and Great Britain.

"I do not say this in a light-hearted manner. I am fully conscious of the many thorns in the path of Indo-British conciliation, but what I am urging is that once the Indian people acquire the status of a free nation, they or their representatives will not take long to make any adjustments which may be found necessary to establish a lasting peace and good-will between the two countries.

"As I have made it clear before I am not opposed to the idea of federation as such; rather I believe that free India will have a constitution that will be federal in character. But that federation cannot grow out of the present federal scheme. It must be an entirely new constitution to replace the latter."—(A. P. I.)

Mr. Bose has said that he does not know of "any Indian leaders (he meant, most probably, of the Congress party) being prepared to negotiate with regard to the federal side of the Government of India Act." We cannot pretend to know more. Whether he has come to know of any such leaders during his recent visit to Segaon and Wardha after his East Bengal tour, has not yet been published. What we presume is that the resolution passed some time ago by the Madras Assembly suggesting that the Government of India Act should be amended in consultation with Indian leaders to make federation workable, taken with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's recent visit to England, makes it probable that there are leaders who may not be

unwilling to take part in the kind of negotiations referred to by Mr. Bose.

He has spoken as a thoroughgoing nationalist and independentist. We quite appreciate his point of view. The principles underlying his observations should not be lost sight of. Their repetition is necessary to gain his object. But in practical politics the point of view of those who may be for a temporary compromise with the upholders of imperialism requires also to be taken into consideration. What we mean is that just as there are numerous Congressmen (not to speak of others) who are entirely against the Communal Decision but who have nevertheless acquiesced in its practical temporary acceptance by Congress, and just as there are members of Congress who were and still are opposed in theory to the acceptance of office but who have ceased to oppose it in practice and are directly or indirectly working the provincial part of the Constitution on certain conditions, so there may be those who may agree to the working of the federal part of the constitution for the time being, if certain changes in the Government scheme were made.

This may be "reformism". But as Congress has adopted reformist strategy with regard to so-called "provincial autonomy", it may adopt that sort of tactics with regard to federation also. Gandhiji's declaration that the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, may smack of reformism, but his political goal remains the same as it was when he was an active leader of civil disobedience in practice.

Mr. De Valera followed revolutionary methods when they were practicable. He has been following reformist methods since some time past. But his goal, his ideal, remains unchanged.

The Defence of India

The Guardian of Madras is right in observing:

At no time in the history of the British connection with India has the defence problem assumed such importance as today. In the past it was assumed that the arm of the British Navy was long enough and strong enough to protect her shores. But in a modern war, as it will be waged, the Navy's strength has been very largely discounted by aircraft. Many Indians are asking the question whether India can defend herself in the event of a war say by Japan against Britain. The answer cannot be doubtful for a moment. She is absolutely helpless and the British Navy will find itself fully occupied in the European waters. Every Indian politician is conscious of this dreadful possibility but thinks that Providence will interfere on her behalf. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri had this desperate position of India in mind when in his concluding speech after Mr. F. E. James' platitudes,

he reproached Great Britain for her neglect of India's defence. Britain's want of confidence in Indian nationalists is likely to take not only India but herself to the verge of disaster, if not irremediable ruin.

The New-Old Bengal Cabinet

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bengal's chief minister, wanted to get rid of Mr. Nausher Ali, one of his colleagues, and in this he had the support of his other colleagues. He called upon Mr. Nausher Ali to resign. This the latter refused to do. So the device was adopted of the chief minister and nine of his colleagues resigning in a body. Then Mr. Nausher Ali, too, resigned. The resignations were accepted, and the Governor of Bengal (Lord Brabourne, at present officiating Governor-General) now asked Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a cabinet. He, of course, formed it with his faithful nine.

The correspondence between the chief minister and Mr. Nausher Ali has been published in the press. There are also additional statements and counter-statements, and that not by these men alone. We do not want to discuss who was wrong or who was right, or whether all were to blame. It is not necessary in the public interest to do so.

The work of the Bengal Cabinet has not given the least satisfaction to the **Bengal public**. Mr. Fazlul Huq's outbursts have evoked comments which need not be repeated. In calling upon the same Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a cabinet, Lord Brabourne has shown that he does not care a straw for public opinion. Or perhaps he was nonplussed by the situation and in his hurry to take charge of his new (temporary) office, he had recourse to the easiest device. We cannot, of course, suggest the name of any person whom he might have asked to form a cabinet. But he had an opportunity to at least try to give Bengal a better ministry. He failed to avail himself of it.

Mahatma Gandhi's Suggested Peace Brigade

Mahatma Gandhi has contributed to *Harijan* an article on "A Peace Brigade" whose members would be expected to risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially those of a communal character. His idea is that this brigade should be a substitute for the police and even for the military. "This reads ambitious. The achievement may prove impossible." "Yet," says he, "if the Congress is to succeed in its non-violent struggle, it must develop the power to deal peacefully with such situations."

Communal riots are engineered by politically-minded men. Many of those who take part in them are under the influence of the latter. Surely it should not be beyond the wit of Congressmen to devise a method or methods of avoiding ugly communal situations by peaceful means.

I say this irrespective of whether there is or there is not a communal pact. It cannot be that any party seeks to force a pact by violent means. Even if such a pact were a possibility, it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. For, behind such a pact, there will be no common understanding. What is more, even after a pact is arrived at, it would be too much to expect that there would never be any communal riots.

Gandhiji states the qualifications a member of the contemplated Peace Brigade should possess.

(1) He or she must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it, he will not have the courage to die without anger, without fear, and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God.

The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives of even those who may be called opponents or *goondas*. This contemplated intervention is a process of stilling the fury of man when the brute in him gets the mastery over him.

(2) This messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must, therefore, possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country.

(3) Generally speaking, this work of peace can only be done by local men in their own localities.

(4) The work can be done singly or in groups. Therefore, no one need wait for companions. Nevertheless, one would naturally seek companions in one's own locality and form a local brigade.

(5) This messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality or chosen circle, so that when he appears to deal with ugly situations he does not descend upon the members of a riotous assembly as an utter stranger liable to be looked upon as a suspect or an unwelcome visitor.

(6) Needless to say, a peace bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.

(7) Generally, there are previous warnings of coming storms. If these are known the Peace Brigade will not wait till the anticipated conflagration breaks out.

(8) Whilst, if the movement spreads, it might be well if there are some wholtime workers, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be. The idea is to have as many good and true men and women as possible. These can be had only if volunteers are drawn from those who are engaged in various walks of life but have leisure enough to cultivate friendly relations with the people living in their circle and otherwise possess the qualifications required of a member of the Peace Brigade.

(9) There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated Brigade so that in course of time they will be recognised without the slightest difficulty.

These are Gandhiji's general suggestions. He thinks each centre can work out its own constitution on the basis suggested in the article.

He adds a few words of warning:

Lest false hopes should be raised, I must warn workers against entertaining the hope that I can play any active part in the formation of Peace Brigades. I have not the health, energy or time for it. I find it hard enough to cope with the tasks I dare not shirk. I can only guide and make suggestions through correspondence or through these columns. Therefore, let those who appreciate the idea and feel they have the ability, take the initiative themselves. I know that the proposed Brigade has great possibilities and that the idea behind it is quite capable of being worked out in practice.

Non-violence as a Weapon of Defence

Dr Kalidas Nag on his way back from Poona to Calcutta last month broke journey at Wardha to see Mahatma Gandhi. In the course of the conversation the question was asked whether non-violence could be used as a weapon of defence. Dr. Nag wished some day Gandhiji could work out the formula of non-violence as a means of defence. Mr. Mahadev Desai has given an account of the interview in *Harijan*. He writes:

"What, for instance, can China do?" he asked. I ventured to reply that the answer had already been given. I said he would offer the same advice as he had offered to Abyssinia and that whereas it seemed impossible for Abyssinia to accept the advice, it should not seem impossible in case of China. For China could afford to sacrifice a few million people on the altar of non-violence. Flood and famine periodically decimate vast tracts of China. Why not offer a voluntary sacrifice of millions? That would stagger even the violence-ridden humanity.

Mr. Desai has given an extract from what Gandhiji wrote in *The Cosmopolitan* of New York three years ago, concluding with the sentence:

"If one great nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would see in our life-time visible peace established on earth."

With every desire to believe that it is possible to have universal peace on earth and freedom for all countries we want light to see whether this supreme act of renunciation would enable the nation to keep its freedom.

Without knowing what Gandhiji wrote in *The Cosmopolitan* we could imagine that it was possible for some great nation to perform this great act of sacrifice. We wrote in our notes in the last May number, page 601:

"We can imagine that for the promotion and realization of the ideal of non-violence by nations in their collective capacity, some nation may have to risk its independence and even lose it. But such supreme sacrifice, to be genuine and effective, must be made by a powerful and brave nation."

The Will to Violence

While Gandhiji has been trying to convince people that non-violence is desirable and

possible in all intra-national and international relations and affairs, there are influences and forces in India making for violence.

For example, at a recent conference of political workers in Jessore, so much violence was used that, not to speak of those who sustained more or less serious injuries, a boy of 15 or 16 actually died in hospital in consequence of *lathi*-blows received on his head.

In the *Pioneer* of June 4 last there is a report of the proceedings of a Youth Conference at Unao, U.P. There an ex-Kakori case prisoner, in the course of a speech "condemned the Congress ministries and strongly criticized the policy of non-violence, as he thought that Swarajya could not be attained by that method." We had read in the papers that the Kakori prisoners had been released on the understanding that they had become disbelievers in violence—that in any case they would not preach violence. Is the *Pioneer's* report correct? Here is an extract from that report.

From early morning *kisans* armed with lathies and red flags began to pour into the city in pursuance of the declaration of the conveners of the Conference that prizes would be given for the best lathies.

Inflammatory speeches condemning Congress ministries and criticizing Mahatma Gandhi's policy of non-violence, were delivered.

The report adds that a big procession, in which communist leaders with red flags took the lead, "paraded the streets of the city with slogans," and the slogans were, *lathi zindabad* ("Long live *lathi* or cudgel"), *sircar ka nash ho* ("May Government perish"), etc.

"Progress of the Sino-Japanese Conflict"

The mid-May number of *Foreign Policy Reports* concludes with the following paragraph:

Notwithstanding the possibility of a sudden collapse of organized Chinese resistance, the prospects for a stalemate appear to be increasing. Even if the Chinese Government should be driven back from the coast and from Hankow, it may conceivably succeed in organizing an almost self-sufficient semi-military state in the unconquered interior which would be an important source of resistance to Japan. And whatever the fate of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, Japan's civilian and military leaders openly state that it will be years before Chinese opposition can be completely eradicated from the areas now held by its armies. Meanwhile, the first flush of war enthusiasm in Japan is being displaced by the grim realization that the nation faces a period of extreme economic and political strain. The local incident of July 7, 1937, has thus become the prelude to a fateful war in the Far East.

Muslim Marriage Law

Sadhana of Cocanada, writes:

A Bill to consolidate the provisions of the Muslim Law relating to suits by married Muslim women for

dissolution of marriage and to remove doubts as to the effect of apostasy of a married Muslim woman on her marriage was discussed before the Central Legislative Assembly at the instance of Mr. Kazim whose motion for circulation of the Bill received Government support. But the Hon'ble Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member of the Government of India, while according his support for the motion for circulation pointed out the serious aspect of the Bill.

He said that the position, if the Bill became law, would be "to enable a Muslim woman to retain the marital tie with her husband. It has been held by High Courts that if a Hindu wife became a Muslim she was entitled to call on her Hindu husband to embrace Islam and if he refused, she could get the marriage dissolved. But if she married a Muslim husband and then reconverted herself to Hinduism, then according to the Bill, she had no right to dissolve the marriage with the Muslim husband. The Muslims thus would have it both ways and it might be regarded as a hardship by other communities." We hope that if the Bill is to be finally passed into law, it would be relieved of such objectionable features as would be felt as hardships in the practical working of it, by one community or the other.

"Vive la roti" or "Roti Zindabad"

The *Living Age* for June gives a translation of an article in *Vendredi*, a Paris weekly, on the writings on the walls of the public buildings and subways of Paris. These are written by street urchins, soldiers off duty, etc. A passage is quoted below.

Godfrey and I made a little survey of the Parisian inscriptions. 'What can be the meaning,' Godfrey asked me, stopping before the Pavilion of Flowers, 'of *Vive le roti*, (Long live the roast)? I have read this inscription very often and I must confess that I don't understand this culinary enthusiasm.'

'It is only a *Vive le Roi*, the slogan of the French Royalists, which has been tampered with slightly,' I explained. 'The *i* has been made into *t* and another *i* has been added. Almost all the *Rois* in France have been changed into *Rotis*.'

"Roti" in Hindi, "Ruti" in Bengali, means bread. So in our country the hungry masses may adopt the slogan, "Roti Zindabad" or "Long live bread"!

Rabindranath Tagore's Message to China

The following is the full text of Rabindranath Tagore's message to the people of China, which was sent to them through Professor Tan Yuan-Shan, Director of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, at Visvabharati, and which has been recently handed to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and broadcast all over China at his desire:

"Your neighbouring nation, which is largely indebted to you for the gift of your cultural wealth and therefore should naturally cultivate your comradeship for its own ultimate benefit, has suddenly developed a virulent infection of imperialistic rapacity imported from the West and turned the great chance of building the bulwark of a noble destiny in the East into a dismal disaster. Its

loud bluster of power, its ruthless orgy of indiscriminate massacre of life, demolition of education centres, its callous defiance of all civilised codes of humanity, has brought humiliation upon the modern spirit of Asia that is struggling to find its honoured place in the forefront of the modern age. It is all the more unfortunate, because some of the proud powers of the West, tottering under the burden of their bloated prosperity, are timidly condoning the blood-shedden politics of the standard-bearers of their own highly reputed civilization, humbly bending their knees at the altar of indecent success that has blasted some time-honoured citadels of sacred human rights.

"At this desperate age of moral upset it is only natural for us to hope that the Continent which has produced the two greatest men, Buddha and Christ, in the whole course of human events, must still fulfil its responsibility to maintain the purest expression of character in the teeth of the scientific effrontery of the evil genius of man. Has not that expectation already shown its first luminous streak of fulfilment in the person of Gandhi in a historical horizon obscured by centuries of indignity? However, Japan has cynically refused its own great possibility, its noble heritage of 'bushido' and has offered a most painful disillusionment to us in an unholy adventure, which through even some apparent success of hers is sure to bend her down to the dust, loaded with a fatal burden of failure.

"Our only consolation lies in the hope that the deliberate aggression of violence that has assailed your country will bear a sublime meaning in the heroic suffering it causes in a promise of the birth of a new soul of the nation. You are the only great people in the world who never had the snobishness of extolling the military power as one of the glorious characteristics of national spirit, and when the same brute force of militarism with its hideous efficiency has overtaken your country, we pray with all our heart that you may come out of this trial once again to be able to justify your trust in the true heroism of higher humanity in this cowardly world ready to prove traitor to its own best ideals. Even if a mere physical success be immediately missed by you, yet your moral gain will never be lost and the seeds of victory that are being sown through this terrible struggle in the depth of your being will over and over again prove their deathlessness."—(*United Press*.)

King Farouq To Be Caliph ?

Since the overthrow of the Sultanate of Turkey the Islamic world has had no Caliph. The problem of the Caliphate has been revived in Egypt. King Farouq of that country is an aspirant to that high office. It is said that Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Yemen and other Arabian States have no objection to recognize him as Caliph and that Afghanistan and some other Muslim states are to be shortly consulted. We are under the impression that it is only a fully independent and very powerful Mussalman monarch who can be Caliph. If this impression be correct, does the young Egyptian King answer to this description?

Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Bill

Dr. Deshmukh has given notice of introducing his Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Bill in the Central Legislature. It reads as follows:

PREAMBLE

Whereas it is expedient to give a Right of Divorce to Hindu women under certain circumstances, it is enacted as follows :—

This Act may be called the Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Act of 1938.

It shall apply to the whole of India (British). It shall come into force on—.

RIGHT OF DIVORCE

Notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to claim a Divorce from her husband under the following circumstances :—

If her husband acquires impotency, any time after the marriage, which is incurable;

or, If her husband changes his religion;

or, If her husband marries a woman, while the first marriage is in force;

or, If her husband has deserted her for a continuous period of three years.

AIMS AND OBJECTS

Cases are occurring frequently in India in which a married Hindu woman's life is made unbearable under circumstances brought about by her husband. The Bill aims at removing some of these, recognising that a Hindu wife has a human personality.

Some bigamous or polygamous husbands may be only too eager to get rid of their first wife or wives. So, the Bill should provide that, until and unless a wife who has obtained a divorce under the proposed law actually remarries after divorce, the husband shall remain liable to maintain her according to his pecuniary position.

Hindu Monogamy Bill

Seth Govindlal S. Motilal intends to introduce the following Bill in the Central Council of State:

Whereas it is expedient to forbid and declare illegal a marriage contracted by a Hindu with another woman in the lifetime of his wife, it is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (i) This Act may be called the Hindu Monogamous Act of 1938.

(ii) It extends to the whole of British India and shall come into force on such date as it receives the assent of the Governor-General.

2. Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or custom, contrary to or inconsistent with this Act, a marriage contracted by a Hindu with another woman in the lifetime of his wife, shall be void and the provisions of Section 494 and 495 of the Indian Penal Code shall apply to such a marriage.

Provided that this section shall not apply to a marriage contracted by a Hindu, where, by law or custom, dissolution of marriage is permissible and has been granted by competent authority.

3. The provisions of this Act shall apply to a Hindu even after his conversion to another religion.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Although polygamy has been looked upon with disfavour by Hindu jurists and society, the Hindu Law does not prevent male persons from marrying any number of wives irrespective of their having one or more wives alive.

Flagrant cases of the abuse of this liberty given to men under the Hindu Law have come to light during recent years. In order to prevent the growth of such an evil, it is desirable to restrain polygamous marriages among Hindus by law.

Mr. Nehru at British House of Commons

At a reception given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the House of Commons, London, on June 23, he emphasized that there was a great development in India's interest in foreign affairs, and said that India had come to realize that Indian problems were part of world affairs and much that happened abroad had reactions in India.

The feeling in England two and a half years ago was that the Indian question had been settled. That feeling was based on an erroneous conception, because the Indian question to-day was bigger than it had been at any time in the past. There were at the moment enormous potentialities for good or evil. India was passing through a period in which the forces of conflict were not obvious—there was no civil disobedience, etc.,—but beneath the surface there was great tension and the feeling that great changes must come.

India was not opposed to Federation on principle, but only to the type of Federation envisaged in the Government of India Act.

Replying to questions Mr. Nehru insisted that he was not in England on any special mission.—*Reuter*.

No Peace Yet in Palestine

Palestine is still far from being quiet.

Jerusalem, June 24.

A sudden clash of Jews and Arabs occurred last night on the borders of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. The official estimate of casualties is that two Arabs were killed and five others wounded. One Jew was dangerously wounded, and three others were seriously injured.

Both sides accuse each other of provocative attack in a busy market. A street fight ensued in which revolvers and daggers were freely used. A Jewish settler was seriously wounded at night time, while helping to defend a Jewish village near Jordan.

Three Jews were kidnapped by a large Arab gang while returning home after hay-making near a village in south Haifa.—*Reuter*.

Congress and the Zamindari System

During his tour in East Bengal one of the questions which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, had to answer was whether Congress would abolish the zamindari system. He said that no decision to abolish it had been arrived at.

The other day at a meeting of the Congress party of United Provinces Legislature, held at the committee room of the secretariat at Lucknow the same question was raised. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Chief Minister, presided. The majority of the members of the party

were against the abolition of the zamindari system.

C. P. Government to Restore 60 Per Cent Wage-Cut

The C. P. Government have announced their decision on the recommendations of the C. P. Textile Labour Enquiry Committee.

The Government have accepted the recommendation for a 60 per cent uniform restoration in the wage-cuts of textile workers, which has been in force since 1934 and have commended to the employers and the workers for acceptance of the same.

This recommendation, which the Government has accepted, was made by the majority of the Labour Enquiry Committee.

The Labour Committee was unanimous in recommending that an increase should be introduced with reference to wages earned from May 1 last, except in the case of Empress Mills, Nagpur, the management of which is committed to grant increases with effect from February last.

Labour Strikes in Various Places

While the Labour strike at Cawnpore has received the largest amount of public attention, there are serious strikes in other places in other provinces, too. Everywhere the condition of the workers admits of great improvement. This nobody will deny. To what extent the wages of the labourers can be raised without decreasing the profits of the employers to such an extent as to leave no incentive for investing capital and facing risk of loss, cannot be decided in the lump for all industries in all places. The circumstances relating to each particular industry in different localities must be taken into consideration. As there is no state socialism or any other kind of socialism in the industrial sphere in India, the profit motive cannot be eliminated if the country is to be industrialized.

While capitalists must be prevailed upon or obliged by law to raise the material condition of their employees as much as practicable, the advocates of Labour and the Labourers themselves must bear in mind the comparatively low level of the material condition of the mass of the population in the country. However poor the remuneration of workers in mills and factories, their income is generally higher than that of our peasants, as no doubt it ought to be. So the return of the mill and factory hands to their villages owing to the closing of any mill

or factory because of strikes cannot lead to any improvement in their material condition but rather to its deterioration.

We do not write in this vein to even indirectly wink at sweating and profiteering, but only to induce in the minds of both capital and labour a reasonable spirit of compromise—of give and take, it being understood that generally speaking it is capital which is in a position to give.

Romain Rolland on India's Role in The World Crisis

About the beginning of this year Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, sent an invitation to M. Romain Rolland on behalf of the University to give a series of lectures in Calcutta under its auspices. Mr. Mukherjee has received the following reply from the great French novelist, idealist and intellectual:

"I am grateful for the honour the University of Calcutta has done by inviting me through you to deliver lectures at Calcutta. I am so very pleased to get the invitation, which means visiting your dear country, which I love and honour. Unfortunately, as my present state of health cannot stand the long voyage and the sudden climatic change, I cannot accept your invitation. I am really very sorry for this.

"In the world crisis, it is in India I repose my absolute faith for the emancipation of the human race, and the thought of her awakening fills me with delight. Please convey to the Syndicate of the University my gratitude and my regret for inability to accept the invitation."

In times past India produced men and women fit to take a leading part in the world's emancipation. Their spirit is still an inspiration to Indians and others who know them. In our times also there have been and still are a few persons who belong to this band of emancipators.

But if India is to effectively play the part which M. Romain Rolland expects her to play, she must herself be emancipated not only politically but also in spirit. Her children must purge themselves of sectarianism, fanaticism and provincial narrowness, as well as of crass materialism and lust of the flesh.

India's Role in World Politics

This issue of *The Modern Review* contains an article on "Present Trend of British Foreign Policy" by Dr. Taraknath Das, who is considered an authority on world politics. In the *New York Sun*, of March 8, 1938, Mr. Lemuel F. Paston, a well-known American journalist, wrote to the effect that about a year ago Dr. Das prophesied the inevitability of an Anglo-Italian pact. More than a year before the out-

break of the present Sino-Japanese war, Dr. Das, in his article on "Peace or War in the Far East" published in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1937 predicted the possible development of the present unfortunate situation between Japan and China. Now Dr. Das presents a picture of British foreign policy which may surprise many people. Britain is following a policy which would lead to a Russo-Japanese and a Russo-German war, and at the same time Britain is trying to use Italy, Germany and Japan at the present time to further the interests of British Imperialism in Asia, Africa and Europe.

At the present time the duty of Indian statesmen is to establish international friendship with potential rivals of British Imperialism as well as with the States which are equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, if the latter aim is attainable.

One practical (not ideal) issue should be considered by Indian statesmen: If Britain with her might (the largest navy, a powerful air force and army) with her alliance with France and with the support of the United States, feels it to be unwise to court the antagonism of Italy, Germany and Japan, would it be wise for weak nationalist India to antagonise these powers?

Of course we are for China's freedom and also we are for freedom and justice for all peoples. We are opposed to all forms of dictatorships. But should we advocate a policy which will make Russia, Italy, Germany, Japan and other countries enemies of India?

What can India do to check the march of dictatorships all over the world, when the Indian people cannot free themselves in India itself? Any policy that will create opposition to Indian freedom in Italy, Germany, Japan and other lands will be detrimental to Indian interests and strengthen British hold on India. Should Indian statesmen pursue any policy which will bring about comparative isolation of India in world politics? India needs allies in world politics. India requires statesmen who will work for a new alignment of Powers in which India will play her part and thus further the cause of Indian freedom and world freedom. Have our leaders any real programme to strengthen India's position in world politics? Are they working to make India a deciding factor in future developments in world politics?—If they are, then what is their programme to increase the (military) power of nationalist India?

EDITOR'S COMMENT

India ought certainly to try her utmost to enlist the sympathies of freedom-loving persons of all nations. Even in countries which are dominated by militarist and imperialist dictators or by imperialist and militarist parties, there must be at least small groups of persons who sympathize with India's aspirations and the spirit of her culture and civilization. It may not be possible to win the friendship of the whole body of the people of every country; but Indians in general, and particularly Indian leaders, journalists and other publicists, should be on their guard against passing sweeping adverse judgments upon the whole body of the people of even aggressive predatory countries.

It is not possible perhaps not to incur the displeasure of some foreign dictators. But even in their case, only their policies and pronouncements need be criticized. Personalities should be avoided.

As for India pursuing a policy which may win for her allies among foreign nations—whether rivals of Britain or not, unhappily Indian statesmen have at present only very limited powers in provincial affairs alone. Even when the federal part of the constitution comes into operation, Indian leaders and members of the federal legislature will not have any control over foreign affairs—unless, of course, the Government of India Act be suitably amended, which does not seem likely. All that Indian leaders can do is to influence world political thought by means of the spoken and the written word.

As regards increasing India's military power for *National* purposes, Indian leaders can do nothing in the matter. For half a century or more, Indian leaders have carried on agitation for Indianizing the army and making the Indian section of the army more efficient and representative of all the provinces of the country. But the British Government have practically turned a deaf ear to Indian public opinion. British imperialists do not want to have an efficient and all-India army manned and officered by Indians, even on the condition that it is to be completely under the control of the British executive government in India. Hence in India's present political status, the increase of Indian *Nationalist* military strength is out of the question.

Whether India should at all have a land army, a navy and an air force, or bend all her energies to the raising of a Peace Brigade (as Gandhiji suggests), we do not try to discuss here.

Message Sent to Prague P.E.N. Congress By Srimati Sophia Wadia

Srimati Sophia Wadia, who founded the P.E.N. India Centre in 1933 and represented India at the International Congress held in Barcelona and Buenos Aires in 1935 and 1936, respectively, cabled from Ootacamund the following message to the 16th International Congress of the P.E.N. Clubs of the leading writers of the world, meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, from the 26th to the 30th of June:—

"May the Congress radiate good will for the healing of the nations and uphold freedom as the inspiration of creative expression."

"Indiana"

The Indian P.E.N. writes :

The Editor of *Indiana*, Sjt. S. C. Guha of Benares, makes a strong point in his March issue for the establishment of "copyright deposit" libraries in India. Even the Imperial Library at Calcutta, he claims, has not a set of all copyright publications. He suggests that if matters cannot be mended at present through official channels, the proposal originally made in 1922 for a "Library of Congress" should be considered. The latter suggestion has much to commend it. That proposal involved the Congress's requesting all printing presses to submit three copies of each new publication to the local Congress office, one to be retained there, one to go to the Provincial Congress office and one to the Central Library of Congress at the A. I. C. C. Office. It ought never to be necessary to go to London to consult the British Museum copy of a publication issued in this country.

We may mention incidentally that *Indiana* itself, a current index to periodicals other than daily papers, represents a valuable bibliographic service of which every Indian library and every Indian scholar should take advantage. We understand that it is published at considerable financial loss to its well-qualified and able editor. It is of considerable present and potentially greater value and a subsidy from some Indian philanthropist to insure its continuance and growth would be a service to Indian education and Indian culture.

We fully support this observation.

President Masaryk on the Ethical Basis of Politics

According to the late President Masaryk, the maker of the Czechoslovakian republic:

"No state or policy can prosper unless the groundwork is moral. The ethical basis of all politics is humanity, and humanity is an international programme. It is a new word for the old love of our fellow-men.

"No state can be managed without recognition of the ethical basis of politics, and no state can long stand if it infringes the broad rules of human morality. The Greeks and Romans declared justice to be the foundation of states; and justice is the arithmetic of love."

No political party or religious community in India is as yet at the helm of the State. But

Indian political leaders of some party or other are expected at no distant date to guide the destiny of India—humanly speaking. Hence all our political parties and politicians should pay great attention to the ethical basis of politics.

Communal riots and political rowdiness at meetings show that the men responsible for them have no regard for "humanity."

State patronage influenced by communal or provincial considerations show that the dispensers of such patronage have little regard for "justice".

Educational facilities extended or withheld on provincial or communal considerations betray the same lack of a sense of justice.

The relations between the sexes form a notable part of ethics. Unhappily even matters of sexual morals are in India considered from communal or political party points of view. Some rightly condemn abduction, kidnapping and other offences against women, others appear to hold a different kind of opinion. For this reason crimes against women, traffic in women and children and commercialized vice, far from being put a stop to, cannot even be checked.

The party spirit—whether communal or political, betrayed in the C. P. minister's case and the N.-W. F. abductor teacher's case, is a deplorable instance in point.

Coming nearer home, the Calcutta Corporation lady teacher scandal indicates the presence of degraded and degrading party spirit.

A Fallacy of Karl Marx

Professor Gilbert Murray observes in his lectures on "Liberality and Civilization" that "perhaps the greatest and the most infectious of all the fallacies of Karl Marx" is "the theory that all human action, or at any rate all collective action, is based on the pursuit of direct material interest." The Professor gives his reasons for this opinion.

"It is an idea which, like many others widely current at the present day, owes its success not to its truth, not even to its appearance of truth when exposed to criticism, but to two particular plausibilities. In the first place, it fulfils a wish, in the second, it is supported by crowds and crowds of instances in ordinary life. I should compare it with Christian Science or with Anti-Semitism. Christian Science tells us that all illness is imaginary and unreal. Well, we should love to think so, and we all of us have met with people who spend their time worrying over their various complaints, but recover rapidly if they get busy about something else and cease to

think of themselves. So much human illness is unreal that, by a pleasing jump, one can maintain that it is all unreal."

As regards the animosity against Jews the Professor says:—

"The same with Anti-Semitism; attribute all human ills to the greed and sensuality of the Jews, and since those faults are common to most of humanity, you will find hundreds of Jews who are good instances of your theory."

Returning to the point, Dr. Murray says :

"Similarly, all history and all contemporary social life teems with instances of persons and classes who are influenced, in whole or in part, openly or secretly, by the desire for their own material advantage. In ordinary commercial dealings this is admitted; a man seeks a higher salary or a higher price for his goods without further excuse. But Marx points out, in social and political matters, when a man wants something that is to his own advantage but cannot get it unless other people are persuaded to agree with him, he naturally has to find some other considerations which are likely to move them. He tries to persuade them—and constantly succeeds in persuading himself—that the action which happens to increase his profit is only desired by him because it is just, because it is moral or religious, because it is for the good of the country."

"No doubt this dash of humbug occurs extremely often; and it is easy enough to make the jump and say that it occurs always; that people are always actuated by their material economic advantage and that, when they put forward any other motive, they are lying. Such a doctrine is of enormous convenience to a certain type of political agitator. Yet it is obviously untrue."

The author proves its obvious untruth from the life of Karl Marx himself.

"Karl Marx himself showed remarkable indifference to his own economic interest when he lived for years in great poverty writing an immense book for which no publisher was likely to pay him. Study his life and you can see that he was moved by all sorts of motives, by vanity, by ambition, by jealousy and ill temper, by intellectual interest, and by a magnificent unselfish idealism. Economic considerations were seldom present to Marx, except when the pinch of poverty became really painful and in a burst of irritation he insisted, unreasonably enough, that someone else should pay for him."

Magnificent unselfish idealism as motivating conduct is to be found in the life, not of Marx alone, but in the lives of numerous other persons.

"Think of any of the great individuals who have moved mankind during the last century : Darwin, Wilberforce, John Stuart Mill, Einstein; no doubt you will find in them here and there beliefs or ways of thought due to their class or nationality or to mere tradition, but in their main activities you will find scarcely a trace of the economic motive. Think of the people we know personally; do we not know many who are guided, when occasion arises, to say nothing of worse motives, by a disinterested hatred of injustice and cruelty, by religious and non-religious idealism, or by mere goodwill and humanity ?

"And if we turn from individuals to communities, and consider the national passions which are devastating the present world, is it not mere wilful blindness to ignore the motives of revenge, inherited prejudice, national ambition and vanity; to suppose that it is an economic motive which makes Germans prefer guns to butter, or Arabs to hate the Jews whose presence in Palestine has increased their wages and improved the value of their estates?"

"I should be more inclined to think that, as a matter of psychology, we overrate the element of pure material selfishness in determining public policy. All sorts of sentimental elements play their part."

Professor Gilbert Murray explains why he has taken pains to elaborately expose the Marxian fallacy:

"I dwell at some length on the faleness of this delusive Marxian prejudice, not merely because I think it is as a matter of fact untrue, but because if accepted and really believed it would undermine our whole faith in ethical values and the possibility of justice and charity between man and man."

Forgotten Fighters

"Battles once won lose their interest: the result is accepted as a matter of course and the long struggle which led to it forgotten." So says Professor Gilbert Murray. These words of his reminded us of those who had to struggle hard and suffer bitter persecution and calumny to abolish the purdah, win for women the right to receive higher education and raise the age of marriage of girls. Girls and women who at present enjoy the fruits of these struggles do not know, do not care to know, the men and women who fought and suffered for them.

First Peace Brigade in India

Karachi, June 27.

The decision to establish the first peace brigade in India in pursuance of Mr. Gandhi's appeal was taken at a two-hour meeting of the leading citizens, convened by the Mayor this evening at the Municipal Corporation.

The meeting appointed a provisional committee of 24, holding various shades of opinion and including Rev. Thompson.

The Mayor is the Chief of the Brigade with three Secretaries, namely, Dr. Tarachand Lalwani, Moulvi Mohammad Usman and Mr. Bhadrashankar Bhatt.

The speakers, including Mr. M. H. Gazdar and Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, M.L.A.'s, dwelt at length on the horrors of war and communal riots and characterised Mr. Gandhi as an apostle of world peace.

The Mayor observed that the idea occurred to him many years ago while he was travelling by sea in a steamer and saw a victim of the Balkan War.

He concluded: "Let us form a brigade and settle the disputes between nations and communities."—(A. P.)

Congress President Appeals for China

The Congress President has fixed July 7, 8 and 9 to be observed as China Fund Days for collecting funds for the Medical Mission of the Congress in China.

In a statement to the *Associated Press* in this connection, S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose said, "I have been informed by the Chinese Consulate in India that the Chinese Government have accepted the offer of the Congress Working Committee to send an ambulance unit to China. It now behoves us to push on with our arrangements and send out the Medical Mission as early as possible."

"All-India China Day was successfully observed throughout the country on the 12th June. I am grateful to the public for their splendid response on that day. It is, however, to be regretted that collections could not be made satisfactorily on that occasion owing to shortness of notice. It has been suggested by friends in different parts of the country that some day or days be fixed in July, exclusively, for collecting funds for our Medical Mission."

"I heartily approve of the idea and fix the 7th, 8th and 9th July as China Fund Days. The dates 7th and 9th July are of great historical importance so far as the Chinese people are concerned. I request Congress organisations all over the country to make an intensive drive on these days, for collecting funds. All sums collected should be sent to the All-India Congress Committee office at Allahabad. Let us not forget that we must collect a sum of Rs. 22,000 on this occasion."

"It would be a token of our regard for the Chinese people and would also help considerably to collect funds if miniature Chinese flags are sold on these days. This device should prove useful in the big cities and I hope that wherever possible these three days will also be observed as China Flag Days."

"I do hope that our collection will be enough to keep our Medical Mission at work for at least one year."

"In conclusion, I should like to inform the public that orders have already been placed with Fords for a fully equipped ambulance which will be sent by them straight to Hongkong. The ambulance, together with the medical staff, will be a living emblem of India's sympathy and goodwill for the great Chinese people in the darkest hour in their history. I earnestly hope and trust that the response of the public will be worthy of the Congress and of the Indian nation."

Conference of Manufacturers of Bengal

An appeal for co-ordinated efforts on the part of indigenous industrial units in Bengal was made at the first session of the Indigenous Manufacturers' Conference held on 26th June at Albert Hall under the presidency of Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray. It was organized by the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation.

The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved that in consideration of the fact that only a combined and co-ordinated effort of the different indigenous industrial units, handicapped as they are, can withstand foreign and unfair competition and difficult of marketing, it is decided to organise from time to time conferences and social gatherings to develop mutual acquaintance and intimacy among the manufacturers of the different kinds of indigenous industries and to establish a stronger link among the manufacturers to enable them to protect their interest and to take advantage of corporate and co-ordinated sale-publicity organisations and programmes organised either by the Commercial Museum or any auxiliary organisation under its guidance.

Resolved that the signatories as conveners to the Manufacturers' Conference do form themselves into

Committee, with right to co-opt, to co-operate with the Officer-in-charge of the Commercial Museum, to make the Museum more useful and helpful and to foster the interest of the indigenous manufacturers.

Resolved that this Conference request the Government, public bodies and public utility services to use indigenous products.

The Committee deserve all success and ought to receive the full co-operation of the public.

Result of Eleven Months' Ministerial Experience

Bombay, June 5.

"It is not enough that an individual wrong be righted, or that a few laws be changed. Congress seeks to right the national wrong. I can see no prospect of this through the medium of the Congress Ministries functioning under the Government of India Act," stated Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government, United Provinces, in an interview with the *Associated Press*.

She added: "My eleven months' experience as a Minister has confirmed all doubts I had as to the wisdom of the Congress accepting office; the difficulties that I merely imagined have materialised and daily I am confronted with them.

"It is true the Congress ministries have been able to accomplish a measure of good. A certain amount of confidence has been created in the minds of those who had lost all hopes of a fair deal in the past, but the fundamentals have not changed."—(A.P.)

Mansa State Peasants' Successful Satyagraha

The peasantry of Mansa State, both men and women had been engaged in a non-violent struggle, under great sufferings and privations, to better their material condition. They have achieved success.

Ahmedabad, June 18.

A public meeting of the farmers of all twelve villages in Mansa State was held yesterday in Mansa at which Raolji (Prince) Mansa as well as Ahmedabad Congress workers were present. After the settlement reached on the intervention of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was explained Raolji said they had been able to settle amicably their differences. He hoped no such differences would arise in future.—(A.P.)

Ahmedabad, June 23.

The peasants of Mansa State have begun paying 35 per cent reduced land revenue in accordance with the settlement brought about by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whom they have invited to attend the 1st session of the Khedut Panchayat to be held next month. Preparations are being made to accord a fitting reception to him by the peasants of Mansa State.—(A.P.)

Principal Satish Chandra Chatterjee

By the death of Principal Satish Chandra Chatterjee of Barisal the cause of education in Bengal has suffered a great loss. Those who have seen his robust manly frame could never apprehend that he would die at 65. We had not the pleasure of meeting him recently, and so

cannot say whether he had latterly aged distinctly. But even a few years back he looked quite young for his age. His amiable, cheerful countenance always gave him a youthful appearance. That pleasant exterior concealed a stern, unbending spirit, a soul always hopefully devoted to the cause of freedom. As a young man, when employed in Brajamohan College as a professor, he was an indefatigable and undaunted lieutenant of Aswini Kumar Datta in promoting the Swadeshi movement and in the boycott of foreign salt and cloth, thus furthering the cause of freedom. He had his reward in being deported under Regulation III of 1818 along with Aswini Kumar Datta, Krishna Kumar Mitra and others. He was very strong both in mind and body. But he always remained non-violent even under grave provocation. So, if any police spy or informer had misled the government of those days into imagining that his presence anywhere as a free man would provoke a breach of the peace, he certainly lied. On being released from prison, he worked as a professor in Ripon College and City College, Calcutta, and finally as principal, Brajamohan College, Barisal.

He was a man of exemplary character and a very efficient teacher. His students could become not only learned, but better men, too, morally and spiritually under the inspiration of his example—if they had the right stuff and the inclination in them. He was a devout worshipper of God and an attractive speaker. He was of a charitable disposition and would help others—particularly, political sufferers—not only with money but in other ways, too. We remember, on one occasion while staying at his home in Barisal a few years ago, he used to be roused from sleep at intervals throughout the night by the police patrol, because he had given shelter to a political suspect, and the police wanted to make sure that the latter had not gone out prowling—perhaps with Principal Chatterjee himself! He had put himself to this indignity and trouble, because otherwise the suspected young man would not have been released from confinement.

80th Death Anniversary of Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi

It is in Gwalior that "the last remains of the illustrious Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi lie scattered and mixed up in the soil and her last ambition and aspirations are afloat in the ether." So this year Gwalior celebrated the 80th anniversary of the day of martyrdom of the Maharani on the 18th June last.

"The name and memory of the great Maharani calls back those stirring days of the latter half of the 19th century when conditions in the country were no doubt unsettled but the spirit of resistance was still alive and the native heroism in men and women had not resigned itself to complete prostration and self-surrender as inevitable. She flashed through history without regard for consequences and left behind nothing but an undying name, which for all time will ennoble and inspire the lives of posterity for greater deeds and sacrifices."

Present-day Indians cannot follow her example literally—some because of changed external conditions and others because of faith in the spiritual excellence of a different method. But her absolutely heroic spirit and devotion to the motherland should inspire and be imbibed by all. She declared she would never surrender her Jhansi. May we all resolve never to surrender our Bharatavarsha, all external appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Years ago, we used to witness the annual Rām-līlā procession in Allahabad. What an inspiration it was to see the boy dressed as Maharani Lakshmi Bai riding a white horse drawn sword in hand! What enthusiasm it aroused!

Santiniketan Ashramika Sangha Art Exhibition

Some of our colleges annually celebrate their Founder's Day or Foundation Day, when the Old Boys and the present-day alumni meet and have a good day. Some Women's Colleges, too, have such celebrations.

The Santiniketan Ashramika Sangha is an association which seeks to bind together all teachers and alumni of Santiniketan, past and present, in a homelike fraternity and sorority. It has its meetings like other associations. This year it attempted something more substantial. It held an exhibition of the works of art produced by teachers and students of Santiniketan. Sriyut Kshitish Chandra Ray, sculptor, lent his studio rooms in British Indian Street for the purpose. The works exhibited were considerable in number and varied in range and character. Some of the drawings of Rabindranath Tagore were there. And then from Nanda Lal Bose downwards many artists, too numerous to remember or mention, contributed their quota. We could spend only a few minutes at the exhibition, but were impressed with the excellence or the promise and the joy-giving power of many a thing of beauty. There was one thing notable about this show—some of the earliest works of Nanda Lal Bose along with some of his latest were there. Among the latter, we remember the vigour and beauty of one of his Haripura pictures—a village damsel

grinding corn. We were not surprised to learn that the exhibition drew larger crowds than the promoters had expected. The Congress President opened it.

The Great Usefulness of "Indiana"

Books are many and of the making of books there is no end. And without bibliographies and accurate and full indexes, scholars, would-be scholars and all other seekers after knowledge cannot take advantage of the treasures hoarded in books. But books are not the only repositories of knowledge. Periodicals, and even newspapers, contain much intellectual wealth which may never be collected in the form of books. It is only a bibliographical periodical which can make these available to students in the most inclusive sense. Sriyut Satis Chandra Guha of Benares has undertaken this task in the form of his monthly, *Indiana*. It is literally a selfless task. It can never make him rich; it can never even be barely remunerative or self-sufficing in a country like India. He, not blessed with this world's goods, is in fact losing money over it. It cannot make him famous. He will not receive plaudits. He cannot have the joy of creation of poets and artists. The only satisfaction which he can have is to know that he is doing work which is indispensably necessary for thorough-going scholarship.

The Current Contents Subjects Index, a feature which he has recently introduced, should appeal to editors, journalists and other publicists.

He has been indexing not only the leading English periodicals of India but also those in her principal modern languages.

Indiana should receive practical encouragement from the Government, the educated public, universities, all higher educational institutions and libraries.

Mineral Wealth of Two Indian States

Many Indian States contain much mineral wealth—some, in immense quantities. News of such wealth in two of them has appeared in the press in recent weeks.

Tripura has been known all along to contain many mineral deposits. Perhaps, this State has not yet been geologically explored to the fullest extent. But it has become known that it contains natural gas, mineral oil and deposits of coal. Bauxite and other minerals have also been found. The forest wealth and the potentialities of Tripura as a producer of tea are also known. Some Maharajas of Tripura have also been known as patrons of literature and art. But

because the British Government does not recruit soldiers from it, the outside world hears much less of Tripura than of many Panjab States—some smaller than it.

Mayurbhanj has been long known for its mineral wealth. The mines which are the principal feeders of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur are in Mayurbhanj. But there are various other valuable minerals in this State.

Baripada, June 18.

The Geological Survey of India in 1936 recorded the presence of vanadium bearing titaniferous magnetite in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj. Kumardhubi deposit in Mayurbhanj, according to Dr. Dunn, is at least one million ton. The presence of vanadium in Mayurbhanj had been known long before to one Mr. S. Ghosh, M.Sc., Chemist (who is perhaps the discoverer) and Tata Iron and Steel Company Ltd. The mining and prospecting department of Mayurbhanj State during the last two years has discovered many similar large titaniferous vanadium ore deposits along foot hills of north and west Similipal in a length of over 50 miles. More of such deposits are expected to be found in the near future.

Mayurbhanj vanadium deposit may be considered as one of the largest and richest in the world.

In spite of its great mineral and forest wealth, and also its population, it has not been perhaps given the status given to many Panjab and Rajputana States, because perhaps soldiers are not recruited in it.

But official recognition does not really matter. What is of intrinsic importance is that the natural resources of the states should be developed. Mayurbhanj and Tripura are not lacking in alertness in this regard. Perhaps it would be best if the states themselves could exploit their resources. Failing that, Indian experts and Indian capitalists should be allowed to exploit them for the benefit of the states as well as for their own advantage.

Educational Enterprise in Mayurbhanj

Greater than vegetable and mineral wealth is the wealth of personality of the men and women inhabiting a region. It is, therefore, welcome news that Mayurbhanj has taken steps in the direction of the liquidation of illiteracy by the establishment of new schools. Moreover, several scholarships for general and technical education, to be given to the aboriginal boys and "Aryan" students, have been announced in the *Mayurbhanj State Gazette*.

"Financial Bankruptcy in Bengal"

Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, leader of the Congress party in the Bengal Council of State, spoke on the 26th June last at a meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association on the subject of Financial Bankruptcy

in Bengal. He gave definite statistics in support of his conclusions. These conclusions cannot be assailed unless his figures can be shown to be wrong. This is not the first time that he has placed these figures before the public, and, so far as we are aware, nobody has pointed out any errors in them. His case, which is Bengal's case, is strong. And, for years, we have also occasionally placed the relevant facts and figures before the public. But where is the remedy?

Haile Selassie's Declaration to the Council of the League of Nations

We have received from our representative at Geneva a copy of the statement which His Majesty Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, made to the Council of the League of Nations, together with its annexes. We quote three passages from this pathetically forcible document, of which no one can impugn the truth.

The statement begins:

"The Ethiopian people to whom all assistance was refused, are alone climbing their path to calvary. No humiliation has been spared to the victim, of aggression. All resources and procedures have been tried with a view to excluding Ethiopia from the League of Nations, as the aggressor demands. Thus for three years, there has been before the world and before the League, a problem of international order: will law win the game as against force, or force as against law?"

Referring to an observation made by the British representative, His Majesty stated:

"Yes, the League has as its essential object the maintenance of peace. But there are different ways to maintain peace; there is the maintenance of peace through right, and there is peace at any cost. Ethiopia firmly believes that the League of Nations has no freedom of choice in this matter. It would be committing suicide if after having been created to maintain peace through right, it were to abandon that principle and adopt instead the principle of peace at any price, even the price of the immolation of a State Member at the feet of its aggressor."

His Majesty concluded his statement by declaring:

"As the Emperor of Ethiopia, basing myself on the faithful devotion of my chiefs, my warriors, on the affection of my people, being desirous of putting an end if possible to their sufferings, I repeat the declaration that I have already made in the League of Nations. I am prepared now, as I was previously, to discuss any proposal for a solution which even at the cost of sacrifice would ensure to my people the free development of their civilization and of their independence. But should this appeal remain without response, war against Italy will be continued, whatever happens, until the triumph of right and justice has been won. I ask the League of Nations to refuse to make any effort that may be asked of it with a view to encouraging the Italian aggressor by sacrificing his victim to him."

Bengali Learners Outside Bengal

That the mother-tongue is the best medium of instruction for the young is an admitted principle. Therefore, for them, it is also the best medium for answering examination questions. But owing to certain decisions of the governments in Assam, Bihar, U.P., and Orissa, Bengali pupils are liable to lose the benefit of this principle. As the recognition of this principle in the case of Bengali learners in those provinces will not injure the cause of the Assamese, Hindi and Oriya languages or add in the least to the difficulties of those pupils whose mother-tongue these are, and as the financial difficulty, if raised, is either imaginary or can be easily overcome, we appeal to the ministries in these provinces to consider the question in a statesmanlike and sympathetic spirit, with a view to furthering the cause of national unification. We remind them of the linguistic liberality of the Calcutta University and Visvabharati.

Panjab Premier Responds to Public Opinion

The decision of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan not to proceed further with his government's intended Press Bill after its introduction, at least for the present, is a statesmanlike response to journalistic and other public opinion.

Separation of Chota Nagpur

As the Congress Working Committee has approved of the idea of separating the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar Province from it, and as many of these areas are included in the sub-province of Chota Nagpur, no Congress minister or other Congress man can consider the separation of Chota Nagpur from Bihar as an altogether novel proposition, nor should the Bihar Congress ministry oppose it *in toto*, if party discipline has any meaning. If Manbhum Bengalis are asking for this separation, it is because Manbhum, though a part of geographical Bengal, is officially reckoned a part of Chota Nagpur and because the Bengalis of Manbhum are as much natives of its soil as Biharis are of Bihar proper.

A Bihar paper calls the Chota Nagpur separation movement a conspiracy in a minatory tone. Well, it is an "open conspiracy", as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called the Congress movement in his Lahore presidential speech in 1929.

The historic argument that Chota Nagpur has been a part of Bihar-province for a long time, can be met with the similar arguments that Bihar, Orissa, and Assam were for long parts of Bengal-Province, that N.-W. F. P. was for long

part of the Punjab-Province, that Sindh was for long part of Bombay-Province, that Andhra is still a part from long ago of Madras-Province, and that Karnataka is still a part of Bombay and Madras Provinces from long ago. But Assam, N.-W. F. P., Bihar, Orissa and Sindh are now separate Provinces, and Congress does not oppose the separation of Andhra and Karnataka. Congress has declared itself in favour of linguistic provinces. The periods during which Assam, N.-W. F. P., Bihar, Sindh, and Orissa were parts of other provinces or during which up till now Andhra and Karnataka have been such, are different in length. In spite of this difference, some of them have already become separate provinces, and Congress has approved of the rest being made such. If it could be shown that the whole of Chota Nagpur is a part of Linguistic-Bihar, as for example Allahabad Division is that of U. P., that would be a strong argument from the Congress point of view, but it cannot. The languages of the Mundas, Oraons and other aborigines of the region, or Bengali, which is the mother-tongue of the *native* Bengalis of Chota Nagpur, are mother-tongues of the people of Chota Nagpur.

The financial objection may be and has been trotted out. But the financial resources of Chota Nagpur have not yet been carefully and accurately investigated by any impartial authority, opinions differing about it. And the N.-W. F. Province, Sindh and Orissa have been constituted into separate provinces in spite of their deficits. If a linguistic region be a deficit region, at least for the time being, and if in spite of that fact it be decided to constitute it into a separate province, it would be for the Government of India to meet the deficit, as it does in other cases. No *province* need bother about it.

And if Chota Nagpur be really destined to remain for ever a deficit region, why does not Bihar decide to part with it at once? Why insist upon *charitably* going on meeting its deficits? Why this philanthropic zeal to do good to this sub-province? The selfish motive of exploitation of its natural resources is being ascribed to those who demand its separation. But, though we do not want to ascribe it to Biharis, is it impossible that they also are consciously or unconsciously actuated by the same motive?

The permanent Bengali inhabitants and settlers of Chota Nagpur have as much right to voice the wants of the region as anybody else. But it is not Bengalis alone who are speaking for Chota Nagpur. Some aboriginal leaders, too, waited upon Gandhiji some time ago..

The Bihar Government cannot say that it is paying due attention to the uplift of the aboriginal population in the province. A writer in the *Chota Nagpur Samachar* points out that it made no special provision in its 1937-38 budget for their education. In the present year's budget the provision is as follows:

| | Literate | Educational |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Community Number | Per cent. | Grant. |
| Aborigines 32 lakhs | 53 to 1 | Rs. 3,000 |
| Momins 10 lakhs | 3.6 | Rs. 7,000 |
| (Native Moslems) | | |

If these figures be correct, the Bihar ministers have provided Rs. 3,000 for the education of 32 lakhs of aborigines whose percentage of literacy ranges from 53 to 1, but it has provided Rs. 7,000 (which also is inadequate) for another community of 10 lakhs whose percentage of literacy is 3.6! Yet the Bihar ministers will not allow these aborigines to pass out of their guardianship.

China Information Committee's "News Releases"

We cordially thank the China Information Committee for the "News Releases" sent to us by air mail. They enable one to realize the situation in China to a far greater extent than the news sent by *Reuter*. We are only sorry that *The Modern Review*, not being a daily, is unable to publish them. But they will nevertheless be utilized. The numbers, up to June 7, so far received, contain the following articles:

Singapore Scouts And Guides Die For China, The Last Train From Hsuechow, Compulsory Adult Education In China, Library Of War-time Literature, West China Abreast Of World Affairs, China's Juliet In Her Last Tragedy, Wuhan—Graveyard Of Japanese Airmen, China Still Making China, Cholera Epidemic In Central China Checked, No Festivals While China Fights, Japan Monopolizes North China Trade, American Women's Way Of Aiding China War, Simpler Living Urged By Dr. Kung, All Trade Unions In China United Against Japan, What I. S. S. Money Is Doing In China, North China Facing Economic Disaster, Wife of Kwangsi Commander Mobilizing China's Women, Furthering China's State Medicine Movement, War Correspondents In Epic Retreat From Hsuechow, Graveyard For Japanese Planes, Pushing Highway Construction In West China, China's Fight Against Opium, China's Spoils Of War, Free Schooling For China's Soldiers, China's Financial Conditions Stable Dr. Kung Says, War Accelerates Social Reform In China, Dual War Against Japanese And Opium, Administrative Reforms In Kiangsi Province, The Fighting Spirit In China, Thrice Under Japanese Occupation, China Biding Her Time, Kwantung's Food Shortage Solved, Relief For China's Front-line Refugees.

Mr. Nehru As India's Unofficial Ambassador

That, besides receiving very enthusiastic receptions and making speeches wherever he is

going, Mr. Nehru will be able unofficially to do some important ambassadorial work also will appear from the following message:

London, June 29.

It is confirmed that Pandit Nehru is meeting Lord Zetland and Lord Halifax on Thursday and Friday. He intimated to *Reuter* that the invitations had been extended to him personally.

"If," said Pandit Nehru, "Lord Zetland and Lord Halifax want to know Congress views regarding Federation and India's reaction respecting international developments, I am prepared to express them forcibly."—*Reuter*.

Calcutta Town Hall Labour Demonstration

An assurance that the Indian National Congress would stand up by the side of labour and give them full sympathy and support in their struggle for securing their just and legitimate rights was given by S. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, presiding over a huge demonstration of workers consisting of members of various labour unions at the Town Hall on the 29th June.

Resolutions condemning the callousness of the Bengal Ministry towards the grievances of the workers and appointing a committee to unearth the real nature of their 'sinister' move against the workers as also to secure protection to distressed workers were passed. Other resolutions passed touched upon the grave situation which had arisen out of the dispute between the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and its workers, condemned the Bengal Government for their repressive measures against leaders and prominent workers of the Seamen's Union, and sympathised with Cawnpore textile workers and strikers at Kulti, Hirapur and other places. The meeting broke up at 10-30 p.m.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Subhas Bose's Experience in East Bengal

Brahmanbaria, June 16.

Nearly 15 persons, including S. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, and Maulvi Asrafuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Secretary, B. P. C. C., received injuries following what the Congress President, in the course of a statement issued through the *United Press* characterised as—"hooliganism on the part of Moslem Leaguers", who threw brickbats on the procession organised in honour of the Rastrapati on his arrival here this morning.

Similar feats stand to the credit of some Moslem League "tigers and lions" in the United Provinces.

"The response I received from the Muslim public exceeded my fondest hopes and I have come back with the confidence and certainty that the Muslims of Bengal will, before long, be all inside the Congress", said the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, interviewed by the *Associated Press* as regards the impressions of his East Bengal tour.

Calcutta Corporation Lady Teacher Incident

What the Calcutta Corporation has done in relation to the lady teacher incident is not at all satisfactory. The disclosures made in the police officer's report and in the minute of dissent of Councillor Phapindranath Brahma,

have not been dealt with, perhaps some of the greatest scoundrels have been left untouched, and the Education Officer has been dealt with too severely, even if what the Corporation say of him be held true. What is worse, nothing has been done to convince and assure the public that the Corporation schools are fit for pure-minded women to serve in and innocent boys and girls to receive education in. We hope they are.

An attempt was made to re-open the question, but it was frustrated. In consequence Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose has severed his connection with the Corporation and the Congress Municipal Association. That is a sufficient condemnation of the Corporation's action and inaction.

Labour Picketing and Linguistic Picketing

Picketing in connection with labour strikes is an ordinary procedure. The linguistic picketing in Madras in connection with the Anti-Hindi agitation is a new departure. So there is picketing and picketing. Hence whilst the U. P. Ministry have allowed picketing at the Cawnpore mills, the Madras Ministry have taken legal steps against the linguistic picketers—though both are Congress ministries. But even at Madras the ministers have not been treating the picketers exactly as the bureaucratic government dealt with the Congress picketers during civil disobedience. The latter set in motion both Lathi and Law, whereas the former have set in motion only the Law—thus keeping non-violence intact to the letter.

India's Urgent Need of Organizing Large and Key Industries

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Education and Development, Bihar, has addressed a circular letter to all Provincial Ministers in charge of Industries, inviting them to meet at Simla on the 2nd and 3rd of July next to discuss in an informal meeting the development of large and key industries. A timely move.

It was on the 16th September last year that Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray contributed an article to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the Menace to the Indigenous Chemical Industries, quoting passages from some letters of Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni, President of the Northern India Chemical Manufacturers' Association, and indirectly suggesting what should be done to meet the menace.

Under India's new British-made constitution, her industries lie completely at the mercy of the British Government and the Government of India. But the Provincial Governments can perhaps do a little to save them and start new ones. Let us wait and see what they do.

E. I. Railway Disaster Again

In the course of some months there was a third serious disaster in the E. I. R. line. This time it was at Madhupur. Is this line very much worse managed than the other lines in the country?

New Constitution For Cochin

The new Cochin constitution inaugurated on the 17th June last associates the people to some extent directly with the Maharaja's government through the Legislative Council and a responsible minister. Though not a full measure of self-government, it is a forward move.

Bihar Anti-Dowry Bill

Whether the dowry evil, which has brought about the decrease in numbers of some Hindu castes and caused much immorality, caused great hardship to poor parents, and led many a girl to commit suicide, can be remedied by legislation is not certain. But it should be fought by every available weapon. It is good that Bihar proposes to arm itself with a legislative weapon to fight it.

Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on Universities In India

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's broadcast talk on universities in India on the 18th June last was a very important pronouncement. Among other points he discussed Mahatma Gandhi's remark that universities had no claim on State funds. He had no difficulty in showing that Gandhiji's opinion was not correct.

Power Alcohol From Molasses

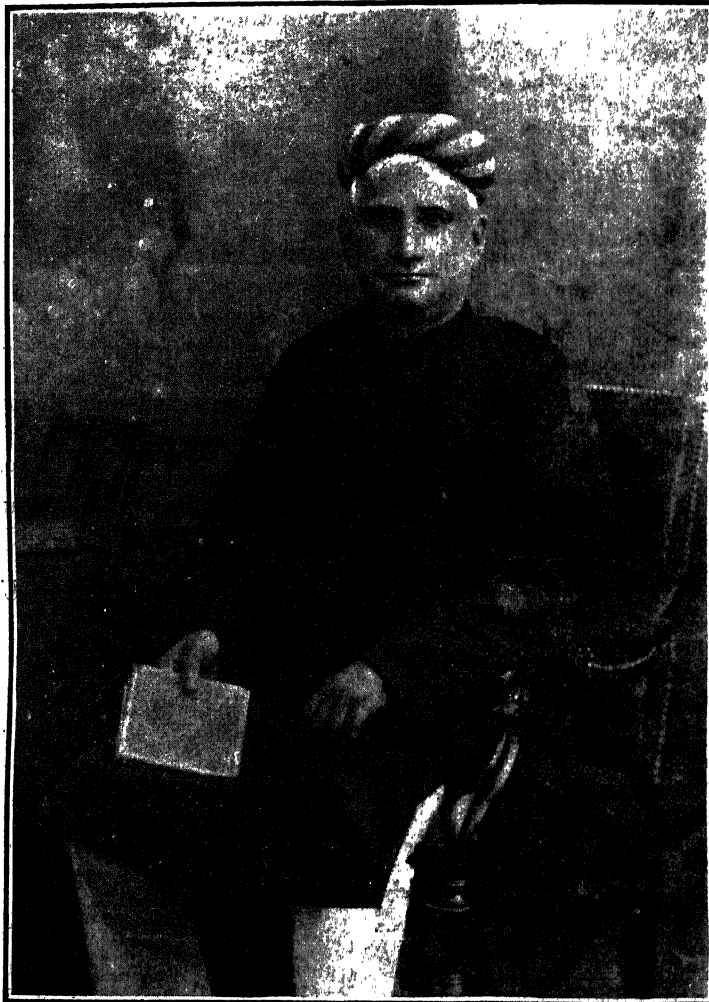
A joint committee was appointed in January last by the Governments of U. P. and Bihar, consisting of Mr. Padampat Singhanian, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Mr. Anantasubramaniam, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Mr. G. H. Dickson, Dr. N. R. Dhar, Mr. P. S. Maker and Dr. N. G. Chatterjee, "to report on the best method of manufacture and of mixing power alcohol with petrol and to examine the possible uses of molasses and their practical application." The committee has

come to the conclusion that power alcohol can be manufactured economically from molasses in the U. P. and Bihar, which are advantageously situated for such manufacture, and it can be marketed at substantially the same price at which petrol is now being sold.

A very distinguished scientist supplied us with the information and we published it on page 597 of *The Modern Review* for November, 1937, that "Mr. N. G. Chatterjee of the Harcourt Butler

Technological Institute, Cawnpore, has actually demonstrated that molasses can be easily converted into power alcohol and placed in the market at competitive rates. His report was submitted to the U. P. Government (not the Congress Government.—Ed., *M. R.*), but was suppressed, and he was not permitted to publish it."

It was some time after the publication by us of this information that the U. P. and Bihar Joint Committee was appointed.



Bharat Phototype

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee
The centenary of whose birth was observed last
month throughout the country
See page 1

for his fishing in troubled waters so that if he can delay a Franco victory by helping Republican Spain it all fits in with his plans.

But Germany now is setting her alliances in order. And is there anything that we can

do about it? Can indeed anything be placed in the scales that can weigh against the prospect of world hegemony?

London,
28th May, 1938.

PRESENT TREND OF BRITISH POLICY

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS

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THE conclusion of the Anglo-Italian Pact, by the Chamberlain Government, gives a clearer indication of the present trend of British Foreign Policy. One thing is certain that the British Government is not concerned about the so-called *United Front of the Great Democracies against the Fascist States*. In fact at no time has the foreign policy of any State been primarily determined by ideological considerations. This has been the case with the Government of Great Britain more than any other State; because of the necessity of preservation of its worldwide empire. Common interests against a common enemy and conflicting interests between states have been the causes of alliances and wars. In the arena of international politics, an imperialist democracy like Great Britain formed alliances with autocratic Japanese Imperialism (the Anglo-Japanese Alliance) and the Czarist Imperialism (The Triple Entente) as well as Republican France. Now we see that British Imperialism is at the threshold of forming an understanding, verging on an alliance with Fascist Italy.

None should be surprised at the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian understanding, because it was evident to all far-sighted students of international affairs some three years ago that ultimately, three great colonial imperial powers Great Britain, France and Italy—must co-operate to preserve their interests in Africa; otherwise conflicts among these nations would lead to the loss of their imperial possessions. Therefore three years ago, when the League of Nations, led by Great Britain and supported by France and other states, used economic sanctions against Italy, I predicted that such activities on the part of the British and French Governments

would fail; because among other things they could not afford to see Italy defeated by Abyssinia. Such a defeat would have undermined British supremacy in India, in the Near East and Egypt. It would have ultimately destroyed French authority in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. This being the case, while Mr. Anthony Eden, on behalf of England, was working for coercion of Italy through economic sanctions, it was the British Government controlled Anglo-Persian Oil Company which supplied oil to Il Duce's Air Force and mechanised army to crush Haile Selassie's ill-equipped forces. It was not only England which indirectly aided Italy, but Soviet Russia also supplied oil to Italy and the United States oil concerns and Rumanian companies did their share. Let this be noted that neither Japan nor Germany invoked sanctions against Italy in the days of her trial and this was the real foundation of Italy's policy of co-operation with Japan and Germany.

From the published text of the Anglo-Italian Pact, signed on the 16th of April, 1938, it becomes evident that the policy of Sir Samuel Hoare, who as British Foreign Minister advocated Anglo-French-Italian understanding through the defunct Hoare-Laval Pact, against which Anthony Eden and others raised so much objection and which was the cause of Sir Samuel's resignation from the position of British Foreign Secretaryship, has triumphed against the policy of coercion of Italy by Britain. It is evident that Great Britain would not only acknowledge Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia, but would use her full influence over the League of Nations, so that other League members might extend their blessings on Italian Imperialism in

Abyssinia. On the other hand Anglo-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean, Africa, the Near East and Arabia would take the form of recognition of mutual interests by these Powers, which would really mean co-operation between them to further their interests.

In Great Britain two groups of statesmen were advocating two different courses of action to gain the same end of maintaining the British Empire from any possible menace in Europe, Africa and Asia. One group—headed by Tories of the type of Mr. Eden supported by some liberals and laborites—was following the course of Anglo-French-Russian understanding against German-Italian-Japanese groups of Powers; and they of course counted on active support of the United States in their fight against the Fascist States. The other group of British statesmen—Tories of the type of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon (a liberal Tory!), Lord Halifax (the former Viceroy of India Lord Irwin) and other lesser lights—advocated the idea that they should come to an understanding with France and Italy first and thus maintain their mutual interests in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East and thus check increase of Russian and German influence in these regions. Furthermore they felt that, the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding on the basis of co-operation would be the first step for a Pact in which Germany would be invited to participate; and thus it would guarantee peace in Western Europe. Thus the signing of the Anglo-Italian Pact is the first step towards re-alignment of Powers under British leadership, which would revolutionize the course of international relations during the coming years.

II

The next development in World Politics in line with British Foreign Policy, is the possibility of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding. In fact before this article may be published, this may be accomplished. It must be accomplished in fact, if not by signing a pact before the visit of Herr Hitler at Rome on the 3rd of May. The first step towards the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding was completed when the second popular front government by M. Blum was overthrown and the present Daladier government came into power. The Popular Front government in France, like all other French governments, was committed to the policy of Anglo-French co-operation; but at the same time it was anti-Fascist and pro-Russian. When Mr. Eden was relieved of his

post in the British Foreign Office then it was decided that Britain would prefer an Anglo-French-Italian understanding to an Anglo-French-Russian understanding. A British Government seeking an understanding with Italy could not whole-heartedly co-operate with a French Government headed by M. Blum or some of the Popular Front leaders committed to anti-Italian policy. Thus Blum Government could not get the full support of the British Government and it had to go.

It has been reported from London that Premier Daladier and Foreign Minister Bonner of France are to visit Prime Minister Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax for a conversation strengthening Anglo-French co-operation in World Politics. It is needless to point out that, after the signing of an Anglo-Italian Pact, one of the prime requisites for whole-hearted Anglo-French co-operation would be Franco-Italian understanding. It is also significant that it has been reported from Paris that the Government of France would recognise Italian supremacy over Abyssinia and thus follow the policy of Franco-Italian co-operation as established by Leval-Mussolini Pact of Rome (1933). It is also well-known that M. Daladier is a disciple of M. Callieux, who is an advocate of Franco-German understanding and not in favour of Franco-Russian understanding which has strained Franco-German and Franco-Italian relations. Therefore we may expect that Anglo-French relations would be regulated on the basis of Anglo-Italian understanding and there will develop Anglo-French-Italian understanding which would safeguard British interests in the Mediterranean, Africa, the Near East and even in India.

III

Settlement of Spanish Civil War has been taken into consideration in concluding the Anglo-Italian Pact. It has been agreed that Italy would withdraw her forces from Spain only after the conclusion of the Civil War in Spain, and Italy would not disturb territorial *status quo* of the Spanish republic. This means that the British Government has agreed with Signor Mussolini that it would support Franco regime and thus help Signor Mussolini in upholding his Spanish policy. This would not only help Italy in strengthening her position in the Western Mediterranean, but it would help increasing prestige of Herr Hitler in Germany.

Thus the French Government will have to modify its Spanish policy and in order to cement Anglo-French-Italian solidarity, France will

have to follow Great Britain and Italy in Spain and have to recognise Franco regime; and this may result in Anglo-French-Italian-Spanish understanding on the basis of *status quo* with increased prestige for Signor Mussolini and full justification of the policies inaugurated by Signor Mussolini, M. Leval and Sir Samuel Hoare.

IV

To be sure, with the annexation of Austria by Germany, Nazi Germany has become the strongest military power in Central Europe. It has virtually broken up the Little Entente. It has shaken the foundation of Franco-Czechoslovakian Alliance as well as Russo-Czechoslovakian Alliance. It has paved the way for further extension of German power and influence in Central Europe. Germany annexed Austria with the tacit consent of, if not with direct encouragement from the rulers of Great Britain—Chamberlain-Halifax-Simon-Hoare section of the British cabinet,—Germany would not have dared to annex Austria in direct opposition of Britain, Italy and France, not to speak of Russia and other Powers. When Herr Hitler was in the process of annexing Austria, the French Government appealed to Signor Mussolini to take decisive action against the German menace; but he refused to do so, because he wished to force the British and the French governments to realise the importance of Italian co-operation in world politics. It is significant that after Herr Hitler's annexation of Austria, the British and the Italian Governments showed their determination to come to an understanding in which they have so admirably succeeded. None should forget that Herr Hitler undertook his Austrian adventure, after he made sure of the support of Signor Mussolini in this matter. To be sure the appearance of Germany at the Brenner Pass may be a source of apprehension for Italy, but the growth of German power has forced the British and the French to settle their disputes with Italy.

Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano are honest and sincere in their declarations that while they have signed the Anglo-Italian Agreement, it did not mean a break in the Rome-Berlin axis. If Italy would have given up her close relations with Germany and Japan, in order to win the goodwill of Britain and France, then Italy's influence in world politics would have been considerably reduced and she might have been at the mercy of Anglo-French pressure. Therefore Signor Mussolini will continue to be on the very best terms with Herr Hitler; and this will

be a factor in forcing Anglo-French Powers to respect Italy's wishes. On the other hand Italy's closer co-operation with Anglo-French Powers will force Herr Hitler to court Il Duce's goodwill.

Under the circumstances what would be the policy of Great Britain regarding Germany? Great Britain would try to come to an understanding with Germany directly or through the co-operation of Il Duce. Great Britain would not make any serious objection to German expansion in Eastern Europe; because it would serve two definite purposes—(a) increase of German power and influence in Hungary and Rumania would increase Russo-German tension, which will be an asset for Great Britain and (b) any move for Germany to increase its influence in the Balkans might hurt Italian interests; and such a possibility would solidify Anglo-Italian co-operation. Thus it is expected that after the Anglo-Italian understanding, Anglo-French understanding and Franco-Italian understanding, British statesmen would encourage a move for a general Western European Pact in which Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany will be the principal participants while Belgium, Poland and Spain may be invited to co-operate. It may also encourage a pact among Danubian Powers for the purpose of maintenance of peace. Then it may even take steps for reconstruction of the League of Nations, which may allow Italy and Germany to re-enter the League on their own terms.

It means that the present trend of British Foreign Policy would be to have an understanding with Italy and Germany without sacrificing Anglo-French understanding. In order to accomplish this, if it be necessary to induce France to give up her Russian alliance, Britain will use full pressure on France dependent upon British goodwill. The net result of such a policy would mean isolation of Soviet Russia in European politics, at least temporarily. *This policy of weakening Russia would be agreeable to Britain, because Soviet Russia's increased influence in the Moslem bloc of Powers—Turkey-Persia-Afghanistan—and in China, through increasing penetration in Shinkiang is decidedly opposed to British imperial interests in Asia.*

In spite of much anti-Japanese demonstration among the masses of Britain, the group of statesmen who favour an understanding with France, Italy as well as Germany, recognise the fact that while Italy and Germany are willing to co-operate with Britain, they may not be willing

to sacrifice Japan to win British friendship. None should misunderstand the motive behind Germany's understanding with Japan and Italy's friendliness with the Empire of the Rising Sun. Herr Hitler is committed to anti-Soviet Russian Foreign Policy and, if possible, acquisition of at least a part of Russian territory for German expansion. This cannot be accomplished without Japanese pressure against Russia as well as British, French and Italian neutrality in case of a Russo-German conflict. German-Japanese co-operation then is a weapon against Russia and a means of pressure against Britain. Signor Mussolini has taken up the side of Japan, because in case of an Anglo-Italian conflict, Italo-Japanese co-operation would split British navy at least in three sections—one for the North Sea to watch over the German menace, one for the Mediterranean and one for the Pacific against the Japanese march to South Pacific. It is conceivable that both Italy and Germany would refuse to adopt a policy which will reduce Japan to impotency and thus increase British naval power proportionately in the North Sea region and the Mediterranean. Furthermore, if British statesmen are really opposed to increase of Soviet Russian influence in Asia, then it would be the height of folly for Britain to weaken Japan to such an extent that Soviet Russia would feel free to carry out her designs in Asia through a Sino-Russian combination.

Thus if Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini be determined to maintain the Rome-Berlin axis and also maintain their agreements with Japan (German - Japanese - Italian anti - communist Pact), then it is conceivable that Great Britain would be willing to come to an understanding with Japan, on the basis of recognition of mutual spheres of interest in the Far East. It might lead to formation of some form of Anglo-Japanese understanding to check any increase of Russian influence in China and other parts of Asia, at the cost of British influence.

Furthermore, one must not forget that if Japan be defeated by China, primarily through Russian aid, then its effect would be increase of Russian influence not only in China, but in India also, where men like Mr. Nehru and others are professedly pro-Russian. It is clear that neither Lord Halifax (former Viceroy of India), nor Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon and Mr. Chamberlain would adopt a policy which would undermine the prestige of Japanese imperialism, rouse Chinese and Indian nationalism to assert their powers against British and other (French) interests in Eastern Asia and serve the cause

of Soviet Russia. It is expected that unless Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler show shortsightedness in their policy towards Japan, they will use their influence with British statesmen (Chamberlain-Hoare-Simon-Halifax group) to have an understanding with Japan; and France which has already an alliance with Japan would support such a move. Under these circumstances, one is inclined to think that there is much truth in the reports of conversation between Mr. Tani, the Japanese Ambassador at large in China and the British Ambassador in China, Sir Archibald Kerr for a possible Anglo-Japanese rapprochement on the basis of respecting British sphere of influence in Southern China and Great Britain recognising Manchukuo. (This will be in line with the Anglo-Italian Pact, which is based upon British recognition of Italian supremacy in Abyssinia).

British support to Japan will inevitably lead to Japan's aggressive attitude towards Soviet Russia. Thus, a Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Far East will be an asset to Britain in Asia, as a German-Russian rivalry is an asset to Britain in Europe and the Near East.

VI

If the above calculations be accurate, it becomes clear that Great Britain will be maintaining her interests in Asia, Europe and Africa by coming to an understanding with Italy, Germany and Japan and thus isolating Russia. This policy may result in a Russo-German war or a Russo-Japanese War, which would be welcome! by Britain, because it would weaken her three potential enemies—Germany, Russia and Japan.

It may be argued that in making these calculations we have not taken the United States into consideration. It was not necessary to say that Great Britain would not follow anti-American foreign policy; and at the same time it is beyond dispute that the American Government would adopt the policy of "parallel action" with Great Britain to maintain peace and aid the British Empire. Just as Great Britain did not take any objection to German annexation of Austria, similarly the United States also has followed Great Britain on the Austrian question. It is well understood that in the near future the United States will recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. If Britain pursues a policy of consolidating Anglo-French-Italian-German understanding which might adversely affect Soviet Russia but would promote British interests, the government at Washington would not act adversely to the British programme. If Britain decides to act in the Far East as a mediator in

the Sino-Japanese conflict and thus act to curb the increase of Soviet Russian influence in China, in spite of genuine anti-Japanese feeling in certain influential quarters of the United States, the Government of the United States would never align itself with Russia and China against Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Japan.

In conclusion, I wish to make it clear that British statesmen who are directing the Foreign Policy are neither Fascists nor anti-Fascists in principle. They have only one principle and aim—preservation and extension of the British Empire—and they feel that Britain has no reason to take the burden of fighting Germany, Italy and Japan. Such a struggle would materially benefit Russia and France and not Britain. Therefore they are at present interested in consolidating British interests by securing French, Italian, German and Japanese co-operation and thus weakening Soviet Russia as well as Germany and Japan through adopting a policy which would make a Russo-Japanese War or a Russo-German War inevitable.

April 17, 1938.

New York.

**Annexes to the Anglo-Italian Treaty of
April 16, 1938.***

ANNEX ONE

Reaffirmation of the Declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean, and of Notes exchanged on December 31, 1936.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government hereby reaffirm the declaration signed at Rome on January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and notes exchanged between the two governments on December 31, 1936, regarding the status quo in the Western Mediterranean.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX TWO

Agreement regarding the Exchange of Military Information.

The government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government agree that in the month of January each year a reciprocal exchange of information shall take place through naval, military and air attaches in London and Rome regarding any major prospective administration movements or redistribution of their respective naval, military and air forces. This exchange of information will take place in respect of such forces stationed in or based on:

1—Overseas possessions of either party (which phrase shall for this purpose be deemed to include protectorates and mandated territories) in or with seaboard on the Mediterranean, Red Sea or Gulf of Aden, and

2—Territories in Africa other than those referred to in paragraph 1 above, and lying in the area bounded on the west by Long. 20 E. and on the south by Lat. 7 S.

Such exchanges of information will not necessarily preclude occasional communication of supplementary

military information, should either party consider that political circumstances of the moment make it desirable.

The two governments further agree to notify each other in advance of any decision to provide new naval or air bases in the Mediterranean east of Long. 19 degrees E., and in the Red Sea or approaches thereto.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX THREE

Anglo-Italian Agreement regarding certain areas in the Middle East.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government,

Being desirous of insuring that there shall be no conflict between their respective policies in regard to areas of the Middle East referred to in the present agreement,

Being desirous, moreover, that the same friendly spirit which has attended the signing of to-day's protocol and of the documents annexed thereto should also animate their relations in regard to those areas,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I. Neither party will conclude any agreement or take any action which might in any way impair the independence or integrity of Saudi Arabia or Yemen.

Article II. Neither party will obtain or seek to obtain a privileged position of political character in any territory which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or to Yemen or in any territory which either of those States may hereafter acquire.

Article III. The two parties recognize that in addition to the obligations incumbent on each of them in Articles I and II hereof it is in the common interest of both of them that no other power should acquire or seek to acquire sovereignty or any privileged position of a political character in any territory which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or Yemen, or which either of these States may hereafter acquire, including any islands in the Red Sea belonging to either of those States, or in any islands of the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article XVI of the treaty of peace signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923.

WOULD CURB OTHER POWERS

In particular they regard it as an essential interest of each of them that no other power should acquire sovereignty or any privileged position on any part of the coast of the Red Sea which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or Yemen or in any of the aforesaid islands.

Articles IV. As regards those islands in the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article XVI of the treaty of peace signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923, and which are not comprised in the territory of Saudi Arabia or Yemen neither party will in regard to any such island firstly, establish its sovereignty or secondly, erect fortifications or defences.

It is agreed that neither party will object to: Firstly, the presence of British officials at Kamaran for the purpose of securing sanitary service of the pilgrimage to Mecca in accordance with the provisions of the agreement concluded in Paris on June 19, 1926, between the Governments of Great Britain, North Ireland and of India on the one part and the Government of The Netherlands on the other; it is also understood that the Italian Government may appoint an Italian medical officer to be stationed there on the same conditions as The Netherlands medical officer under the said agreement; secondly, the presence of Italian officials at Great Hanish, Little Hanish and Jebel Zukur for the purpose of protecting fishermen who resort to those islands; thirdly, the presence at Abu Ali, Centre

*Reproduced from *The New York Times* of April 17, 1938.

Peak and Jebel Teir of such persons as are required for the maintenance of lights on those islands.

Article V. The two parties agree it is in the common interest of both of them that there shall be peace between Saudi Arabia and Yemen and within the territories of those States. But while they will at all times exert their good offices in the cause of peace they will not intervene in any conflict which despite their good offices may break out between or within those States.

The two parties also recognize that it is in the common interest of both of them that no other power should intervene in any such conflict.

ARABIAN ZONE CITED

Article VI. As regards the zone of Arabia lying to the east and south of the present boundaries of Saudi Arabia and Yemen or of any of the future boundaries which may be established by agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom on the one hand and the Governments of Saudi Arabia or Yemen on the other: 1—The Government of the United Kingdom declare that in the territories of the Arab rulers under their protection within this zone:

No action shall be taken by the Government of the United Kingdom which shall be such as to prejudice in any way the independence or integrity of Saudi Arabia or Yemen (which both parties have undertaken to respect in Article I hereof) within any territory at present belonging to those States or within any additional territory which may be recognized by the Government of the United Kingdom as belonging to either of those States as the result of any agreement which may hereafter be concluded between the Government of the United Kingdom and the government of either of them;

The Government of the United Kingdom will not undertake or cause to be undertaken any military preparations or works other than military preparations or works of purely defensive character for the defense of said territories or of communications between the different parts of the British Empire. Furthermore, the Government of the United Kingdom will not enroll inhabitants of any of these territories or cause them to be enrolled in any military forces other than forces designed and suited solely for the preservation of order and for local defense;

While the Government of the United Kingdom reserve the liberty to take in these territories such steps as may be necessary for the preservation of order and the development of the country, they intend to maintain the autonomy of the Arab rulers under their protection.

2—The Italian Government declare they will not seek to acquire any political influence in this zone.

Article VII. The Government of the United Kingdom declare that within the limits of the Aden protectorate as defined in the Aden protectorate order of 1937 Italian citizens and subjects (including Italian companies) shall have liberty to come with their ships and goods to all places and ports and they shall have freedom of entry to travel and residence and the right to exercise there any description of business, profession, occupation or industry as long as they satisfy and observe the conditions and regulations from time to time applicable in the protectorate to citizens, subjects and ships of any country not being a territory under the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection or mandate of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India.

NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDED FOR

Article VIII. Should either party at the time give notice to the other that they consider that a change has taken place in the circumstances obtaining at the time

of entry into force of the present agreement such as to necessitate modification of the provisions of the agreement, the two parties will enter into negotiations with view to revision or amendment of any of the provisions of the agreement.

At any time after the expiration of a period of ten years from the entry into force of this agreement either party may notify the other of its intention to terminate the agreement. Any such notification shall take effect three months after it is made.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX FOUR

Declaration regarding Propaganda.

The two governments welcome the opportunity afforded by the present occasion to place on record their agreement that any attempt by either of them to employ methods of publicity or propaganda at its disposal in order to injure the interests of the other would be inconsistent with the good relations which it is the object of the present agreement to establish and maintain between the two governments and peoples of their respective countries.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX FIVE

Declaration regarding Lake Tsana.

The Italian Government confirms the government of the United Kingdom the assurance given by them to the government of the United Kingdom on April 3, 1936, and reiterated by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome on December 31, 1936, to the effect that the Italian Government were fully conscious of their obligations towards the government of the United Kingdom in the matter of Lake Tsana and had no intention whatever of overlooking or repudiating them.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX SIX

Declaration regarding Military Duties of Natives of Italian East Africa.

The Italian Government reaffirm the assurance that they gave in their note to the League of Nations on June 29, 1936, that Italy on her side was willing to accept the principle that natives of Italian East Africa should not be compelled to undertake military duties other than local policing and territorial defense.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX SEVEN

Declaration regarding Free Exercise of Religion and Treatment—British Religious Bodies in Italian East Africa.

Without prejudice to any treaty engagements which may be applicable, the Italian Government declare they intend to assure to British nationals in Italian East Africa free exercise of all cults compatible with public order and good morals; and in this spirit they will examine favorably any request which may reach them from the British side to assure Italian East Africa religious assistance to British nationals; and that as regards other activities of British religious bodies in Italian East Africa in the humanitarian and benevolent spheres such requests as may reach the Italian Government will be examined, the general lines

of policy of the royal government in this matter and the principles of legislation in force in Italian East Africa being borne in mind.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX EIGHT

Declaration regarding Suez Canal.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government hereby reaffirm their intention always to respect and to abide by the provisions of the convention signed at Constantinople October 29, 1888, which guarantees at all times for all powers free use of the Suez Canal.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

LETTERS ON LIBYA

The Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

During our recent conversations Your Excellency referred to the question of the strength of Italian forces in Libya.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the head of the government has given orders for the diminution of these forces. Withdrawals already have begun at the rate of 1,000 a week and will be continued at not less than this rate until Italian Libyan effectives reach peace strength. This will constitute an ultimate diminution of these effectives by not less than half the numbers present in Libya when our conversations commenced.

I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency expression of my highest consideration.

(Signed) CIANO.

Lord Perth to Count Ciano.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I honor and acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date wherein Your Excellency informed me of the intentions of the head of the Italian Government with regard to the progressive diminution of Italian forces in Libya.

I shall have the pleasure of communicating this information to His Majesty's Government.

I avail myself, etc.,

(Signed) PERTH.

LETTERS ON NAVAL TREATY

Count Ciano to Lord Perth.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Italian Government has decided to accede to the naval treaty signed at London on the 25th of March, 1936, in accordance with procedure laid down in Article XXXI of that treaty. This accession will take place as soon as the instruments annexed to the protocol signed this day come into force.

In advising Your Excellency of the foregoing I desire to add that the Italian Government intend in the meantime

to act in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid treaty.

I avail myself of this opportunity, etc.

(Signed) PERTH.

Lord Perth to Count Ciano.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date which Your Excellency informed me of the decision of the Italian Government to accede to the naval treaty signed in London on the 25th of March, 1936, as soon as the instruments annexed to the protocol signed this day come into force, and in the meantime to act in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid treaty.

I shall have the pleasure of communicating this decision to His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom.

I avail myself, etc.

(Signed) PERTH.

The Bon Voisinage agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom, the Egyptian Government and the Italian Government.

The Italian Government on the one hand and, on the other hand, in respect to Kenya and British Somaliland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and, in respect to Sudan, the Government of the United Kingdom and the Egyptian Government;

Desiring to provide for friendly relations in East Africa:

Undertake, in addition to proceeding with due course to the discussion of detailed questions connected with frontiers between Italian East Africa and Sudan, Kenya and British Somaliland as provided in the protocol signed today by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government, at all times to co-operate for the preservation of good neighborly relations between the said territories and to endeavor by every means in their power to prevent raids or other unlawful acts of violence from being carried out across the frontiers of any of the above-mentioned territories;

Agree that in view of the fact that by virtue of the Italian decree of the 12th of April, 1936, slavery was prohibited in Ethiopia, as it had already been abolished in other above-mentioned territories, the good neighborly relations referred to above shall include co-operation to prevent evasion of anti-slavery laws of the respective territories;

Agree that the nationals of the other party shall not be enrolled in native troops, bands or formations of a military nature maintained in the above-mentioned territories, including in particular any such nationals who are deserters from troops, bands or formations maintained in or refugees from territories of the other party.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective governments, have signed the present agreement.

Done at Rome in triplicate on the 16th of April, 1938, in the English and Italian languages, both of which have equal force.

(Signed) PERTH,
MUSTAFA EL SADEK,
CIANO.

COLLECTIONS OF CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By DR. KALIDAS NAG, D. Litt. (Paris)

To prepare a mere inventory of Chinese manuscripts and art treasures removed from China and sequestered in the various public and private collections of Europe and America is a task of international significance. It should have been taken up by the National Government of China in collaboration with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which has a special division known as the International Office of Museums. But it is a matter of deep regret that while China like India paid enormous subsidies as subscription to the coffers of the League of Nations, it has done very little by way of such useful surveys, if the restoration and conservation work proved too heavy for the League experts. Consequently, a scholar interested in tracing the valuable Chinese works of art abroad must have the rare leisure and financial resources to travel all over the Occident and study the exhibits in the public museums as well as in private collections. The British Museum, London, the Louvre, the Musée Guimet, the Musée Cernusky of Paris, the State Museum and the Folk Museum of Berlin, together with the smaller, yet none the less important Chinese collections in Holland, Italy and other countries, go to demonstrate how many of the national artistic patrimony of China lie scattered in foreign lands. The New World also, specially Canada and the United States, have developed Chinese collections of outstanding merit, specially in Toronto and in the McGill University, Canada, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York and other places. Benjamin Marsh has rendered a real service by compiling a short yet useful list of the Chinese and Japanese collections in the American Museums. For the present, we shall indicate some of the important museums and research institutions which have been functioning with more or less efficiency in the various cultural centres of the Chinese Republic.

PALACE MUSEUM OF PEKING

Privileged to accompany Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his cultural mission to China, I visited the splendid museum in 1924 when the last Manchu Emperor, Hsuan Tung, invited us to the historic palace in the Forbidden City. H. R.

Johnston, private tutor to the Emperor, was all courtesy to us and I could see some of the rarest treasures of Chinese art in the historical setting of the Palace which very soon after changed its complexion with the flight of the Emperor who emerged in history as Emperor Pu Yi of Manchukuo. After his departure, the Palace Museum was formally inaugurated (Oct. 1925) and for the benefit of the public a detailed inventory of the valuable palace collection was made, each article being numbered, labelled and recorded and according to importance photographed. Thus the contents of each room of the palace were made known to the public for the first time. Since 1914, the Ministry of the Interior was maintaining the Peking Museum of Antiquities occupying the Outer Court of the Forbidden City. In the Outer Court we find the three great Throne Halls. Tai Ho Tien or the Hall of Supreme Harmony was the centre of ceremonial life where the most important state functions were formally held with great pomp and splendour. It is the most impressive of all the imperial structures, 200 ft. long, 100 ft. wide and 110 ft. high. Five richly carved marble steps lead to lofty terraces where we find wonderful bronze cisterns, incense-burners, the sun and moon dials and other treasures removed to Peking in 1914 from the former Imperial Palaces at Mukden and Jehol. The exhibits number over 200,000 articles and 10 volumes were necessary to complete its catalogue of paintings and calligraphy. This museum in the Outer Court came in November, 1930 under the jurisdiction of the National Palace Museum, occupying the Inner Courts or the Northern section of the former Imperial Palace. It is divided into five sections, the most important being the Chien Ching Kung or the Hall of Resplendent Brilliancy. Behind it are the halls of Imperial Wedding and the Throne Hall of the Empress, beyond which is the wonderful imperial garden where the young Emperor with his two beautiful queens received the Indian Poet and his party. Many large pavilions in the palace have been turned into exhibition rooms, some always open to the public and the remainder open on special occasions. From nowhere could we form a better idea of Chinese court life, its gorgeous architecture and wonderful furniture and



Ancient Chinese Landscapes in the Collection of the Palace Museum of Peking



Ancient Chinese Landscapes in the Collection of the Palace Museum of Peking

interior decorations as from our visit to the palaces of the Forbidden City.

IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS OF THE PEKING MUSEUM

From the point of view of antiquity, the bronzes are the finest things in the Museum dating from 1500 to 1000 B.C., coming from the Shang and the Chou dynasty. Next in importance come the objects of jade and other precious stones. A rock-shaped jade block is named "the mountain of longevity" and the wonderful jade basin representing a lake is called "the sea of happiness." The ivory collection is no less remarkable, and to form an idea of the historical value of these objects of art, one has only to consult the learned monographs of Dr. B. Laufer of the Field Museum of Chicago, on *Jade* (1912) and *Ivory in China* (1925).

More than 6,000 specimens of Chinese porcelain come from the various famous kilns from the Sung to the Ming dynasty. In modelling, design and colouring, they mark the apogee of Chinese art. The earliest Chinese painting has unfortunately been lost to China, as it now decorates the British Museum. The oldest in the Palace Museum come from the Tsin dynasty (265-419 A.D.). I saw one or two small sketches of remarkable vigour attributed to the Tang dynasty. Thence the pictorial documents become more copious, for we find over 8,000 scrolls from the Sung, Yuan and Ming epochs. The museum authorities have already published several volumes of reproductions of selected paintings and four volumes of portraits of Manchu Emperors and Empresses.

Amongst the miscellaneous collections we find real gems of minor arts in ancient bronze mirrors, ivory fans, snuff bottles, paintings and writing materials, carved bamboos, brocades, tapestries, carved lacquer, cloisonne enamels, etc. Students of Indian art also will find valuable materials in the statues, paintings and religious relics of Buddhism from India, Nepal and Tibet. I was agreeably surprised to find several apparently diplomatic documents written in Nagri or derivatives of Nagri script, possibly from Nepal, which might have sent embassies to the Chinese Court.

That reminds us of the fact that the Palace Museum is also the depository of the largest collection of ancient manuscripts, books, and historical records. According to the statistics of 1931, there were about 370,000 volumes and many of them were the only copies in existence. The famous Chinese Encyclopaedia (5,000 vols.) printed in 1724 on *Kaihua* paper from movable blocks is there. So many original editions of

books printed during the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties are deposited together with about 36,000 manuscript volumes from the Imperial Library of Emperor Chien Lung. A great number of unpublished edicts, memorials and historical maps is kept, together with imperial robes, shields, ornaments and various other objects of historical or literary value.

The annual budget of the museum amounts to \$432,000 plus \$123,312 for special expenses during 1934-35. The museum, amongst other publications, issues an illustrated bi-weekly and also the Palace Museum monthly. Peking is also proud of its National Library, which contains rare documents of artistic and historical value. It has more than 15,000 sets of rubbings of bronzes and stone tablets and many Mongolian and Tibetan books together with Manchu translations of Chinese works. In 1929, the library purchased a unique collection of 99 volumes of printed Buddhist Sutras in the Hsi Hsia (Tangut) language and some Buddhist paintings. Moreover, the library has a good collection of Buddhist texts from the 8,500 manuscripts discovered in Tun Huang caves mostly from the Tang dynasty.

The private library of over 41,000 volumes of our noble host Liang Chi Chao with his own manuscripts have been deposited by his heirs in the National Library. It started operating in 1910 and was reorganised in 1925 when the Ministry of Education agreed to co-operate with the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture which paid in 1934-35 \$275,000.

In 1933, the National Library possessed 500,000 volumes of Chinese works and about 85,000 volumes in European languages as well as works in Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian and other Asiatic languages—a veritable museum of Oriental culture.

Before the transference of political power to Nanking, the cultural capital of China was undoubtedly Peking, which alone had nine universities which were amalgamated (1927) to form the National University of Peiping. These universities, of course, are so many colleges and the earliest, the Metropolitan University, was started in 1898. In 1908 the American Government returned to China a portion of the Boxer indemnity which went to the foundation of a splendid college which we visited in 1924 and which developed into the Tsing Hua University in 1925. It takes interest in ancient culture publishing *A Commentary to the Kacyapa-parivarta* in Chinese and Tibetan, as well as a study on *The Prehistoric Relics of Hsi Yin*

Tsun. Dr. P. C. Chang, an authority on Chinese drama, was the Dean of the University, who showed us its splendid library and other departments.

Invited by the National University of Peking to deliver lectures on Indian Art which were interpreted in Chinese by our esteemed friend Dr. Hu Shih, I came in touch with many outstanding art-critics and antiquarians who were deeply interested in Indian art and archaeology. Dr. Hu Shih, one of the leading spirit of the Chinese renaissance in the Republican epoch and who introduced John Dewey, Bertrand Russel and other celebrities to the Chinese public, not only introduced me and S. J. Nandalal Bose to the artistic circles of the metropolis but, in consultation with Liang Chi Chao, secured for us the co-operation of eminent scholars like Liang-Su-Ming, the philosopher and Dr. Li Chi, the archaeologist, who guided my steps (1924) through the historical sites and relics of China.

Nandalal's masterly brush-work was keenly appreciated by the expert painters of Peking. Some of them worked in their private studios, while others helped in the establishment (1918) of the Peking Art School which developed into the National Academy of Fine Arts. Between 1928-34, the Academy operated as the College of Fine Arts of the National University. It attained independent status with the annual subsidy of \$120,000 from the Ministry of Education. It offers three years' courses in painting, sculpture, industrial and decorative arts. The Peiping School of Fine Arts is an independent non-official organisation which was founded in the year of our visit (1924). It was maintained by an income from private sources amounting to \$24,000 per annum.

Three major American learned societies contributed to build research centres in China. In 1906, was founded the Union Medical College which was maintained by a joint English and American mission board until July, 1915, when Rockefeller Foundation assumed the full financial support and developed it into the now famous Peiping Union Medical College whose Prof. Davidson Black contributed so much to the scientific evaluation of the Peking Man.

The Yale University also finances many projects under its Yale-in-China programme and the University of Harvard was entrusted to administer a trust under the Will of the late Charles M. Hall to "conduct and provide research instruction and publication in the culture of China." The Harvard University entered into an agreement with the Yen Ching University

which was created in 1917 and which grew out of an institution founded as early as 1867 by the American mission board. It started the Women's College in 1905 and in 1934-35 showed the total student roll of 250 women and 550 men. Its annual budget is met by the American trustees. The Harvard-Yenching Institute, for the last ten years (1928 onwards) is promoting researches in the fields of Chinese philology, history, literature, philosophy, religion, art and archaeology. In 1929, the Sino-Indian Institute of Peiping was merged through the co-operation of Alexander von Stael-Holstein who so kindly guided us in 1924 and who is now the Professor of Sanskrit of the Harvard University, resident in Peking. He tried for years together to train advanced scholars in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. A profound student of the history of Buddhism, Baron Stael-Holstein recited to me some of the forgotten hymns of Asvaghosa which he has recovered. He also kindly presented me, before my departure, with a copy of Chinese-Buddhist iconographical texts which I handed over to my friend Dr. P. C. Bagchi and I was glad to find later on that the text was utilized by my colleague Prof. Jitendranath Bannerji co-operating with Dr. Bagchi. Another fellow-student of mine at the classes of Prof. Paul Pelliot (College de France) was Prof. Serge Elliseiff, an authority on Japanese art who is now one of the directors of the Yenching Research faculty.

The second portion of the American Boxer indemnity amounting to 12,545,000 gold dollars came to be returned to China in the year of our visit (1924) when it was decided that the fund would be paid in twenty annual instalments, up to 1945, and was to be devoted to the development of scientific knowledge and technical training. This was the history of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture which maintains several scientific researches fellowships and professorships, also giving subsidies to several cultural institutions.

CULTURAL INSTITUTES OF NANKING

With the formation of the National Government in the spring of 1927, the Central Political Council of Nanking took a momentous step by authorising the establishment of Academia Sinica, advocated long ago by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Starting work in June, 1928, the Academy began to attend to (a) pursuit of scientific research and (b) promotion and co-ordination of scientific studies in China through international conferences, lectures, broadcasting, etc. The Academy maintains a National Research Coun-

cil, composed of thirty members selected from the experts of the Country. It maintains ten institutions devoted to Astronomy, Biology, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, History and Philology, Meteorology, Psychology, Physics and Social Sciences. Most of them are located in Nanking but some are in Shanghai and Peking.

For the students of cultural history, the Institute of History and Philology is of special interest. At the time of its inception in 1928, it was located in Canton. Later on, removed to Peking, the Institute was again removed to Shanghai after the Manchurian incident of 1932 and finally established in Nanking (1934). Its section of historical studies continues to function from Peking where alone one could find rare original texts, specially the archives of the Ming and the Ching dynasties. This section attends to the textual criticism of ancient classics, the study of bronze and stone inscription and other problems of Chinese history.*

The section of linguistics promotes researches on experimental phonetics, on general linguistics, on Chinese dialects and borderland languages. It organised sound archives and studies on Hsi-Hsia texts as well as comparative studies on English and Chinese intonation. Its section of Anthropology undertook the study of ancient Chinese skulls, correlation of cranial indices and of Chinese finger-prints. It also organised systematic anthropological and ethnological surveys of the Provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan.

Last, though not the least, is the section of archaeology which, as we have noted above, has gathered a wonderfully rich harvest within a very short time. Among other things it has initiated a survey of the Painted Pottery sites in Honan, and researches on pre-historic remains in Manchuria and Jehol. Excavations of Black Pottery sites in Honan and Shantung have been conducted. A happy collaboration between the Institute and the Freer Gallery of Washington led to the financing of the momentous excavations at Anyang under Dr. Li Chi leading to extraordinary discoveries of Shang culture of 2nd millennium B.C.

When we visited Nanking, it still looked like a provincial capital but within the last ten years it has undergone a phenomenal growth. Quite apart from its being the headquarters of Academia Sinica, Nanking established in March,

1938, the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies in the University of Nanking. Its annual revenue of \$32,000 (1934-35) came from the American Hall Fund administered by the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The Institute has to its credit important publications like "*A Catalogue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties*, (6 Vols.); *Bronzes from 12 Peiping Collections* (2 Vols.); *A Survey of Contemporary Japanese Sinology*, and several studies on the Oracle Bone inscriptions."

Nanking Museum of Antiquities founded in 1915 was taken over by the Ministry of Education in 1928. The Ministry grants annual subsidy of about \$4,000 helping the museum to exhibit, for the benefit of the public education, its valuable collection of paintings, rubbings and other antiquities in its six Exhibition Halls. In 1933, a preparatory committee was entrusted with the task of organising the National Central Museum. The Ministry of Finance sanctioned annual grant of \$24,000 to the committee which started its work under the Chairmanship of Dr. Li Chi.

A most interesting branch of applied arts was developed in 1928 in the form of the Ceramic Laboratory administered by the Academia Sinica and the National Central University of Nanking. It not only undertakes researches contributing to the further development of ceramic industry but also applies itself to the study of ancient Chinese ceramics analysing the bodies and the glazes of the wares so that we may understand the composition of Chinese porcelain and the method of its manufacture in ancient days.

From Canton and Amoy to Keifeng and Sinan there are innumerable centres showing collections of art and archaeology which have not yet been satisfactorily catalogued and which, let us hope, the Museum Association of China would co-ordinate for the benefit of the outside public. The Archaeological Society of Honan (Keifeng), and the Archaeological Museum of the West China University (Chengt'u), among others, are discovering and developing valuable collections. China, as we all know, co-operated with other Asiatic nations mainly through her North-Western provinces which, owing to later political disturbances, were neglected although they were on the life-lines of the Han Empire.

Recently a scientific mission to North-Western China was organised (1927) by the Federation of Scientific Institutions of China. It started a systematic archaeological exploration in collaboration with the Swedish explorer Dr. Sven Hedin, well-known in India as the

* The Peking Committee started excavation works (1930) at I-Hsien in the Hupeh Province. It also started excavating (1933) in Sian-Fu and other parts of Shensi in co-operation with the archaeological society of Shensi.

author of *The Trans-Himalaya*. The Han archaeological finds of Dr. F. Bergman were turned over to the scholars of this society who also undertook the study of the Han dynasty manuscripts on wooden strips. The archaeological finds of the Tang Dynasty made by Mr. Huang Wen-Pi are also being studied. During 1932-33 over 90 wall-paintings and 50 clay-figures were repaired and an illustrated monograph on the Kaochang Pottery was compiled. Annual grant of \$15,000 comes from the China Foundation for the Promotinn of Education and Culture.

Shanghai, although a modern city compared with Peking, enjoys the benefit of some progressive and well-equipped scientific institutions, the most outstanding being the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. It was established in 1857 under the name of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society. It was affiliated in 1858 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. The British Government made a gift in 1871 of a fine building at 20, Museum Road, which is the Society's headquarters. An entirely new building was added in 1933 and the Society is proud to show a membership of 719 members of all nationalities. Its annual budget (1933-34)

amounts to \$20,000, out of which \$6,000 come as grant from the Shanghai Municipal Council. Apart from the Journal, the Society has other valuable publications. Amongst its many learned office-bearers I had the privilege of meeting (1924) Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, the learned editor of the *China Journal of Science and Arts*, who very kindly helped me with the latest bulletins, reports and above all, with the splendid Guide, *The Shanghai Museum*, which he published in 1936 when he was the honorary director. The Society founded its Museum in 1874 and it has grown to be one of the best arranged and scientifically treated collections on China which no scholar can afford to ignore. Prehistoric arrow-heads, stone-carvings, ancient bronzes, tomb-figures, pottery, porcelain, coins and precious stones are exhibited with sedulous care. The mammals, birds and fishes of China together with the life-like reconstruction of the Peking Man are all scenically mounted. Its sections on Natural History, Zoology, Botany, Geology, etc. are object-lessons for museum workers. Of special interest are the remains of extinct animals, such as the Mastodon, Stegodon and Hyperion or three-toed horse, most of them coming probably from the Szechwan province.

INDIA IN FISHER'S HISTORY OF EUROPE

By RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

THE Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, P.C., D.C.L., F.B.A., F.R.S., Warden of the New College, Oxford, has written a History of Europe. Prof. Earnest Barker has described it as a 'triumph of historic art.' The Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin (now Earl Baldwin) called it 'a great work.' The reviewer of *The Manchester Guardian* discerned in it 'wisdom, detachment and serenity.' All these highly flattering and ennobling opinions are carried on the dust cover of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher's book. They are very impressive and it is not surprising that some Indian Universities and Colleges should have recommended this History of Europe to their students.

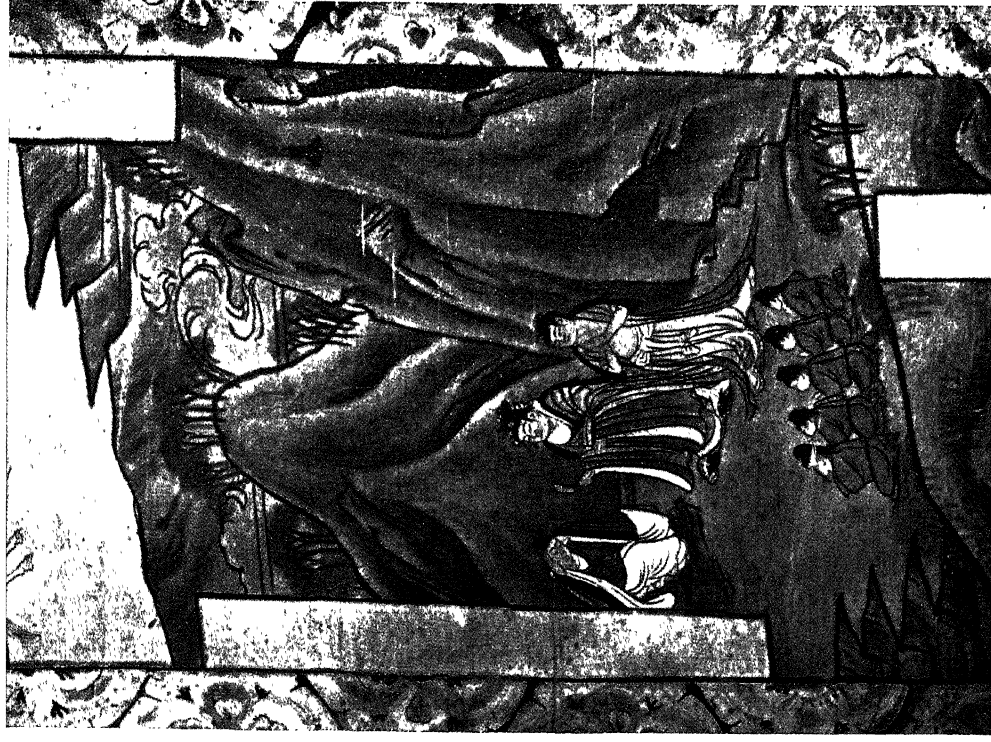
Fisher's book carries a chapter on British rule in India. My knowledge of the book is limited to this chapter. It made a strangely disgusting impression on me. It is mean and

unhistoric and is certainly as far removed from detachment and serenity as any of Churchill's or Joynson-Hick's speeches on India. No decent-minded University or College in India and outside has, I hope, recommended Churchill's or Joynson-Hick's utterances on India as text-books or as triumphs of historic art.

Fisher begins his study with the histology of the British conquest of India. "The English succeeded in conquering India because they brought peace and deliverance from oppression," "Such measure of intellectual and political unity as may now be found in India is due to the English conquest and administration,"—describe Fisher's diagnosis of reasons of the Englishman's success and of his achievements. There is no qualifying clause, no cautious hesitation, nothing of the historical



Portrait of Kublai Khan



The Celestial Hair-dresser

SANTINIKETAN ASRAMIKA SANGHA EXHIBITION



Offering By Sudhir Khastgir



Mother and Child By Satyendra Banerjee



Towing
By Satyendra Bisi



Mother By P. Hariharan
After a Lithograph in the Collection of Ajit Ray

spirit which trembles to straighten out in a single thread the tangled skein of human events.

There have been many conquests in human history and there is hardly a race which has not some time been the conquered and at another time the conqueror. The reasons of a successful conquest have lain in the military organization, the civilization and, infrequently, the culture of the conquerors on the one hand and in the disunity and softer life of the conquered on the other. At the time of the British conquest, India was politically disunited and her civilization was based on the comparatively self-sufficient economy of the village. England, on the contrary, was realising national unity through the industrial revolution and her military machine carried with it the advantages of a capitalist civilization. The British conquest of India was thus the victory of a better-organised civilization over a looser and softer life. I might also be prepared to admit that, around the time of the British conquest, Indian culture and character were temporarily eclipsed and, so, inferior to Britain's, but there will be qualifying clauses and a lot of cautious hesitation. That is however beside the point. The English succeeded in conquering India because their muskets were loaded with a better-organized gun-powder. Besides being untrue, it is incoherent and unhistorical to say that the cause of their success lay in the peace and freedom that they brought to India. Only an incoherent mind or one gifted to receive divine revelations can describe the effect of an event as its cause. That might be the triumph of theology or of irrelevance but, hardly, that of historic art.

Did British conquest and administration bring into India peace and freedom or intellectual and political unity? A punch on the jaw of a weakly boy some times results in a sturdy manhood, but, even in that sense, India has received far too many punches to profit from the British conquest. Fisher, however, is clear in his own mind that the British administration of India has directly worked for freedom, peace and unity. The mind of a historian is commonly supposed to feed on events, but Fisher has obviously cultivated a preference for fancies and wishful thinking. No amount of fanciful thinking can, however, blot out the memory of unceasing wars, famines, pestilence and the entire disorganization of the nation's economy which the British conquest and rule has meant to

India. The hundred years between the first successful battle of the British and their final conquest of India were a state of permanent wars; disorganization of systems of land tenure, destruction of industries and famines went alongside. The eighty years since have known such political evils and economic poverty and famines that the balance of the results of British administration in India is frankly not in its favour.

It is said that the greatest good that could be done to India was the benefit of unity, peace and security and that is exactly what the British have done. They have given India the peace of a Central Government. Almost at once two questions arise: what was the cost of achieving this peace and what is its exact nature. No historian dare forget that it cost India a whole hundred years of continuing wars and destruction to achieve the peace of the last eighty years. At any rate, the background of war against the present state of peace is so far of a longer duration that history must make a clear record of it. Moreover, the peace of the last eighty years that has fallen upon India is the forced apathy of foreign rule and not the peace of creative effort. It has not activated India's population to an increasing sense of its human dignity; it has not generated that noble sensitiveness which is the prelude to great national achievements. If the Indian peasant and worker and intellectual are at last awakening, it is very much inspite of the British rule. The other much trumpeted achievements of Britain in India, the railways, irrigation canals, hospitals and the like must similarly be studied in the background of the general political and social conditions in the country and of the growth and development during the same period in the free countries of the world. India has continued to be a prey to under-nourishment, preventible diseases, premature death, widespread ignorance and political evils, while the free nations have sped very much ahead of her. There can be no doubt that, had she been free, India would have been a far happier nation today. If contemporary historians must needs draw the balance of British rule in India and credit it with the achieving of peace and security, they must at the same time declare the cost of this achievement and its exact nature.

Fisher has singled out the achievements of the English educational system and the public services for specific praise. "The fruit of Macaulay's famous minute on Indian

Education is the development in India not only of an excellent official class some 2 million in number but of a body of educated politicians who have been taught out of English books to admire liberty," is Fisher's verdict on British Indian education. The Oxford Warden does not seem to be conversant with the newer trends and beliefs of the British ruling classes themselves, for even they would regard his opinion as rather antiquated, one-sided and demonstrably rhetorical. British education has sought to denationalise India and, though happily it failed to achieve its purpose finally, it has made of learning a very rare and special privilege. Fisher has tried to explain away the widespread illiteracy in India as a necessary consequence of the Indian social conditions. Extraordinary diversity of creeds and languages, prevalence of child marriage and non-use of unmarried women teachers in elementary schools are the three reasons which he ascribes to India's illiteracy. The British administration's utter disregard of primary and secondary education, its insistence on English as the medium of instruction, the poverty of the vast masses and the entire detachment of the educational system from the country's economic and social life have with Fisher faded away into nothingness. The Congress provincial administrations, despite their many shackles, are bringing them back into our memories and Free India will most surely prove that, more than anything else, the fact of British rule was responsible for the country's widespread illiteracy.

"The British members of the Indian Public Services have perhaps more nearly than any other ruling class realised the ideal of disinterested government which Plato thought could be secured only if the Guardians of the State were shielded from the temptations of ownership and family."

It must gladden every student of history to come across even an inadequate approximation to the Platonic ideal in human flesh and I do not grudge Fisher his joy in the discovery. He further describes his Platonic statesmen as being actuated with "a certain contemptuous indifference natural to the agents of a benevolent power which has long usurped the role of Providence" in their relations to "the effervescent nationalism of the young." Prejudiced pamphleteering alone can so definitely decide as to which is effervescent, the nationalism of the young or the contempt of the public servant. In any case, the gods of Fisher are, in his own language, a modern edition of the unicorn, one-half of whose face bears the gentle suffering of Platonic statesman-

ship and the other the disfiguring contempt of an effervescent tingod. That the gentle suffering of the British public servant is not in every case quite so disinterested has recently been disclosed by an Indian who had self-respect enough to change over from the clerkship of the civil service to the Indian National Congress.

"I know of a European officer who about 3 years ago removed some silverware which was being disposed of as unclaimed property. My knowledge of law is not profound but I am not sure that ordinarily such conduct would not have amounted to misappropriation or theft.... Even when the matter was reported to a superior officer, unfortunately an European, he ordered that the property should be struck off the register."

This charge of vile theft against two of Fisher's British tingods has been made by a former insider so late as April, 1938. It is of course not my intention to suggest that petty larceny is a universal practice with the British public servant in India; disinterested service to imperial Britain is perhaps quite as frequent. History may not shut its eyes to the petty and gross misdeeds and glorify the petty and big services of the British public servant in India, but that is exactly what Fisher has attempted to do. The British civil servant has at the same time been both good and evil. History can give only one estimate of his role. He was the agent of British rule in India; as such, he was, to Indians themselves, a balance of disadvantages.

Britain's government in India is theoretically based on a series of Acts and Charters and Royal Proclamations. On the basis of a study of these, Fisher concludes that an essentially liberal faith has guided Britain's task in India; Britain has not interfered with the liberties, firstly, of Princes and, secondly, of Religion and, thirdly, has granted equality to all without distinction of colour and creed in respect of public services.* How far a historian is justified in relying on professions and proclamations for the discovery of practices and actual conditions is another matter. In effect, the liberty of the Indian Princes is the pomp of a most dutiful feudal vassal. The ecclesiastical department of the government favours Christianity at the expense of the other Indian religions. The competitive examinations to the civil service had once favoured the English and, now that Indian competitors are beating the English students in their own language, the plan to retain the British civil servant through nomination is being put through.* Still, it is no

*Is it "equality to all" to lay down the percentage of appointments which must be bestowed on various non-

doubt true that, in respect of freedom of religious faith and, partly, of public appointments, Britain has followed a comparatively liberal policy. Incidentally it has paid Britain to do so. Moreover, the absence of freedom of religious faith and equality in respect of public appointments may, no doubt, prove galling, but their presence, in itself, is no mark of good government. Should they be the chief pillars on which a government rest, it is sure to be dull, inert and insipid. In respect of freedom of the more active political and social thought and of the cultural and material achievements of the State, the Indian Government has no doubt been thoroughly insipid and reactionary. But Fisher is slightly unjust to his countrymen's work in India; the Indian Government has not been so colourless in other spheres. It has rested predominantly on the pillar of making India profitable for British trade and capital. With that hangs the colourful tale of the unification of the Indian market, the commercialisation of agriculture, the investment of British capital and the like. As the story unrolls, there is a lot of interesting detail and, even while it frequently resulted in great injury to the Indian masses, it is at least not insipid.

The final stage of British rule in India is now completing and Fisher has also attempted to describe it. According to him there are two dominant patterns in Indian nationalism; the one is western and constitutional and the other eastern and revolutionary. Incidentally, Fisher has, through this description, given expression to his social philosophy; it is unhistorical, jejune and philistine. That a historian of modern Europe can forget the Cromwellian Revolution, the French Revolution, the Central European Revolts, the Italian War of Independence and a host of other rebellions and call the West constitutional and the East revolutionary is not so much the result of his ignorance as of his distorted social vision. He is so much embedded in the security and comfort of the present that he would prefer to deny his parentage and blot out the memory of his revolutionary ancestors. This unhistorical social philosophy of Fisher has inevitably resulted in his complete misunderstanding of the aims of British rule in India and of the character of those who oppose it.

"So far and so fast has Britain been prepared to advance along this perilous road guided by the two load-stars of the Anglo-Saxon race, of which the first is that all government must rest upon consent and second that it is the office of statesmanship to avert revolution by reform."

Hindu communities, irrespective of merit, at the expense of the Hindus?—Ed., M. R.

Fisher has thus summed up the various measures of self-government granted to the Indian people. I will first take up the element of popular consent on which the Indian Government is supposed to rest. The verification of this popular consent lies in two directions. How else would an army of 60,000 Englishmen rule a 350 million people? How else do we explain that India did not seize Britain's peril in the last world war as her opportunity? The answer is simple enough. Between the two extremes of government based on popular consent and of revolution, there is a vast middle field stretching from apathy and indifference to hostility. During the eighty years of British rule, the Indian people had first been brought into a state of submissive apathy and have then slowly awakened into that of definite hostility. At the time of the last world war, they were not yet actively hostile. It is the last seventeen years of the non-violent revolt that have given the Indian people the adequate consciousness and organisation to seize Britain's peril as India's opportunity. History is always in the making; it is never a final product. From the day a people is conquered starts a whole process of consent and apathy and hostility to the conquerer's rule and the various trends of the process are of different duration. To Fisher, however, there is just one long and unending period of popular consent up to the point that a government is actually overthrown. This attitude results in much misunderstanding and bitterness in the relations between a government and its people and among the different peoples of the world. A naive belief that all is right up to the point when all is wrong does not produce the atmosphere in which the aspirations of a people unsupported by acts of violence may be understood. It is also an unhistorical belief.

India has developed a new way of the struggle for freedom. It is the way of non-violence. How far the non-violent way was the result of India's weakness and how far it was a resolute effort to introduce a new era of human relationships will not be an easy discovery even in the distant future, much less so is it today. In its immediate consequences, the non-violent struggle of the Indian people has not yet effectively challenged the British military machine, but it has already demanded deaths by the thousand and imprisonings by the hundred-thousand. It may yet succeed in crippling and destroying the British military power in India. This valiant struggle of the Indian people has not even been mentioned and, in the absence of an armed rebellion, Fisher has concluded that

the Indian government rests upon popular consent. That this is no objective history is plain enough, but it might as well be a clumsy attempt to mislead the British people and other peoples of the world into supporting a government that has no basis in justice or reason.

The statement that the British in India have tried to avert revolution by reform is both untrue and likely to awaken false notions about their generosity and broad-mindedness. Respectable historians often forget the Chartist revolutionaries when they describe the first measure of parliamentary reform in England or the Tolpuddle martyrs when they dwell upon the generous concession to the working-class to form trade unions. Naturally enough, Fisher forgets the brave sufferings of the Indian people which precede every measure of reform. British rule over India, like any other foreign rule, will not voluntarily cease but will be overthrown by the organised power of the Indian people; its striking proof is the divergent history of British promises and practice. British imperialist technique, however, has known how to avoid friction within a narrow range. It has tolerated criticism upto a limit and kept up the comparative independence of the judiciary. How far is this the outcome of a genuine democratic impulse and how far that of a cool calculation as to long-run results is difficult to decide. In any case, the capacity of British imperialism to work for justice and the avoidance of friction is very greatly limited; it snaps as soon as an attack starts on its fundamentals. Self-interest kills the democratic impulse.

In his anxiety to prove that the British rule is both democratic and progressive, Fisher does not hesitate to resort to gross untruths to prove Indian nationalism as reactionary. Mahatma Gandhi is in Fisher's words "an indubitable saint, yet as a member of the money-lending caste a friend to usury, an ardent patriot yet as a politician the beneficiary of the worst slum properties in India". I have tried to interpret this description literally and as a figure of speech; it has made no sense to me which I can square up with facts. Unless usury stands for interest and worst slum properties for capitalist ownership and unless all notion that the Mahatma himself benefits from the institution of capitalist interest is ruled out, Fisher's des-

cription is not only merely an error of interpretation but is a lie in point of fact. Fisher has perhaps lied with the calculated intent to glorify British imperialism at the expense of Indian nationalism. We may not forget that he is an Oxford Warden and, as such, engaged in training up colonial administrators to adopt "contemptuous indifference" in their relations with "effervescent nationalism". He must invent Mahatma Gandhi's friendship to usury and the worst slum properties. Fisher is no historian; he is a low pamphleteer of the British Empire.

Fisher's book is huge; I have read only a single small chapter. I cannot help feeling that the rest of the book must be as poorly unhistorical, its chief interest being the elevation of British character and the singing of British glories. In different measures, it must have done injustice to the history of France, Russia, Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries. It must be altogether a distorted picture of European humanity.

How a book such as this could ever have been recommended for use in Indian colleges and universities is difficult to understand except on the basis of the opinions on its dust-cover. We may not however forget that imperialism is a fraternity and mutual adoration is its chief cultural weapon. The exclusion of this book from the curriculum of our Universities is the least that we can do in the interests of truthful history. We may also expect our historians and research students to undertake a thorough enquiry into the vicious imperialist propaganda of the history books now in use in our schools and universities and make known the results of their labour to the country. It is time they began writing histories of the world and its various areas.

Beyond our shores our voice of protest may come back to us as an empty echo. Still, the mass of the peoples all over the world is fundamentally honest and there are large sections who believe that the study of history should result not in bitterness and conflicts but in international reconciliation and co-operation. May we hope that they will associate with us in the condemnation of low imperialist pamphleteering that passes as the triumph of historic art?

Allahabad,
May 9, 1938.

A YEAR OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

By PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA

ON March 31 1938, the Provincial Autonomy completed the first year of its eventful life. It is yet a babe in arms, but it has already proved a changeling. It is possible, however, to discern clearly much that was dim at its birth. Let us try to take stock of the situation and see in what variegated hues it presents itself today.

We have to start with the Provincial Autonomy as it was conceived by its authors and as they presented it to the Indian world on April 1, 1937. For that the Government of India Act alone is not our guide, nor does the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors complete the picture. The most authoritative picture of the Provincial Autonomy as it was intended to work is to be found in the evidence of the Secretary of State before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and a briefer outline thereof is to be discovered in the correspondence (kept confidential so far) that was carried on between the Governors-in-Council, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State on the subject of the Rules of Business of the Provincial Cabinets and the Rules governing the submission of papers by the Provincial Cabinets and the Secretariat to the Governors.

Taking all these four sources together, we can draw up a tolerably clear picture of what Provincial Autonomy meant to its friends and foes alike on April 1, 1937. Here we first notice that between the first session of the Round Table Conference and the Report of the Joint Committee the definition of the Provincial Autonomy had undergone a change. To understand the fact clearly, it is necessary to quote both the definitions. The Prime Minister speaking at the end of the First Round Table Conference thus outlined the policy of His Majesty's Government :

"Responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon *Legislatures*, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary. . . . 'The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on a basis of full responsibility. Their ministers will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. . . .

"There will be reserved to the Governors that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in *exceptional circumstances*, the preservation of tranquillity, and to guarantee the maintenance of rights provided by *statute* for the Public Services and minorities."

Place this beside the definition of Provincial Autonomy given by the Joint Committee.

"Each of Governors' Provinces will possess an Executive and a Legislature having exclusive authority within the Province in a precisely defined sphere."

Now while in the Prime Minister's statement emphasis was placed on the fact that the Provincial Government will be responsible to the Provincial Legislature, with some reservation of powers to the Governors in *exceptional circumstances*, the Joint Committee cut the matter short by investing the Provincial Legislature and the Executive with exclusive authority within the province. Unlike the scheme visualized by the Prime Minister, which recognized the reservation of powers to the Governors as an inroad upon Provincial Autonomy, the Joint Committee by extending the authority in the provinces to the Executive as well made of exceptional circumstances a normal feature. The Provincial Executives and Legislatures were to be independent, not Provincial Legislatures holding the Executive responsible to themselves.

The position on April 1, 1937, then, was that the Government in the provinces was to be carried on jointly by the Governor and the Provincial Legislature. The Governor was, under the Rules of Business, the President of the Council of Ministers, settling its agenda, fixing its time and place of meeting and otherwise performing other functions ancillary to his position as the presiding officer. He was not a Minister without portfolio, but a Minister Extraordinary. In this capacity he administered the Excluded Areas, settled all questions concerning the organization and discipline of police, took action when crimes of violence intended to overthrow the government threatened the province, and could make rules to secure that police officers were not obliged to disclose the sources of their information to persons other than those authorised by him. He was also in charge of all questions concerning the posting, transfers, promotions of officers of the All-India Service. In his third capacity he acted as an examiner of ministerial conduct, and prevented them from doing wrong in certain spheres by stepping into the administrative arena himself

when their action or inaction threatened communal interests, statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services, and produced grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province or a part thereof. In what was left to the ministers as their sphere of action after all these deductions had been made, he was to work as a constitutional head of his Government, offering advice, but leaving the decision to the Council of Ministers, of course, meeting under his presidency and amenable to his influence therein as well.

The Ministers who accepted office on April 1, 1937 knew these limitations and agreed to abide by them. The Secretary of State had spoken of the 'two sides of the administration' in the provinces in his evidence before the Joint Committee. He had been driven to admit that the ministers would be allowed to work during the pleasure of the Governor and only so long as he was convinced that the ministers were neither endangering the peace of the province, treating the minorities unfairly, or jeopardizing the good government of the province by threatening the peace and tranquillity of the province.

The essence of the scheme as outlined in the Act was that the Ministers were not to be really responsible either for their actions politically or held responsible for the entire administration of the province while in office. If the action or inaction of a Ministry, for example, created a grave menace to the tranquillity or the peace of the province, it could go on functioning merrily in other departments of the administration, the Governor taking upon himself the task of doing all that was necessary for removing such a danger. He could make laws for the purpose, he could spend money for the furtherance of his ideas on the subject, and he could issue orders, if necessary, over the heads of the Ministry to permanent civil servants. All that was done by the Governors in the discharge of their special responsibilities, or in their individual judgment or discretion, was beyond effective criticism by the Legislature.

Or to put it in another way, the Act started with the suspicion that the Provincial Ministers would know their business so little as to act in ways that might endanger public peace, attack the statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services and be unfair to the minorities. Not content with that it went further. It assumed that even when a Governor censured a Ministry by declaring that its action or inaction had endangered, for example, public

peace, the ministers would be shame-faced enough after that certificate of good (?) conduct to cling to their office.

Thus the Governor was the pivot on which the Provincial Government was to turn. The Government of India Act, 1935, was not intended to confer 'responsible government' on the provinces. When the Governor took action either in his discretion or exercising his individual judgment, he acted under the instructions of the Governor-General who in his own turn had to look to the Secretary of State for guidance.

But April 1, is an All Fools' Day. Though the Governors succeeded in persuading the majority parties (or rather the coalitions) in the Panjab, Bengal, Sind, Assam and the North-Western Frontier Provinces to accept office under the limitations set down by the Act, the Congress majorities in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Madras refused to take office under those circumstances. Obliging friends, however, jumped into the fray and rushed in where Congress angels feared to tread. The Interim Ministries of the 'King's Friends'—or were they the Governor's Friends?—were formed in the hope of bringing about demoralization in the ranks of the elected members. Followed the 'Assurances Controversy' which ended in an amendment of the Government of India Act by conventions which the Governors undertook to set up in the provinces where the Congress accepted office.

What did the 'Assurance Controversy' do? It set up in India two types of Provincial Governments. The coalition ministries had taken office with their eyes open, they had accepted office under the limitations which the framers of the Act and actual constitutional documents had placed on them. They had by a miracle, which probably the theory of relativity even cannot explain, accepted Rules of Business and Rules for the submission of cases to the Governors,—printed in March, even before they had been appointed Ministers,—as binding on themselves, even though the Act had laid down that these rules were to be made by the Governors after consultation with their Ministers. Not only that, in one Province (Panjab) the Provincial Premier proclaimed to the entire world that he and his colleagues found it very useful to them to have the Governor preside at the Cabinet meetings, because they knew far less about some matters on the agenda than did the Governor! Further, most of these ministries were coalition minis-

tries. They had started on the assumption that the communal interests could only be safeguarded by the inclusion in the Cabinets of members drawn from the minority communities, whatever their politics. Thus in the Panjab, Bengal and Sind, Hindu Ministers had been appointed, drawn from parties which had hitherto opposed the Muslim parties that had majorities in these provinces. They had thus slightly invaded the principle of Joint Responsibility of Ministers. The Hindu Ministers of these Cabinets were supposed to represent the Hindus; as was the case in the Panjab, the Sikh Minister represented a group of Sikh M.L.A's. It is doubtful whether the assurance which the several Governors gave in the Congress provinces affected very much the relations of the Governors and Cabinets in the Non-Congress Provinces. Thus two types of provincial Governments came to be established in India.

We can understand it better if we were to cite and attempt to understand certain things that happened last year in the non-Congress provinces. Take Assam for example. There the Governor used his special powers the other day for certifying as essential expenditure salaries of the establishments of Commissioners, money for which had been refused by the Provincial Legislature. When the trouble over the release of the Political prisoners in the United Provinces and Bihar precipitated a crisis in the two provinces, the Governor-General declared that he refused to allow the Ministers in the Congress provinces to do this because it would have a serious effect on the peace of Bengal and the Panjab. The Panjab Premier on being heckled in the Panjab Assembly admitted that the Provincial Cabinet had never been consulted as to what effect the release of these prisoners would have on the situation in the Panjab. The Premier, however, forgot to add that a grave menace to the peace of the province is a special responsibility of the Governor and that therefore it is possible that the Governor of the Panjab and the Governor-General may have corresponded on the matter. Here are then two sides of the Government functioning: the Governor communicating to the Governor-General that the release of Political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar would be dangerous to the peace of the Panjab and the Premier declaring to the Assembly that he did not believe so. Such a thing could not have happened in the Congress provinces.

Or, take a recent case in the Panjab. A Muslim M.L.A. gave notice of a bill by which certain properties now in the possession of the

Sikhs would have passed into the hands of the Muslims without any compensation. This required the previous consent of the Governor acting in his own discretion. Refusal of the assent was an interference with the sovereign(?) rights of the Panjab Assembly to deal with problems relegated to its care. The Governor refused to give its assent to the introduction of the measure after formally consulting the Ministry. Now the Ministry could have achieved the same end by requesting the Governor to give his assent to the introduction of the measure so that this restriction on the authority of the legislature should not remain operative, and then used its majority to refuse permission to introduce the measure. Instead of that the Panjab Ministry advised the Governor to refuse his assent—or was it the Governor who advised the Ministry to advise him to that effect?

On the other side, there are the Congress provinces now seven in number. There the Councils of Ministers have taken the sensible view that if the Governors ever feel called upon to exercise their special responsibilities, they should better inform the Ministers who would tender their resignations thereon. This was exactly what Sir Samuel Hoare had said would not be allowed to happen. The two sides of the Government were to be free to function within their respective spheres. Further, the Congress started on the assumption that in order to safeguard the interest of minorities, it was not necessary to have their representatives in the Ministry. Their ministers are political in complexion. The Congress is in power and not coalitions. There are Muslim ministers in most of the Congress ministries just as there are Hindu ministers. The religion of the various members has less to do with their being there than their political principles. When no Congressite Muslim minister could be found for Orissa, the Governor assured a Muslim deputation that he was sure that the interest of all minorities were safe in the hands of the Congress ministers. There are no two sides of the administration in these provinces.

Much has been made, sometimes, of the fact that under the existing Rules of Business even in the Congress Provinces, Governors preside over the meetings of the Cabinets. Such criticism loses sight of the very important fact that the Congress policy in the provinces is settled not in these cabinet meetings but in the meetings of the Congress Working Committee now at Wardha, now in Calcutta and now elsewhere. Still further, these meetings of

the Cabinet are more in the nature of formal ratification of the decisions, almost always, already arrived at. The Secretary of State had this in his mind when in his correspondence with the Local Governments on the subject of draft Rules of Business for the Provincial Governments, he suggested that the provision that the Governor must always preside at the meeting of the Provincial Cabinets would render those meetings unreal.

It is not only in their attitude towards the Governors that the Congress conception of Provincial Autonomy differs from the non-Congress one. The difference is also visible in their attitude towards fundamental assumption of democratic government. The Congress ministries have realized that democratic government presumes freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. The Government of the North-Western Frontier Province has repealed Section 124-A, thus making the bringing of the government established by law into contempt and hatred legal. The other Governments have almost everywhere refused to prosecute for sedition. In a recent Bombay case, though the Government prosecuted a speaker under this section because he was alleged to have advocated violence, they released him after his appeal in the High Court had failed. The Government of Bombay has repealed the Emergency Power Act of 1932 which is one of the instruments, invented at the time, for fighting the Congress. With regard to the press, the different attitude of the two types of governments can be well illustrated by a recent case. Security was demanded from a Socialist paper in the Panjab, the other day. Rather than pay, it shifted its place of publication to the neighbouring province of the U. P. No security was demanded from its publishers there. No action has been taken against it so far in that province. The Panjab Police, however, seized upon the copies of the paper meant for the Panjab, first of all as unauthorised news-sheets and later on as containing objectionable matter. As the matters stand at present, the U. P. Government is either of opinion that it contains no objectionable matter, even according to the emergency laws that were passed several years ago, or that, even if it does offend against those emergency laws, they should not use the powers conferred upon them under those undemocratic and arbitrary laws. The Panjab Government, however, holds otherwise. It is using to the full its armoury of emergency powers conferred on the irresponsible government of the province in the old days.

It is not a question of party politics. Liberty of the press and of individuals is too important a matter to form a question of party warfare. As the dissenting judgment of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tek Chand of the Lahore High Court held the other day, and as even the majority judgment seemed to suggest, the new constitution cannot be worked unless the section 124-A is radically altered, if not altogether repealed. The non-Congress provinces are carrying on in the traditions of the pre-Provincial Autonomy governments in their attitude towards popular liberties.

Assam has furnished an example of the difficulties which, it was suggested variously, Provincial Governments might have to face. In order to escape the fundamental postulates of responsible government in the provinces, it had been suggested that the Provincial ministries need not take their defeat on every question as indicating loss of confidence by the legislature. In Assam, the Government has been defeated several times on many important questions. The only visible result has been formal resignation of the Ministry and its re-emergence with a slightly modified personnel. One need not go to the length of saying that every defeat of a ministry should lead to resignation. But in India there is the danger of the ministers clinging to office at all costs for the sake of drawing the fat salaries that have been provided for in the non-Congress provinces. There is the further danger that the flouting of the vote of the legislature by a ministry might lead to dictatorial tendencies making the working of democratic institutions difficult. When a ministry seems to be clinging to authority despite repeated defeats in the legislature, it lowers the power and the prestige of the legislature thereby. That this has happened in Assam one need not deny. The lower salaries—I was going to say the ridiculously low salaries—of the Congress Ministers make it impossible, ordinarily, for ministers to cling to power after it becomes impossible for them to remain in office with honour.

The Joint Committee had refused to include the principle of joint responsibility in the Statute because it asserted wrongly, that it was too subtle a thing to figure in a written constitution. The Governors were instructed to promote it, but they were also instructed to see that there were representatives of the Minorities as well in the Cabinet. The non-Congress ministries started a little handicapped in the matter. But the insistence of the Congress party to include only Congressmen in the

Ministries led both to the homogeneity in views as well as the prevalence of the principle of joint responsibility. Other provinces have not been slow in taking advantage of the fact. It can be said that joint responsibility has now become an actual fact rather than a distant vision.

The second chambers were designed to act as a bulwark of vested interests. No one had, however, visualized that the Governmental majorities in the lower chambers would be as large as they are now. These large majorities have rendered the second chambers instruments of delay only. Their membership is so small in comparison with that of the lower chambers that the large majorities which the present Governments enjoy there have rendered differences between the two houses, more or less, a question of recounting votes only.

A very serious situation seems to have arisen all over the country with regard to the roll of the permanent services in the various provinces. The new popular Governments resent all bonds. The problem of reorganizing the entire administrative machinery so that it might suit the new conditions better, has nowhere received that attention which was its due. Even though the Secretary of State impressed upon the Provincial Governments the necessity of so reorganizing their secretariat as to secure efficient control by ministers over various departments, no provincial government has yet undertaken the task in hand. The existing machinery in some places ill suits the exigencies of a popular government. As a result, sometimes small matters have revealed tendencies that might one day become dangerous. There was that violent clash between the Services mentality and the loose thinking in our Provincial Governments in a Congress province the other day, when the Chief Secretary addressed a circular letter to various officers telling them that the only valid official orders to them would be those signed by the Secretaries. If the Interim Ministry in the United Provinces called the Divisional Commissioners in conference to help them devise means for fighting their political opponents, the Congressites in power have not improved matters by using their local party offices as a part of the Governmental machinery. Non-Congress ministers are doing no better. In most cases questions of politics and of administration have got mixed up together. The ministers are nowhere content with directing policy, they have been publicly poking their noses into small administrative matters. Sometimes this is due to nepotism,

sometimes to a desire for nursing their constituencies; but usually it is due to the failure of those concerned to realize, either, the limitation of their office, or, the implications of their action. A Minister in the Panjab, while presiding at a prize-giving ceremony in a school, so far forgot himself that he publicly assured the school authorities that he would pass certain orders if they would renew their application which had not been favourably received earlier. Here the absence of traditions favouring 'the Rule of law' and a legalistic spirit has been increasing our difficulties further. We, and therefore our ministers, love to pass individual orders rather than define general policy. This has further complicated matters. Unfortunately, sometimes even the Services shut their eyes to these difficulties. They are—most of them I should say—more intent on safeguarding their statutory rights and legitimate interests. Most of them do not know where they stand and are content with marking time. The introduction of communal principle in the recruitment to the Services, coupled with the existence of communal Governments, in certain provinces had made the matters worse.

As regards party organization under the new scheme of things, it can be said with truth that parties, sharply differing in their outlook on various matters of Provincial interest, have yet to be born. So much has to be done on common lines that serious criticism of the parties in power, except by vested interests or communal organizations, has not been much in evidence. Parties differ more in the communal outlook, in their attitude towards the Federation, and in their belief or disbelief in democracy. The existence of the Congress Parliamentary High Command, holding to its allegiance the Provincial Governments in seven provinces, has further cut at the root of purely provincial parties, while the Muslim League has been struggling hard to bring within its fold the Provincial Governments in the Panjab, Bengal and Sind. In the last province, a coalition government is now in power during the pleasure of the Congress Party. The non-Congress ministries in the Panjab, Bengal and elsewhere have, often, prided themselves on following the best part of the Congress programme.

But more serious is the development of the relations between party organizations and parties in power. Here the Congress has exhibited many deplorable features. It tried to force its own national song, the *Bande Matram* on all, it treated its own flag as a national

emblem and thus raised many thorny problems, and it tried to force its own office-bearers on the various administration, sometimes as experts and sometimes as arbitrators. The too close identification of the party outside the legislature with the government in power has raised difficulties which the Congress is slowly realizing. The attempt to use the office-bearers of a party as parts of the administrative machinery cannot be too strongly condemned. The worst example of this kind has been the recent appointment by the Working Committee of an outsider to decide the purely administrative questions of the alleged miscarriage of justice involved in the release of prisoners, guilty of heinous offences in the Central Provinces. The Unionists in the Panjab as well have not done much better. They have often treated attacks on the party as attacks on the Government of the Panjab and have been going about trying to link up fortunes of the two together. This

may be a passing phase. As soon as the question of the Indian Federation is settled, we may discover party organization of the Congress relax a little thus allowing the development of normal relations between governments and party organizations.

Such, in broad outline, is our first year's profit and loss account. That we have done much better than either our friends hoped for, or our enemies feared, is abundantly clear. For the first time we have become masters in our home, though after a pitched, yet peaceful fight. As time goes on the non-Congress provinces would share to a larger extent in the victory won by the Congress. The dictatorial and undemocratic tendencies present a more complex problem. But Provincial Autonomy would become real only when the problems of the Federation and the organization of the Central Government have been satisfactorily solved.

GOLD AND ITS FUTURE

BY PROF. H. L. DEY, M.A., D.Sc. ECON (London)

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GOLD has been known to mankind since the dawn of history. The sage-poets of the Rig-Veda sang some of their most beautiful hymns in praise of gold. And from very early times down to our own age, India has shown her admiration of gold by attracting and accumulating the yellow metal in various forms. She has been, therefore, called the Eastern sink of gold. It is also well known that it was her fame as a gold-hoarder that tempted a succession of adventurers like Mahmud of Ghazni (1026), Timur Lane (1398) and Nadir Shah (1739) to invade India.

But, important as was the part played by gold in the early history of India and the rest of the world, it rose to the position of a World Dictator during the half century that preceded the Great War. It was during this period that the steam engine and the telegraph were rapidly reducing time and space and bringing the different parts of the world nearer and nearer to each other. And these unifying influences were greatly assisted by the emergence of gold as the international monetary

standard, so that the whole civilized world was soon converted into one, single economic unit. Epoch-making inventions, growth of trade and industry, increase of population, and development of virgin areas in North and South America, Oceania and Africa proceeded apace. And the human race as a whole secured a tremendous increase in material wealth and moral well-being, which is without a parallel in the recorded history of mankind.

Now, under the laws and conventions of the gold standard adopted by the entire civilized world during that period, the international distribution and movements of gold determined what the price levels in different countries were to be. Changing price levels in their turn governed production, employment, income and governmental revenues—in short, economic progress and retrogression. This is how gold became the absolute dictator of the world's economic system.

Like all dictators, gold, too, in the early part of its career, exercised its powers in the manner of a benevolent despot. But, in the

post-war period, its tyranny caused an international financial and banking crisis of the first magnitude and brought about the World Economic Depression which, in terms of loss of employment and income, physical and mental pain and moral degradation, inflicted an amount of suffering on mankind which far exceeded what had been caused by the war. In consequence, all nations rebelled against gold and overthrew its sovereignty, and assumed national autonomy in currency matters, free from the domination of gold. And free and autonomous national currencies have enabled most nations to achieve a large measure of recovery from the depression.

The position of gold at present is that it is no longer the monetary standard. It has become merely a valuable commodity like other valuable commodities, though, doubtless, it retains that mysterious power over governments and peoples, which is possibly based on a Freudian complex. In the meantime, however, the supply of gold has increased enormously, and people are seriously debating whether the price of gold would not be going down in the near future.

The most curious thing about gold is that while the prices of most other things have gone down, the price of gold has gone up to the extent of 67 p.c., and that this high price of gold has continued in spite of a large increase in its supply. The principal reason why the price of gold has gone up during the last few years is the devaluation of national currencies. Before the Depression, the British pound, for instance, under the law of the land, was equal to and freely exchangeable for 113 grains of gold. But, when England, due to shortage of gold, gave up the gold standard, the English pound was no longer convertible into that fixed quantity of 113 grains of gold. It became an inconvertible paper money, which rapidly depreciated in terms of gold till today it is only equal to about 68 grains of gold. In consequence of this depreciation of the paper pound, one ounce of gold is now equal to £7, whereas in the pre-depression period it was equal to £44. Exactly the same thing has happened in the rest of the world—a decline in the gold value of national currencies and a consequent increase in the price of gold in terms of national currencies. The U. S. A. dollar, the French franc, the Indian rupee, the Japanese yen, etc., are all in the same case as the British pound.

As a result of this big rise in the price of gold, its supply has increased enormously.

Its annual production from the mines was 35·3 million ozs. in 1936 as against 19·7 million ozs. in 1929. Besides, due to economic distress and the temptation of the higher price of gold, India dishoarded 35·4 million ozs. and China and Hongkong about 6 million ozs. of gold by the end of 1936. The quantity of gold in the world has increased by 21 p.c., while due to devaluation of currencies, its monetary value has increased by 100 p.c. The stocks of gold held by Central Banks and Treasuries have increased in value from 2,580 crores to 7,419 crores of rupees. Again, whereas in 1929 the excess gold reserves over the legal minimum held by Central Banks were 600 crores, they now amount to 4,700 crores of rupees. But, in the meantime, the value of international trade which provides the main demand for gold now-a-days has gone down by 42 p.c. By all accounts, therefore, the present supply of gold is far in excess of present demand. And, since in the face of militant nationalism and talk of wars all the world over, international trade is bound to remain at a low level, the demand for gold for international payments is not likely to increase.

On the other hand, the supply of gold is bound to be large so long as its price is high. Consequently, in so far as the demand and supply of gold were concerned, there should have been a great fall in the price of gold. But, the Big Three, the U. S. A., Britain, and France, who hold over 75 p.c. of the entire monetary gold stocks of the world, are keeping up its price by buying it in large quantities only in order to bury it in the vaults of their Central Banks. The reasons for this rather foolish and extravagant policy of buying unwanted gold with borrowed money are as follows:—

Firstly, they are unable to make up their minds as to how best they could retrace their steps. If they did not buy the gold, its value would fall, and the gold value of their national currencies would rise. This would mean a rise in the ratios of their respective currencies. And unless all nations were prepared to allow the gold values of their currencies and their ratios of exchange to rise simultaneously and in the same degree, there would be competitive inequalities in international trade.

Secondly, a fall in the price of gold would mean a reduction in the monetary values of the gold reserves of their Central Banks and Treasuries, and thus wipe out at one stroke the enormous paper profits they have made due to the rise in the price of gold.

Thirdly, California, South Africa, Canada and Australia are all big gold-producers. Consequently, neither the U. S. A., nor Great Britain is willing to allow the price of gold to fall precipitously.

Fourthly, there is also a vague talk of a return to the international gold standard and a revival of international trade, when the demand for gold would increase and all the gold would be equitably redistributed in a friendly manner among all the nations of the world.

But, most of these arguments are due to false hopes and confusion of ideas. The outstanding facts of the situation are that the supply of gold is enormously excessive in relation to possible demand at its present price. The question is not so much whether the price of gold would or would not fall as whether the fall should be sudden or gradual. In view of the confusion that would result from a sudden reversal of relations between gold and currency values, it is desirable that the fall should be

made gradual. And this could be done by deliberate adjustments of the buying and selling prices of the Big Three in respect of gold. It is, therefore, highly probable that the recent tendency of the price of gold to fall slowly and irregularly would continue for many years to come. And, with this progressive fall, there should be a gradual increase in the demand for gold for jewelry and other industrial uses on the one hand, and a decline in new production and dishoarding on the other, till at last there came a sort of equilibrium between demand and supply. A greater and more rapid fall in the price of gold, which is warranted by the present state of demand and supply, cannot take place because of uncertainties regarding the future of peace. And should a European War break out in the near future, all economic values would again be thrown into the melting pot, and all reasonable calculations about the future price of gold would be thoroughly upset.

THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT TAKES A SERIOUS TURN

Appeal to the Congress to Avert Crisis

UNDER the auspices of Tadepalligudem "Andhra Mandali", a public meeting was held on 3rd June, 1938, at Tadepalligudem, under the presidency of the renowned journalist Mr. Y. Venkataratnam Pantulu. The meeting was well attended by merchants, doctors, vakils, students, ryots, Congressmen and members of the youth league, library association and other associations. Great enthusiasm prevailed, throughout the proceedings and the young men have pledged themselves to undergo any length of sacrifice for achieving their object of getting a separate province for the Andhras.

The Presidential Address dealt in detail with the history of the Andhra movement since the advent of the Congress, the present issues which confronted the movement and the remedies for the same. Messrs. K. Kistamaraju, B.A., LL.B., P. Satyanarayana, B.A., K. Rama Sastry, B.A. and T. Venkataraju spoke vehemently on the subject. The following resolutions were passed:

1. This Conference is of opinion that the views expressed by the President and members of the All-India Congress Committee on the question of Andhra Province are the result of ignorance and error of judgment and requests them to reconsider their opinion to give immediate effect to the resolutions passed by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

2. This Conference requests the Congress President to tour the Andhra districts to gain first-hand knowledge on the gravity of the problem.

3. This Conference requests the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to send a deputation to Mahatmaji to explain to him the full details of the situation.

4. This Conference warns the Congress Working Committee that a grave situation worse than that in the Central Province is fast developing and requests that prompt measures may be taken immediately, before it is too late.

5. This Conference appeals to the Andhra Maha Sabha Standing Committee that if the Congress still objects to send a Congress deputation to England a non-Congress deputation consisting of eminent nationalists like Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, the Raja of Challapalli and others, may be sent, to educate the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary members.

6. This Conference is of opinion that Andhra language should be introduced forthwith, in the Courts, District Boards, Municipalities, Legislative Assembly Council, and the Andhra University.

7. This Conference appeals to the Andhra journalists to start an English Daily for carrying on propaganda work and to send frequent articles to the various periodicals in other Provinces on the question of "Andhra Province."

8. This Conference demands from the Madras Premier, the publication of the details of the Madras Government's recommendations to the India and British Governments on the resolutions passed by the Madras Council and Assembly, regarding the formation of Andhra Province.

K. KRISHNAM RAJU, B.A., LL.B.,
President, Andhra Mandali

HALBI FOLK-SONGS COME NEARER

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

"WOULDN'T you like to add some Halbi songs, too, to your collection, when they are so near," remarked Mr. Pooran Singh at Jagdalpur in C. P. And he gave me his book *An Introduction to the Halbi Language*. It proved to be of genuine help to me in feeling at home with this new language. "Halbi is a language of no less than 1,74,681 people of whom 1,71,293 souls live in Bastar State alone," he went on to say. "It is my mother-tongue and I am proud of it."

Halbi is originally the language of the Halba people. The word Halba must be an abridged form of Sanskrit Halbaha (lit. peasant), and almost all the Halbas today are tillers of the soil. Some other castes, however, have also



Mr. Pooran Singh.

He lives at Jagdalpur in Bastar State, the land of Halbi folk-songs. The writer describes him as his collaborator.

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adopted it as their mother-tongue. Day by day it is acquiring the character of a *lingua franca* throughout the length and breadth of Bastar State—a veritable mine of dialects. Even amongst the Gondi-speaking Marias it is Halbi that at once becomes the second language for the local interpreters. "A valuable means of inter-communication", declares Mr. Hyde, the present Administrator of Bastar.

But the Halbi language failed to charm a great linguistic scholar like Sir George Grierson. "It is a mechanical mixture of bad Marathi, bad Oriya, and bad Chhattisgarhi", he declared. Conceivably, my friend Pooran Singh is not

willing to accept this criticism. "Sandwiched between the Marathi, Oriya, and Chhattisgarhi speaking areas, it is only natural that Halbi should be under their mixed influence," he says, "but it is rather sad that Sir George Grierson calls it a mechanical mixture of merely the bad elements of three languages."

I had gone to Bastar State to study the songs of the Marias, but then I had to attend to the Halbi songs first, for they happened to be much nearer to me than the Maria songs.

And I found a regular collaborator in my friend Pooran Singh. Every day I would go to the countryside and would return with the text of scores of folk-songs. In the evening, he would come to my residence to offer cordial help for their translation. At every typical word he would stop and give along with the literal meaning its whole background and purpose. Proverbs, riddles, and folk-tales—all came as toys in his hands, and he used them freely to make the illustrations all the more interesting and alive. Of course, he was not capable of reproducing the beautiful and thrilling tunes of the Halbi songs. Always he took me into the deep linguistic details; a sweet labour of love, he called it. "I should call you an encyclopedia of the Halbi language", one evening I remarked in a flattering tone. "Don't you say so", he returned humbly. "I know very little."

One remarkable type of Halbi folk-song is *Rilo**. It draws its strength from the everyday life of the people. Occasionally it is followed by a full-blooded romance giving birth to many a new song in its turn. Every young man must respond to the call of *Rilo* songs as the bees do to the flowers of the new season. I remember a party of tall well-built youths. All of them solemnly agreed to sing to me their favourite *Rilo*. And their glorious voices put life into the song:

The Girl:

Blossoming in the forest-side
You are my *Rosona* flower
And the singer of *Rilo* songs you are!

* In some parts it is known as *Liro* as well.

The Boy:

You say that you'll come to me
 And who'll give me money?
 O wherefrom shall I pay the price
 In cash to your husband?
 I would prefer to be without a girl.
 And then I know
 What an average woman is like—
 For her husband she serves gruel,
 And the cooked rice she keeps for herself.

The Girl:

Well, I too know
 The men of Kal Yug.
 Today they get rich
 Tomorrow they drive away their poor wives.

The Boy:

Your comment I understand
 My *Rosona* flower!
 But it is like the noise
 That comes up while you pound the *Chivra*.

The Girl:

O I fail to compete with you,
 My dearest love!
 Now go on singing *Rilo*
 And I'll be but a calm listener.

The Boy:

For six months or one full year
 I'll keep my eye on you.
 I want you to be a girl serene.
 Not stupid like a buffalo.

The Girl:

Around a jar of *Landa*
 The boys of Tekragura village have assembled.
 Water is served from the spring of Singanpur village
Landa, the rice beer, comes from Lamker.

Some of the words of this song were very obscure, and, to make a very close and literal translation for me, my friend, Pooran Singh, had to spend more than half an hour. When, depending upon his translation, I prepared a revised version, trying my best not to go away from the original spirit, he looked very eager to listen to it. And, to my joy, he approved of it. "The very first *Rilo* must have been sung by a girl", he observed. I agreed and quickly quoted to him Ananda Coomaraswamy's words: "If we study the folk speech anywhere in the world, we shall see that it reveals woman, and not the man, as typically the lover."* "By the same common pulse is timed our *Rilo* song," he said, "bringing love close to us. The end of the present *Rilo* is very suggestive. You can imagine the girl offering a cup of *Landa* to her beloved who sits amidst his friends, her winning smile lending a unique meaning to the *Lilo* song which is in itself more than an institution". He also told me the full story of the *Rosona*

flower. The *Rilo* singers, nurtured in a tradition of long standing, compare each other with the yellow *Rosona* (also known as *Rachna*) flower. Now *Mari Rosona*, or the *Rosona* flower of the plain, is the name of a kind of friendship between boys and girls, and they commence it by taking a sacred vow of faithfulness and symbolically offering the *Rosona* flowers to one another.

The Halbi-speaking Maria youths, with whom the *Rilo* is an everlasting favourite, may sometimes be seen dancing against one another trying to sing unanswerable pieces. On any occasion, they may begin to sing it, sitting round the camp-fire winter nights, resting under the shade on summer noons, working in the fields, or with a comparatively stronger impetus during a wedding. Once, I remember, I heard a wedding *Rilo*:

On the way-side mango
 The peacock goes to roost—
 His moustaches are growing!

Thus went the bride's piece, celebrating the moustaches of her own groom, who soon replied rather dictatorially:

Yes, my *Rosona* flower,
 The peacock's moustaches are growing.
 But who'll hear you at length?
 Make haste and be brief.

The bridegroom was rather in a hurry to take his bride home. No time should be wasted on formal jokes, he thought. Another piece caught a note of realism:

Dadak, dadak, water is falling,
 My *Rosona* flower!
 Peep into your mind
 And just see
 If you can accept my love.

Thus sang the girl and the boy replied:

Well, you ask me
 To peep into my mind
 Just take this *Keora* flower
 From my hands, my love.

Again the girl came out with:

I should have your *Keora* flower, you say.
 And I have it with love and care.
 When you leave me now
 Don't forget me altogether.

Here the song ended, for the boy did not perhaps want to give a promise always to remember his sweetheart, a young village girl with sleek black well-combed hair, and eyes thirsty for a love response.

So far, so good. Further investigations enlarged and enriched and beautified my studies. Songs, facile in expression and vividly telling the life of the people, were pouring in. And Pooran Singh sat with me every evening to help me.

*Ananda Coomaraswamy: *The Dance of Siva*, p. 96.

I would often fail to grasp a certain picture, and he would bring home the whole background, saving me from any sort of mistake.

So we came one day to a *Rilo*, redolent of the fun and satire of peasant life:

Husband:

This painted basket has been brought
From the village of Chingpal;
And the Aud boy who made it
Belongs to Neganar.
No plough, nor bullocks
Have I, ah me!
Unavailing goes the wetness of the fields!

Wife:

Unavailing is the wetness
Of the fields, you say.
Why not ask your village friends
To come to your help*
If you have neither plough nor bullocks,
My *Rosona* flower?

Husband:

You suggest help, my love,
From my village friends.
I was teasing you—
The plough and bullocks are there.
But, alas, there is no strength
In my body at all, my love,
The sun is setting.

Wife:

Yes, my *Rosona* flower,
The sun is setting, as you say.
But, like the naked roots of a Jamala tree
That stands on the river bank
Your moustaches are growing
Strong and unruly.
If not *Body* and *Mehar*,†
Cultivate the *Goindi* rice,
A very rich harvest you'll have
And in a circle of forty sheaves
You'll place the harvest, my *Rosona* flower.

Husband:

Keep up your blessed speech,
Patiently I hear, my love,
But, how much longer
Will you go on?
My soul belongs to *Jama*, the God of death,
And this my body will go to dust.
My days are numbered
I'll bend to the hill-breeze,
Today I talk to you
Tomorrow, I shall not.

Wife:

To talk to me tomorrow
You wouldn't be here, you say.

* *Bethia* is the original name of the time-honoured system of co-operation when the village folks, turn by turn, join in groups to help weak and poor friends, not necessarily relations, in the field work. The people who come to do this work are called *Bethias*.

† Coarse varieties of rice, cultivated on slopes where very little water is required: pronounced locally as *Wori* and *Mehar*.

O name to me your gods,
My *Rosona* flower!
For your safety I'll pray to them.

Sometimes even the best part of a *Rilo* remains but a solo song. Of course, after every few lines in this case the *Rilo* singer repeats the last item of the preceding line. Given to the use of satire, the monologue grows up in everyday village life. Bhikari, a sunburnt peasant of Bilchur village, sang to me a *Rilo* of this type:

Now my heart is glad, my *Rosona* flower,
Harvesting and threshing, all over;
O I am at my leisure now.
At leisure, my wife.
Spread the mat, for my eyes are heavy with sleep.
Eyes heavy with sleep, my wife,
The child weeps and disturbs me.
The child weeps, my wife,
I, your husband, feel tired of quietening him.
"Whither have you been?" I ask;
And it makes you lose your temper.
Lose your temper, my wife,
In the forest reserve of Titargaon a leopardess roars,
The leopard roars, my wife,
What is the effect of it on your heart?
On your heart, my wife?
Bhaen, *Bhaen*, *Bhaen*, it fills my heart with fear†

Bhikari's wife, Jhumri, must have appreciated in her heart of hearts the song of her husband. He had sung it laying stress on the interesting parts of the song. "I would like to



The Parjas
They have their own dances
Copyright: Mrs. O. M. Auner

hear one song from your wife, Bhikari," I said with a growing sense of urgency. I felt hopeful, for I thought that she would certainly sing if her husband advocated my case. "No, no", Bhikari came out with, "my wife is very shy and she won't sing. However, I'll give you one more *Rilo*." And he sang:

‡ *Bhaen* pronounced nasally is a sound symbolical of the lonely forest spaces.

The *mahua* oil you apply to your hair.
 And sitting on an old *machi* *
 You comb your shining hair.
 Comb your shining hair, my love,
 Quarrelling with your husband,
 You run away to your mother, my love,
 "What makes you come, daughter?" asks your mother
 "My husband, that black-faced one, has beaten me,"
 you cry,
 "Has beaten me, my love",
 "Get out, you black-faced one," you shout,
 As your husband approaches you to be reconciled.

Everybody laughed as the song closed.
 "Don't you think, Jhumri darling, that it is to you that I have addressed this song", Bhikari went on to say. "You are never so, you are my good wife". But Jhumri, his wife, had understood the hit. Laughter lurking in her eyes, she had the look of a smart modern woman.

Over and over again, the *Rilo* song titillated my interest in Halbi folk-poetry. Then I reached another type, the *Chait-Parab* song. "Here is a song, originally sung in the month of *Chait*", remarked Pooran Singh, "so you see that it is sung in the Spring, but then it is necessarily a love-song rather than a new season song".

As regards the language of the *Chait-Parab* song, it is not essentially Halbi. Originally a favourite song among the Bhatras, who speak a mixed dialect of Oriya, it is almost Oriya-like in sound and colour. But its popularity is wide among Halbi-speaking people as well.

The *Chait-Parab* singer would like to commence his song with a sort of prayer to *Mahamai*, *Kalika* and more often *Danteshwari*—the local goddesses, the last being the tutelary goddess of the present Raj family in Bastar State. "Victory to you, *Mahamai*. Victory to you, *Kalika*. In your names I commence my song. Be kind and make my throat your abode", sings the *Chait-Parab* singer, suggesting that the sipritual touch of the goddesses can enhance the beauty of this song. And when the village boys and girls enter a competition, even the goddesses are expected to take sides. "The goddess *Ranokasini* is worthy of my salute. In her name I begin my song, success must be mine everywhere. In the temple, the drum-play goes on. My salute be to the God of Battle", sings the leader of one party. And the rival leader returns, "You saluted your God and Goddess. To whom should go my salute? In the name of Mother Maoli I sing, and to her goes my salute. On the temple door, the parched rice is spread. Be kind, Mother, make my voice like a Koel's".

* A stool of wood and string.

On the first day of the *Chiat-Parab* festival they go from door to door in the village collecting small coins. This money is spent on liquor they share together. And the whole night long the songs go on before the goddess—songs every now and then enlivened by a little dancing. Next morning finds them starting for the neighbouring villages; before every door they sing, dance and collect money that is spent on a good public dinner towards the last evening of the festival. It is primarily the festival of full-blooded boys and girls who are not yet married. However, the newly-married boys and girls, too, in their respective villages cannot resist joining in this celebration of love, beauty, and youth. The party of boys and girls that goes ahead singing, takes along a few elderly persons, too, to see that it does not go astray. Throughout the month of *Chait* these song-feasts go on. Under the strong influence of overwhelming competition, the girl members of the party challenge the boys of the village and its boys sit to compete with the boys of that village separately. It is, of course, always a treat to attend these song-contests. And the songs are both old and new, most of them sung extempore. The party that wins charges little presents of flowers—the rose, champa, jasmine and *hazariphul*—or even of parched rice and molasses from the defeated boys and girls, who, as tradition has taught them, never again in their life sit in contest with any winning member individually. Just after the result of a contest, a defeated girl may spontaneously begin to love the boy who wins; they may even, with mutual consent, run away to some forest glade from where their parents may bring them after having given final consent to the marriage. Such a marriage is known as *Paisa Mundi*. In olden days, the boys and girls used to begin the song contest with a definite promise that the defeated girl will marry the boy who surpasses her. One thing is clear even today; a girl defeated in a contest, possesses a life-long admiration for the winning boy and whenever he comes to see her at her father-in-law's place after her marriage, she offers him cordial hospitality and nobody can object to it.

Apart from the actual festival in the month of *Chait*, the *Chait-Parab* songs may be sung on other occasions as well, especially during the wedding feasts when it gets a new name, *Munhi Mangto*, or "the asking for the ring." The defeated boy is forced by the winning girl to present a ring to her.

This *Mundi Mangto* developed into a popular institution. Whenever the village girls



The *Mahavat*
As the elephant drinks water, the
Mahavat starts singing.



Awaiting the season of the
Chait Parab song



A Peasant Family

Copyright, Mrs. O. M. Auner, Jagdalpur.



A Family

The old members of the family must pass away leaving
aside the younger ones to keep the institution of Halbi
songs alive.



Mother and Son

You can hear them singing in chorus

Copyright, Author.



Dignity of Labour
With his sunburnt face the Halba peasant looks
proud of his vocation in life. *Copyright, Author.*



Father and Daughter
Copyright, Author.



Daughter of the Soil
She is fond of *Rilo* song that forms an important
chapter of Halbi folk-songs. *Copyright, Author.*



A Halba Woman
She sits remembering the past days of youth when
the inspiration of the *Chait Parab* song was much at
home with her. *Copyright, Author.*

come to know of the arrival of a guest in the village, they assemble before him at night with a challenge to fight a contest. Even a State official, on his visit to a village, at once becomes an object of attraction to the *Mundi Mangto* girls of the village.

Opening a chapter of *Raso Rang Git*, the songs of love and beauty, the *Chait-Parab* singer comes forward :

The coloured earth is of various hues.
Lo! The black crow has taken wing.
Now, no more salutes to the Goddess.
Come on with your songs of love and beauty.

The village youth admires the beauty of his sweetheart:

Come on, dearest,
My heart swells with delight.
Every night, my fair-faced singer,
I have been seeing you in my dreams.

She gets annoyed at this invitation:

You have sung your song
And it has gone astray,
You cannot compose a song serene!
Yours is like picking up
The remains of other's meals.

However, the village youth sticks to his theme :

Dark like a cloud
Your fanciful *sari*
You have thrown over your shoulders!
It is by the grace of God, my love,
That we meet today.

Then she surrenders, so to speak, and sings of the *Champa* flower as the symbol of love :

At a full day's distance on foot
Is the village of Maidapur from here,
O buy me some molasses, my love,
Offer me also a home-pun kerchief,
A *champa* flower
That will remain fresh throughout the year.

This brings a further note of joy in the boy's song:

Breakable is the dry *Sal* leaf,
Not so the *Bodal* leaf.
Both your cheeks, my love,
Are beautifully tattooed.
O sing me dear, dear songs.

And she sings symbolically, comparing herself to a doe:

The weekly *Hat* market
Got late by one week.
And our meeting is late
By full one month.
Lo! the running doe is caught
Even in a snare
Of weak paddy straw rope.

The boy sings more lovingly:

I love you, sweet darling,
Be my life companion,
In the *Madhuban*, the forest of love,
I have long been searching for you.

Readily she returns:

Heavily it rained this year,
And a boisterous flood followed.
Come away with me, you say,
But I cannot, my youthful boy,
My home is far away!

Now the boy assures her of a new home:

Unploughed for long eighty year-
Lies yon field, my love.
The shade is sweet
Under the plantain grove.
Like a hard worker
I'll labour and feed you,
But you won't yield, my love!

She too reveals her innermost heart:

I digged deep and made a tank.
I also planted a garden.
Sweet and clear and dear
The water of my tank here!
But away from me my darling
Who should drink this water?

Then the boy's song describes his desire for marriage:

The Cobra crept along the *Salpi* tree!
With a jar of liquor on my head
I approached your father,
Alas! he refused to give me your hand.

This long contest ends with the girl's song that wins the day:

Heavily blows the wind,
Everywhere the sky seems cloudy.
Here is a Cobra, my love,
From the grip of a she-Cobra like me.
How will he come out victorious?

Often the *Chait-Parab* song makes direct references to everyday village life, and it at once becomes of great picture-value. You can actually see the workers in the fields:

We, the labourers, have come—
And in a row we stand.
Come on, singer dear,
Say "yes" and sing your song.

The song of the widow has a great sadness about it:

Alas! there is nothing to be cooked
In the widow's house.
Like a servant, she works hard
To fill her belly which is of a hand's breadth.
Whatever she gets, be it half-cooked or rotten
She jumps to eat and starves!

Another song shows the contrast between the life of the Bhatra peasants and the Mahras:

Poor Bhatras live upon
The fruits of *Sal* and *Stume*—
The Mahras are happier.
As long as the *Kawri** is on your shoulders
You cannot die of hunger, my love.

* *Kawri* is a bamboo pole from which baskets hang on both sides. It is carried on the shoulders.

Having studied the *Rilo* and *Chait-Parab*, I came to the *Leja* song. In Kokhapal, Bilchur, and Dharampur—the surrounding villages of Jagdalpur—I found out many specimens of the *Leja* song. It had more than two varieties and enjoyed the goodwill of the Mirgans, the Mahras, and the Ghasis.

"Why do they call it *Leja*," I enquired from Pooran Singh with a depth of feeling. "It is not very easy to trace the significance of the name," he remarked, "but *Leja* is the same as the Hindi *le ja* (lit. take it)." Perhaps this song was originally sung by the village folks giving a send-off to some dear one, I thought. Everyone who joined in the chorus said to the departing person, "Take these good wishes and love of ours along with you." And as time passed, there remained only *Leja* (take it) as a relic of the original wish. And to my joy, Pooran Singh came half-way and approved of my idea.

The Mahras repeat *Leja* thrice or more at the beginning of every song, while the Mirgans prefer to close with *Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja*! In the village of Kokhapal, a young Mahra boy sang to me a *Leja* of unusual length. It was composed of a long fragment, meant for a rhythmic recital in the beginning, and the usual short piece in the end. And it described love for Koeli, some bright-eyed village girl:

"Hurriedly come to me, my Koeli,
Give me a sweet embrace.
The *Mandia* corn I have is good
And smoothly runs the millstone.
My name is *Haria*.
O how I wish to live with Koeli,
You look like a sugarcane!
Search for you I must.
Leja, Leja, Leja,
It is not merely a *Leja* song,
It brings the actual news from Benta Bheja village.

There was a note of advice from the *Leja* singer to the village flirt:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
The road is full of sharp bends;
Don't you walk
Over the clods, my girl,
You'll fall down.

And a bashful girl's lover had his own *Leja*:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Behold the *Amarbel* creeper.
O what makes you hide and be busy inside?
Just come out and play with me.

Another *Leja* compared the sweetheart's face to the slender new moon:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
The new moon has risen.
Even if you are as big as a mountain
I cannot be satisfied
If I look at you for a short while.

Here Pooran Singh disagreed with me. "Don't you connect the new-moon of the first line with the later portion", he said, "in the *Leja* song there is very seldom an affinity between the first line and the later portion, its significance is only limited to its last word, for, according to the original verse scheme, it rhymes with the ending word of the song. The moon in the present song appears only by accident. Don't you think that the face of the beloved is compared to it. At the most you may make the first line a simple description taking into consideration that in the later portion the singer shows his urge for a full and long view of his beloved's face. So my full vote cannot go for your interpretation." But to me the first line of the *Leja* song appeared to be like the meditative brow of a person, suggestive and serene. "If the *Leja* song is a snapshot," I argued, "the first line must be taken as a close background, enhancing the form and texture of the song." And it was after a long discussion with Pooran Singh and some other scholars of Halhi that I won their votes of confidence for my view.

Coming a step nearer the *Leja* song, I got a considerable number of specimens. The words of a summer song ran rapidly:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Behold the *Anvari* and *Jam* trees
That stand together.
Wear your shady hat
Made of bamboo and leaf, my prince,
The sun burns your face!

Then followed a rain song:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
It rained in showers.
My song went along with it
And it ended not all night long.

Even a harvest song was near at hand:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Behold the leaves of the *Anvari* and the plantain
Behold also the plants of the *Goidi Lakro* paddy
Bent down with grain in the sloping field.

The grievance of a village dandy had its own note:

The house with its roof supported
By nine pillars and eight beams
Belongs to your father, my dear girl.
And I have been a servant with him
Since my tender days.
Alas! no sign of success so far
In winning your hand.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

And the wife of a morose husband appeared with her deep grief:

On yon berry tree
Speaks the bird *Gundlu*.
With a thorny stick

He beats me, sister.
My leg below the knee is badly swollen.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

Then there came satires. The false show
of a marriage in the village found a good
spokesman in the *Leja* singer:

Turbud, turbud, beats the *tudbudi*
And the *Nisan* drum, too, beats apace.
But look at the marriage-feast,
Everyone is served on leaves
With the poor curry made of *pipal* sprouts,
And that, too, in small quantity.
But big leaf-cups full of rice gruel
Are served all right,
For it does not cost much.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

The next hit was on a loose woman:

A *Koel* here and the other one
Cooing on the yonder side of the river.
For God's sake leave me now.
Disaster you have brought on all sides,
You husband-eater widow!
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

The *Leja* singer caught sight of the old
firt, too:

Bamboos I brought
And made a bundle.
O mother of five children,
You are getting your second youth.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

And he denounced her poverty:

Your face is like a *Sal* leaf!
Combing and braiding your hair
You have coiled your pigtail at the back,
But your ears are unadorned.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

The peasant under debt had his own satire
on life:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Dying of labour I raise the harvest.
How terrible to pay the *Dedha* corn†
To the *Saukar*, the village money-lender.

In the end I got a contemporary satire on
the police:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
I will prepare a pickle
And if it goes wrong
I'll report it to the police.

Apart from the *Rilo*, the *Chait-Parab*, and
the *Leja*, some minor types of Halbi songs may
be mentioned as well. The *Chherta* is the song
of the boys' festival of the same name.
Celebrated every year in *Pus*, it goes on for
three days ending as a rule on full-moon day.
The leader of the party, playing the role of
Nakta, a noseless fellow, and making a
peculiar hollow sound from a hollow gourd, goes

about with his friends from door to door, singing,
dancing, and collecting paddy or money for a
dinner. Run separately by the girls the *Tara*
song is the Left-Wing of the *Chherta*; the role
of *Nakta* has long been censured by them and
when they go from door to door at night they
carry an earthen lamp in a basket. Addressing
the housewife at every door, they join in chorus:

Behold yon star in the sky!
O we'll make a move
Towards our huts
If you are miserly
Even about a handful of rice,
Behold the broken axe!
Welcome us with your door, wide open,
No matter, if you give us rice or not.
Behold the four-cornered leaf-cup!
The girls so fond of parched rice
Go about from street to street.
Behold the weak straw rope!
In this month of *Pus* we meet
And the next month of *Magh*
Will find us separated.

Another noteworthy type is *Dhankul*. It is
a religious song and is sung by men and women,
assembled separately, to invoke a goddess.

The Halbi folk-song is, moreover, a living
institution, giving birth to contemporary songs.
One of the modern songs I got from Bhikari,
the sunburnt peasant of Bilchur. It is a remark-
able specimen, impregnated with symbolical
poetry:

In a meadow beyond the teak trees,
My Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,
Behold the grazing spotted deer.
Holding the *Chakmaki* rifle in his hands
The hunter goes on and on
To raise the rifle stand.
The rifle stand, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,
Whether he aims correctly or misses
The fearsome sound, the dangerous sound
Must come out of his *Chakmaki* rifle.
The fearsome sound, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona
flower.
Owardly he is sweet, and good and dear,
Within he shakes our self-pride!
Shakes the self-pride, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona
flower.
The kingdom of *Firangi* has reached here*
And his thorns prick even those
Who walk with every care.
The thorns prick, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona
flower,
Behold he throws away the small fish
And catches the bigger one.
Catches the bigger fish, my Rosona flower.
Every day he forces us for *Begar*†
Every day my heart trembles, my life sinks!

Bhikari's song was an indication of growing
self-consciousness in the voice of the people.
There must be more songs like this, I thought.

† The corn taken as seed from the shopkeeper is often
paid back with heavy interest—1½ times—at the harvest.
It is called *Dedha*.

*The Britisher.

† Forced labour, taken without pay from the villager.

And there must be many more Bhikaris to sing them. They would not let the Halbi song go into oblivion. They would rather bring new currents to the song of the soil.

Once again, on my way, back to Jagdalpur from the Maria villages, I visited Kokhapal and Bilchur and collected some more Halbi songs. Then it was high time for me to leave for Raipur. "You mustn't forget me," Pooran Singh said,

remembering the days we spent together. And when I told him that his name would remain fresh in my memory as long as the Halbi songs lasted, he felt delighted.

The home of Halbi songs, Bastar State, is now far away, but in the world of remembrance Halbi songs are ever with me, never at a great distance. And when I look back into my memory, I find them coming nearer and nearer.

SYSTEM OF WORKING OF THE GHEE SOCIETY

By ABANI NATH SANYAL

Inspector of Co-operative Societies, Etawah.

GHEE is one of the most important article of food in Indian dietary and it is consumed in large quantities on account of its suitability for cooking. It is generally prepared in U. P. by curdling milk, churning the curd and then heating the butter-fat thus obtained in an earthen or metal vessel on an open fire, and finally cooling and straining it after the removal of water by decantation.

Ghee-making is an important supplementary industry to agriculture and is essentially a cottage vocation. Its organisation on sound lines is bound to improve the economic position of the agriculturists in substantial measure. In the western districts of U. P. ghee-making, as cottage vocation is of such importance that ghee merchants of Calcutta and Rangoon find it necessary to open branches or keep special representatives in some of the important ghee centres to ensure a regular and sufficient supply of the article and we find a "Ghee chain" (if the expression may be used) stretching from Meerut right up to Cawnpore with important centres at Khurja, Chandausi, Hathras, Aligarh, Shikohabad, Sirsaganj, Etawah, Bharthana and Auraiya with offshoots in Gwalior State and adjoining districts. The importance of ghee trade of this tract can be judged from the fact that Etawah alone sends out something like 40,000 mds. of ghee annually from its *mandi* and a substantial portion of this go to Calcutta and Rangoon markets.

The Ghee Society is an attempt to organise this village industry on a co-operative basis, so that the producers may derive the maximum

of profit out of this business. Though in an experimental stage, it is pregnant with immense possibilities for the benefit not only of the producers, but of the consumers as well and would have far-reaching effects in ameliorating the condition of the agriculturists who form the backbone of this country. For the first time organisation of Ghee Society was taken up in 1929 and the first society was registered on 8th October 1929 at Chaubankapura in Tahsil Bah District, Agra. Upto 30th June 1935, the organisation of the Ghee Society was confined to Bah Tahsil where there are 66 societies and occupies the whole of the Tahsil bordering Etawah District. It has now been extended to Etawah District where there are now 45 societies and has tapped the most important ghee producing tract.

MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIETIES

| Years. | No. of societies. | No of members. | Quantity contracted in maunds. |
|---------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1929-30 | 1 | 16 | 25 |
| 1930-31 | 11 | 200 | 216 |
| 1931-32 | 19 | 310 | 417 |
| 1932-33 | 23 | 516 | 550 |
| 1933-34 | 29 | 660 | 800 |
| 1934-35 | 36 | 977 | 1182 |
| 1935-36 | 47 | 1397 | 1362 |
| 1936-37 | 111 | 3600 | 2800 |

The nature of business of Ghee Societies is such and the conveyances used (bullock carts or horses) are so slow that it is always convenient to have the Societies within a radius of 10 miles of the centre to be created.

NATURE OF BUSINESS

The nature of business of the societies is collection and joint sale. For this purpose, a *Co-operative Ghee Union* is created to which all the Ghee Societies are affiliated and which works as an agent for the societies for collection and joint sale. The ghee is brought from all the societies to the union office in their canister either in carts (bullock) or pack horses and the ghee from each society is weighed and entered into the account books of the ghee union. If the sale of ghee is to be effected in Etawah ghee *mandi*, then it is graded. If orders from consumers are in hand then the ghee is heated and cleaned by decantation and tested and then tinned which are also sealed. When a large number of tins are ready, they are sent in bullock carts to the Railway station and despatched to the buyers.

CONSTITUTION, MEMBERSHIP AND COMMITTEE

The society is organised on the basis of "one village, one society." According to the usual rules, more than ten owners of milch cattle (preferably buffaloes) join to form a society which is registered under "Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912". There is no share system, but every person joining the society has to pay an entrance fee of rupee one. The society elects their own panchayets (the Executive Committee) from amongst its members consisting of 3 or 5 members—one of whom is elected the Sarpanch (President or Chairman) and another is elected a Khanzanchi (Treasurer). A Secretary is also elected from amongst the members by the Panchayet (Executive Committee) whose duty is to maintain all the accounts of the society. The panchayet manages the internal affairs of the society and are responsible for the maintenance of proper accounts. The committee is removable by the votes of the members in a general meeting and it has also power to fill up vacancies falling within the year. The Committee is elected every year in the Annual general meeting of the society and the retiring members are eligible for re-election.

The membership of the society is confined to one village. Any adult possessing milch cattle and residing in the village and conforming to the rules and regulation of the society can become a member without any restriction for castes and creeds and it would not be out of place to mention that members enlisted from depressed classes (such as Chamars etc.) are the best re-payers of ghee.

STAFF, PREMISES

The societies have no paid staff. The Sarpanches and Treasurers are honorary workers. The member secretaries are also honorary workers but they may be paid some small honorariums. The members of the panchayet who do the work of weighmen of their societies throughout the year are also given small honorariums and it has been generally found that the sarpanches of the societies take up the work of weighmen of the society. They are also the most active persons to bring round the villagers to enter into contracts with their societies.

The individual ghee society is affiliated to the Co-operative Ghee Union and it is this ghee union that has to employ staff for handling the ghee contracted by the members of the societies. The premises of the ghee union is generally stationed at a central place within easy reach where the ghee is assembled and treated. It has godown for storage of the ghee received from the societies and other stocks of the union. The premises have got stables for keeping the pack horses and the bullocks and a pucca oven for the purpose of heating the ghee. Ghee union gets the services of supervisors of the Co-operative Department. (The Ghee work in this district received Rs. 6,000 from Government of India for pay of staff last year.) But it has to employ several permanent hands throughout the year and a few temporary hands during the busy season from November to March. In order to manage the works of the societies, the Ghee Union maintains pack horses and bullock carts with bullocks. The expenses are met out of contribution from the societies as the union is not a financing agency and it has no funds of its own. The contribution is charged at so much per maund of ghee contracted by the societies (with their members).

All these duties are performed by the Ghee Union, but the preliminary work of entering into ghee contracts with the members is done by the society itself. Ghee is weighed out every fortnight and weighing days have been fixed for each society. On that date the weighman of the Ghee Union goes to the society with his tin containers and pack-horses of the cart. The ghee is weighed out by each member and put into the containers and after the weighing out by each member has been finished, the whole quantity is weighed again, put on the cart or pack horse and taken to the Ghee Union godown. In this way the ghee from each society is assembled. Then comes the

question of treatment of the ghee thus assembled. If the ghee is sent to Etawah mandi for sale, *Kachcha* (that is untreated and raw) ghee is sent to the market for which no other treatment is given except that of mixing up the graded Ghee to make it uniform. It may be mentioned here that grading does not pay in Etawah mandi as no consideration is given to higher grade of ghee. In case the ghee is meant for supply direct to private persons or small merchants, for supply to consumers, the ghee is heated in big open iron pans directly over fire, and then put into the decanter where it is allowed to cool down when the water and other impurities settle down in the bottom. The clean ghee is taken out through the stop cock at the side of the decanter and the impurities through the stop cock at the bottom. The ghee is tinned directly from the decanter which are then weighed and made into uniform weight and then sealed. They are then ready for despatch to the various buyers from different places. The ghee is sent to the railway station in the bullock cart belonging to the Union.

MARKETING AND PRICE FIXING ARRANGEMENT

As has already been said above *kachcha* (raw) ghee is sent to Etawah mandi and the ghee sale there has to confirm to the rules of the mandi. The ghee is sent to the Arhatia (Commission agent) of the Union in the mandi. The ghee merchants of Etawah or the agents of ghee merchants of other places generally buy up the ghee. They visit all the shops of the Arahatis in the mandi and buy the commodity according to their requirements and fix the prices on the basis of Calcutta quotations which are obtained daily. After the ghee has been bought by the merchant, it is sent to his godown and from there the sample from each tin is sent to the Ghee Testing Laboratory where it is thoroughly tested and it is finally purchased if it passes the test. The ghee is then weighed in the godown of the merchant and after making various deductions for expenses, concessions, etc., the price of the ghee is paid to the Ghee Union through the Arahatia. The various expenses in Etawah mandi comes to about Rs. 2 per maund of ghee sold.

As for the prices fixed for supplying ghee direct to the consumers, the rates are same as that of Etawah mandi for equal weights plus Re. 1 to meet the cost of heating and classifying it (making free from all impurities, water, etc.) A small cartage is charged for transportation to the Railway station.

EXTENT DEALING WITH NON-MEMBERS AND MEMBERS

There is no dealing in the matter of contract with the non-members. As there are no consumers' society, the dealings have to be maintained with non-members for ghee sales.

FINANCES AND FINANCIAL RESULTS

The Co-operative Ghee Union is not a financing agency. The societies are financed by the Central Co-operative Bank of the District. The money is advanced to societies on pronotes at an interest of 10 to 12 per cent per annum. Sometimes societies have raised small deposits for capital. The societies in their turn finances their own members. With money taken from the Co-operative Bank, the societies enter into contract with their members for a fixed quantity of ghee supply, generally from one to two maunds per buffalo and the rate is fixed @ Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund of 50 seers less than the Etawah rate. It is instructive to note that the *beoparis* (small ghee merchants) contract @ Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund less than the Etawah rates. Again unlike the *beoparis* the contract money is given in lump sum and not in dribbles which is seldom of any real use to the indigent kisan. There is no joint liability and the personal liability is limited to Rs. 50 only for outside debts. Sureties are taken to safeguard the money advanced.

No interest is charged for the advances to the members. The difference of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund between the market rate and the rate at which the societies contract with their members covers the interest charges on the money laid out, the management expenses and the creation of reserve and other funds and if after all this there is any saving, a small amount of "patronage refund" is given to members as an encouragement if they have honoured their contracts in its entirety. The financial results of the working of the societies may be put down in the following chart.

| Year. | No. of societies. | Quantity of ghee contracted in maunds. | Amount advanced for contracts. | Profit |
|---------|-------------------|--|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1930-31 | 11 | 216 | 14692 | 172 |
| 1931-32 | 19 | 417 | 16524 | 2213 |
| 1932-33 | 23 | 550 | 23460 | 243 |
| 1933-34 | 29 | 800 | 28025 | 6514 |
| 1934-35 | 36 | 1182 | 34656 | 3970 |
| 1935-36 | 47 | 1362 | 49676 | |
| 1936-37 | 111 | Figures not yet ready | | |

ADVANTAGES TO PRODUCERS

The advantages to the producers on account of which the Ghee Societies are a success in contrast to the ways of the *beoparies* (small ghee merchants) may be summed up as follows :

(1) All the members are accorded square dealing and equal treatment in the matter of Ghee contracts, irrespective of caste or creed as is never done by the *Beoparies*.

(2) Its democratic management. All have got one vote each. The elected panchayets manage the affairs of the societies and every member can have his say in the affairs of his society.

(3) Payment of contract and feed money in lump sums and in cash which enable the kisans to meet their obligations.

(4) "Patronage Refund" for the full delivery of the Ghee contracted. It is one of the most important factors for success.

(5) Reasonable rates of contract and correct weighments.

(6) All transactions are made in the villages itself of the members and none have to go out to other villages.

ADVANTAGES TO CONSUMERS

1. Heated and clarified ghee (i.e., free from water and other impurities) is supplied to the consumers.

2. Unadulterated and pure ghee of high quality at reasonable rates is supplied in properly soldered tins direct from the Ghee Union office thus eliminating all middlemen profits.

BUSINESS ASPECT—PROFIT AND LOSS

The result of the working of the Ghee Societies during the last six years has conclusively shown that there cannot be any financial loss if they are worked with a little care and if there is no mismanagement or theft. In the year 1932-33, there had been an abnormal drop in ghee prices and even then the net profit was Rs. 243. With a little more caution in the matter of ghee contracts, it can be made a safe business for the kisan. The advent of the Ghee Societies in Bah and in Etawah has given an invisible profit to the cultivators in the shape of higher contract rates which are now being offered even by the *Beoparies* (ghee merchants) in order to compete with the societies which generally offer better rates for ghee contracts. In 1929 the difference between the rates of ghee contracts offered by the *Beoparies* used to be Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 less than the Etawah mandi rates. Since then the difference has come down to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per Bengal maund of ghee contracted.

Then there is the "Patronage Refund" for the members which is an extra income for them

which previously used to go to the pockets of the *Beoparies*. Except for the year 1932-33 the societies had been steadily giving "Patronage refund" to their members at the rate of Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per md. of ghee repayment which works upto 5 to 12 p.c. rebate when the rate of contract was Rs. 40 per md. (Bengal).

OTHER WORKS DONE BY THE GHEE SOCIETIES

The first work that was taken up by the Ghee Union was the supply of feeds to the milch cattle. Besides paying them in cash, cotton seed and oil cake were supplied to the members for the feeds of their milch cattle. Arrangements have also been done in taking a census of milch cattle yielding milk seven seers or more per day with a view to introduce cattle breeding by selection and elimination of poor milk yielders. Introduction of better breeds of buffaloes has also been taken up and some buffaloes of Dhoolpur Breed have been obtained and given to best members. They have been kept under observation and if they prove suitable for the tract, more would be obtained and given to the members.

The Ghee Union also maintains buffalo bulls of better breed for breeding purpose. It may be mentioned here that a former Murrah-buffalo bull did not serve the buffaloes of this tract well and it seems that Murrah-buffaloe bulls are not very suitable for the she-buffaloes of the local breed.

OTHER WORKS PROPOSED TO BE TAKEN UP BY THE GHEE UNION

It has been proposed that the following works should be taken up by the Ghee Union:

1. Introduction of silage and (2) arrangements for veterinary assistance. For the latter proper authorities have already been moved. It would not be out of place to mention that establishment of a Veterinary hospital or the services of a Veterinary Assistant cannot be secured without financial aid either from the Government or from the District Board.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WORKING OF A GHEE SOCIETY

The system of working of the Ghee societies is simple. The society is organised on the system of "one village, one society." According to the usual rules more than 10 members who keep milch cattle (mostly buffaloes here) join to form a society. There is no share system, but any person joining the society has to pay an entrance fee of rupee one. The society elects its own panchayet (the Executive Com-

mittee) from amongst its members which manages the affairs of the society with the help of the Supervisor in charge. As soon as a member's milch cattle calves, the society enters into contract with the member for a fixed quantity of ghee supply, generally from 1 to 2 maunds per buffalo. The rate is fixed at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 50 srs. maund less than the Etawah market rate, in contract to Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund less given by the Beoparis (small ghee marchants of the villages). The margin (of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12) covers the interest charges on the money laid out, the management expenses and the creation of Reserve and other funds. A small patronage refund is also given to the members, if there is a saving after meeting all the obligations of the society. The whole of the contract money is paid to the member in a lump sum which is very much appreciated by them as the Beoparis pay them in driblets or in kind much to the loss of the members. The society is financed by the Central Co-operative Bank of the locality of which the societies purchase one share each to confirm to their rules. The money is borrowed by the societies from the Bank by the execution of the usual co-operative societies pro-note like that of the credit societies and pay an interest of 10 to 12% p.a. Sometimes societies have raised small deposits for capital. The members on their part execute an agreement in favour of the society for payment of ghee after they have received the contract money. In this agreement mention is made of particulars of the contract as to the quantity and rate of ghee and the amount of money paid, and penalty for non-delivery or adulteration of ghee. The milch cattle, the ghee yield of which is contracted, is hypothecated with this society and the agreement gives full description and particulars of the animal in questions. There is no joint liability for the members for outside debts of the society and the personal liability of the individual is limited to Rs. 50 only for such debts. Sureties are taken in these contracts. The members go on weighing out ghee for the whole of the milking period of the milch cattle but the contract period is generally limited to a period of one year. There is no time limit for contracts and it goes on all the year round though the greater portion of the contracts are entered into between the months of August and January. The rate of contract varies with the day-to-day rate in Etawah market. Sometimes the indigent members have not enough to feed their milch cattle and the society accommodates them with small loans for feed money,

limited to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per maund of ghee contract. On this interest at the rate of 15 per cent. per annum is charged. At the time of next contract this loan together with the interest is deducted from the contract money and the remainder paid. Contrast this with the method of the Beoparis who pay in kind charging any rate they like for the article supplied. If any member fails to deliver the whole quantity of ghee contracted, Sawai of ghee (i.e., 25 p.c. more) is charged and is added to the demand and remains unaffected by the changes in the market rates whereas the Beoparis sometimes charge Sawai of the price then prevailing and sometimes the actual price of ghee at the cessation of weighing plus 24 per cent. interest whichever suits them best and which vary according to the market rates.

Besides the Central Co-operative Bank, which acts as the financing agency, the societies have federated themselves into a *Central Co-operative Ghee Union* to which they contribute a small amount per maund of ghee contract. The chief functions of this union are to arrange for collection and sale of the ghee of the societies and to consolidate and unify their working. This contribution from societies goes towards defraying the expenses of the staff employed by the union for collecting ghee from the societies and for blending, grading, heating, clarifying and transporting the same.

The actual working of these societies has also the merit of being very simple. The ghee is weighed out every fortnight by a member of the panchayet, usually the Sarpanch, and there are fixed dates for each society. The members gather, bringing their ghee with them, in the chaupal (sitting room) of the Sarpanch of their society with the weighman of the Central Co-operative Union in attendance with his tin containers and pack horse or cart. The weighing is a full-dress affair. One of the members of the Panchayet, usually the Sarpanch, weighs out the ghee of each member and puts it in the tin containers brought from the union, and the ghee account of the members are made up then and there and verified by oral questioning, and entered in his pass book. The weighman and members keep an eye on the balance and the panchayet is not neglectful of its duty of seeing that correct measure is given and that the ghee is of proper standard and is not adulterated. If it is of very low standard or adulterated, it is rejected. If it is not up to the standard it is heated and decanted and clean ghee taken. The co-operative influence coupled with the panchayet's

watchfulness is responsible for the surprising fact that in all these years there had been no instance of adulteration with any foreign matter (such as margarine or lard). There were one or two instances of adulteration with milk or whey but deterrent punishment put a stop to all that. When all the ghee has thus been weighed it is handed over to the weighman of the union who weighs it again and signs the proceeding of the society by way of giving receipt. The weighman then takes it to the godown of the union where it is weighed over again and a receipt given to the society duly signed by the supervisor who is also the honorary secretary of the Ghee Union. All the ghee thus gathered in the union godown is graded as soon as sufficient quantity is collected and despatched to Etawah mandi (as kachcha ghee) in the Union's own bullock carts. If it is to be sold to the consumers direct, or to such small traders as deal directly with the consumers, it is heated, clarified, tinned and sealed before being despatched. This is also transported in Union's bullock cart to Railway station. Hired carts are very seldom used.

At the end of the year, the balance sheet for each society is drawn up. If there is profit, it is divided according to the byelaws: $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total profits goes to the Reserve Fund, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the remainder to the Bad Debt Fund and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the remainder to "Patronage refund" and the remaining as honorarium to those members who have worked for the society, to member Secretaries and towards the creation of other funds, such as charity fund, village improvement fund, cattle improvement fund, etc.

The byelaws provide for the creation of the post of member secretaries for each society to maintain its accounts but it has not worked well as the accounts of the ghee societies are fairly complicated and the number of transactions fairly large for a member secretary to manage. Necessity for appointment of separate accountants for the societies was felt more and more and now the Ghee Union appoints the accountants for the societies.

A glance of the profits made by the societies, their membership and the quantity of ghee contracted mentioned under the head, Finances and Financial results, clearly reveals that the societies are quite successful. So far only three societies are unsuccessful, and it was due to the opposition of the more influential

Beoparies of the locality as well as due to indifference of the members who were afterwards found to be small ghee dealers or those who sell their ghee for cash. Success of the ghee societies can also be gauged from the fact that more and more villages are approaching the authorities to open new societies.

SUMMARY AND OBSERVATION

The working of the Ghee Societies clearly prove that the production and sale of ghee can be modernised and established as a cottage industry and is a practical scheme. There is enough scope of expansion and the work of the ghee societies should be pursued to obtain tangible results. Though these societies cannot claim to have achieved much, they have paved the way to greater expansion and has already shown that it can add a few more rupees to the meagre income of the kisan.

There is so much yet to be done. Take the example of ghee heating. The present system of heating is unscientific, a little inattention and it spoils the flavour and affects the vitamins and it is time that some research workers were to evolve a system of scientific heating to keep the flavour and the vitamins of the ghee intact.

Another work that has to be done is to evolve a system of working these societies which will enable them to reach the ghee direct to the consumers.

Side by side with the Co-operative Ghee Societies, the work of milk testing combined with cattle breeding to improve not only the milk yield but also the breed of cattle can be taken up. Experiments about tinning require attention.

In order to protect the ghee industry, it is urgently necessary that some law should be passed to prevent adulteration. The verdict of the Legislature of the country is against the stoppage of import of margarine or fish oil, but it can at least pass a law making it incumbent for all imports of fish oil and other adulterants of ghee to be coloured with a different colour from that of ghee.

It may also be mentioned here that the ghee societies should be organised far away from large cities in order to make them a success and this would give the distant village folks an occupation and a source of income.

INDIAN NAVY

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

It is surprising that public opinion in India has hitherto not paid adequate attention to an important frontier of the country, namely, the sea frontier and those responsible for the defence policy of the country have been so absorbed in the question of the North-Western Frontier that they have tended to neglect a vital sphere of national defence, namely, naval defence. India has a long coastline of over 4,000 miles and while it is bounded by land frontiers, it is almost entirely dependent on sea-communications for its external trade. India has been and can be invaded from the sea so that the control of maritime power is fundamental in any scheme of national defence. Nevertheless, few persons are perhaps aware of the existence of a Royal Indian Navy which is an annual charge on the Indian Budget and which was converted, or rather reconverted, into a Navy from a Royal Indian Marine only four years ago.

India has had a long and proud record of maritime activities from ancient times. Over two thousand years ago, Emperor Chandra Gupta, for example, had an elaborate organisation of the Naval Department and the Admiralty. During medieval times, the Indian Naval Force was highly developed and well-organised under the Moguls and especially under Akbar, while the growth of the Maharatta power was accompanied by the formation of a formidable Naval Fleet which received a great impetus under Shivaji, in whose time Kanohji Angria became the Admiral of the Fleet, when the Maharatta naval power reached its high watermark.

The sea-fighting service existing in India at present dates back to the earliest days of the East India Company which established a Marine in 1612 for the protection of the Company's trading ships and its factory at Surat. Since then, with different titles and under varying conditions, there has always been a Sea Service under the British Government in India for three hundred and twenty-five years. From 1830 to 1863, it was, in fact, called the "Indian Navy" and from 1892, it enjoyed the description of the "Royal Indian Marine" upto 1934. From 1612 to 1863, i.e., for 250 years of its history, the Service was a combatant force but since 1863, it was a non-combatant Service until

1934. Its main functions have been the defence of Indian seas, coasts and harbours, but it is also liable for service elsewhere as part of the Naval Forces of the British Empire. It is interesting to recall in tracing the history of this Service that many of the ships belonging not only to the Indian Fleet but to the British Navy were built in the dockyard in Bombay. It is recorded that in 1802, the British Admiralty ordered men-of-war for the King's Navy to be constructed at Bombay. They intended to have sent out a European builder but the merits of Jamshedji being made known to their Lordships, they ordered him to continue as the master-builder. Capt. Sir Edward Headlam, the late Director of the R. I. M., stated in an article in the *London Times* in 1931 :

"The success of the shipbuilding was due to the discovery of the value of teak as a substitute for oak and to the skill of the Wadia family as constructors who, for over a century, were in charge of the building of naval and other vessels in the Government Dockyard."

The India-built ships were superior to those built elsewhere not only in point of durability but also of cheapness and Bombay became "the grand naval arsenal" while Calcutta was the centre of merchant shipbuilding. In all, 115 War vessels and 144 Merchant of Government vessels were built in the Government Dockyard at Bombay, one of which, the "Ganges," afterwards served as the flagship of Sir Edward Codrington at the battle of Navarino. A French traveller, Baltazar Solvyns, writing in 1811, paid a warm tribute to Indian shipbuilding:

"In ancient times, the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping.....The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship."

The question of reorganising the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force was under the consideration of the British Admiralty ever since the last War. In 1919, the British Government appointed two Committees, one under Lord Esher for the reorganisation of the Army and the other under Lord Jellicoe for the reorganisation of the Navy. The Jellicoe Committee held that the Imperial Navy should be:

established only as a unit of the British Navy to whose cost India would make a contribution. But while Lord Esher's Report was placed before the Legislative Assembly which passed a series of Resolutions about it, the Jellicoe Report was never placed before the Assembly. In accordance with the Report of the Rawlinson Committee, however, the Viceroy announced in February, 1926, that the Government had decided with the concurrence of the Secretary of State and the Admiralty that a Royal Indian Navy should be established. Accordingly, in 1927, a Bill was passed in Parliament amending Section 66 of the old Government of India Act, which made provision for the bringing into existence of the Royal Indian Navy. This amending Act provided, among other things, that the Indian Legislature would have power to apply, with necessary modifications, the British Naval Discipline Act to the proposed Indian Navy. Consequential legislation was, therefore, necessary in the Indian Legislature to apply the Naval Discipline Act to the Indian Navy and a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in February, 1928. It was, however, opposed by the non-official members and was rejected by one vote. But the same Bill was re-introduced in the Assembly in 1934, when it was passed as the Congress had not re-entered the Legislature.

In his last Budget speech, the Finance Member of the Government of India made an important announcement regarding the agreement concluded by the Government of India with the British Government on the subject of Naval Expenditure and Naval Defence of India. Under long-standing arrangements, India pays a direct contribution of £100,000 a year to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom towards the Naval Defence of India and the protection of trade in alien waters and also defrays various miscellaneous charges amounting to Rs. 2 or 3 lakhs a year on behalf of the vessels of the Royal Navy. In view of the conversion of the Indian Navy into a combatant service and the measures proposed to be taken by the Government of India to build up their local Naval Defence, the question of development of the Indian Navy had been under the consideration of the Government of India in conjunction with the Admiralty. The agreement which Sir James Grigg announced and which was subsequently confirmed in a *communiqué* issued by the India Office in London stated that the British Government would forego the annual payment hitherto made on condition that the Government of India maintain a sea-going fleet of not less than six modern escort

vessels which will be free to co-operate with the Royal Navy for the Defence of India and in addition fulfil their responsibility for local Naval Defence of Indian ports. The announcement evoked widespread interest as well as considerable criticism because it was presented as a *fait accompli* to the Legislature and the public and did not disclose what these escort vessels would cost in capital and running expenditure and whether such vessels would be the maximum required for the Defence of India. In other words, the agreement did not make clear the full implications of the arrangement, including the present and future liabilities of the Indian Exchequer in this respect. The public are not aware of the reasons for the termination of the arrangements prevailing until April last nor of the terms and conditions on which the arrangements have been revised. Unless naval expenditure is votable by the Indian Legislature, no revision of the long-standing arrangements with His Majesty's Government involving increased charges on the Indian revenues would be acceptable to the public in this country.

But the emergence of new forces in the oceans which are the principal trade routes of the British Commonwealth has altered the entire balance of sea-power. Imperial naval policy now demands the creation of an ancillary combatant force as an adjunct to the British Navy in Indian waters. When the Bill on this subject came up before Parliament in 1927, Mr. Lansbury suggested that the British Government desired to create an Indian Navy for the purpose of the defence of the Pacific while another Labour member, Mr. Barker, stated that the Government should honestly tell the House that "they are creating this Navy to supplement the Base at Singapore." He added :

"It is an insult to the Indian people to say that we are creating this Navy for the purpose of giving prestige to India. It is sheer humbug and the Government know it very well."

The Indian Navy, as constituted at present, consists of 5 sloops, 1 survey ship, 1 depot ship, 1 patrol vessel as well as a target towing trawler and a number of small vessels, tugs, etc., employed in harbour service. The functions of the Navy in peace time are to train personnel for service at sea in War, to organise the Naval Defence of Indian coasts and harbours for the protection of trade in Indian waters in time of War, to carry on marine survey work in Indian waters and to carry on sea transport work for the Government of India in respect of conveyance of troops, stores, etc. The Indian Navy maintains a Dockyard at Bombay to deal with all work in

connection with the repair, maintenance and refit of vessels. The nett annual expenditure on the Indian Navy amounts to about Rs. 60 lakhs which is increased to about Rs. 73 lakhs in the Budget estimate of 1938-39.

What are the principal tests to be applied to any scheme of an Indian Navy? They are, broadly speaking, three: who will bear the cost of the Navy; who will officer it; and who will control it? To take the question of cost first. It is well-known that the Defence Budget of the Central Government has always been the subject of public criticism on the ground that it is a heavy burden for a poor country like India. On the other hand, there has been a feeling of late, especially in view of the present international situation, that the Defence of India on Land, Sea and Air should be adequate to protect the country in case of an outbreak of war. It has been suggested that the Defence expenditure might be redistributed so as to concentrate more on the development of Sea and Air Defences. Pandit Kunzru suggested in the Council of State last March that

"the Indian Navy should be equipped with cheaper types of vessels like the surface torpedo craft and the submarine, on which increasing reliance is being placed even by first class powers. For, the need of strengthening the Naval Defences of India has been recognised by the Government."

The question of Defence expenditure is, however, closely inter-linked with the question of control and manning of the forces as also with the question of direction of the foreign policy of the country. Once the question of control is solved satisfactorily and the national feelings of the youth of the country elicited for national service, the question of cost, although undoubtedly important, would not be an insuperable difficulty in building up an efficient Indian Navy. The question of control is, therefore, fundamental. This was one of the grounds on which the Indian Navy (Discipline) Bill was opposed by Labour members in the House of Commons in 1927 and was rejected by the Legislative Assembly in 1928. For, it was felt that the supreme control of an Indian Navy should be vested in the Indian Legislature. The Commander-in-Chief stated last year in the Council of State that

"if we do start a regular organisation for local naval defence, it should be placed as far as possible in the hands of Indians themselves."

The Resolutions passed at the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926 explicitly stated that "the naval forces of each Dominion will be used for local purposes" and it

should, therefore, be made clear that the Indian naval forces should not be used for any purpose other than that of the defence of India and if so used, it should be done with the consent of the Indian Legislature. In fact, the recent agreement mentions that these escort vessels will be "free to co-operate with the Royal Navy" and from our experience of the use of Indian troops outside India, we know the significance and implication of this phrase. The Indian Navy is, of course, not on the same basis as the Navies of the Dominions which are under their control, apart from the fact that the Dominions have a maritime status and powers to legislate in regard to shipping which are denied to India.

Not less important is the question of the manning of the Navy. There are 127 officers in the Indian Navy, of whom 13 are Indians. Every year 9 officers are recruited to the Navy, of whom 3 are Indians. Indians not only excelled in seamanship and navigation in the past but have also proved their worth in the Indian Navy and in the mercantile marine at present. Sir Humphrey Walwyn, the late Director of the Royal Indian Marine, stated that "if there is anyone who says Indians cannot make very good seamen, give him my name and address". Lieut.-Col. Lumby declared in the Legislative Assembly when the Navy Bill was being considered that the cadets from the "Dufferin" were excellent and did very well as officers of the Indian Navy. The present Commander-in-Chief has also acknowledged that there will be no difficulty in finding suitable men. It is, therefore, essential that the Indian personnel in the Indian Navy should be speedily increased.

It must, however, be pointed out that the main ground of recruitment for naval officers in other countries is the mercantile marine. For example, the Commander-in-Chief observed in the Council of State last year that

"in setting up an organisation of the kind I refer to (*i.e.*, a Naval Force), most other countries depend largely on their Mercantile Marine and on Volunteer Naval Reserves"

and that

"in India at present we have no Naval Reserves and our Mercantile Marine is still, so to speak, in its infancy."

The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee stated that it was almost the unanimous desire of all Indian witnesses who appeared before it that

"the creation of an Indian Navy capable of defending the coasts, harbours and commerce of India should proceed hand in hand with the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine."

In March last, Mr. Ogilvie, Army Secretary, replying to an interpellation in the Central Assembly stated that

"the Government of India are very well aware that the existence of an Indian Mercantile Marine would be a great assistance to the Defence Department"

and that

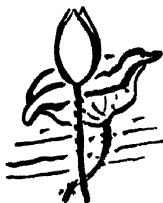
"the Defence Department would very much like to see a flourishing Indian Mercantile Marine."

The merchant fleet is an element in the sea power of a nation and is essential to the security of a maritime country. Admiral Mahan who wrote on the influence of sea-power upon history held that the fundamental need of a maritime country was a merchant navy. It is difficult, indeed, to have a fighting navy without a merchant navy; Mahan, for example, considers that the French Navy in the time of Louis XIV withered away because it had no roots in a healthy merchant marine. What Lord Craigmylre recently described as "the Navy of supply" is as vital as the Navy of defence. The last war showed the preponderant influence of a merchant fleet and of sea power. Sir Arthur Salter, in his *Allied Shipping Control*, shows how during the last war shipping became the very centre of the Allied problem and shipping control the centre of its organisation. He observes:

"Certainly the supplies of the Allied Forces could not have been maintained without the Naval protection of Merchant Ships, particularly without the amazingly successful systems of convoy. It is equally certain that no system of Naval protection would have been sufficient without the continuous and unfailing skill and courage of the officers and men of the Mercantile Marine."

A merchant marine is not only a training ground and feeder of a Navy but a reserve and second line of defence. Even a well-organised Navy with its battleships and cruisers, its destroyers and submarines would be seriously handicapped if it were not adequately supported by the mercantile fleet providing transport for troops, munitions and hospital ships, auxiliary cruisers mine-sweepers, submarine chasers and

other vital necessities of naval warfare. It would serve to protect the flow of commerce, both coastal and overseas, from interruption as well as to prevent a blockade of ports. Nor has the development of air power rendered useless sea power as a means of defence. In several respects, aircraft has tended to modify the conduct of operations at sea but it has not supplanted naval power. As Mr. Shakespeare, the Secretary to the British Admiralty, declared recently, "air power by itself is unlikely to win wars: the main burden falls on the Navy." Even apart from the length of India's coastline as a criterion of the need of naval strength, the flow of India's commerce depends upon the freedom of entry and departure at a few great routes of sea-borne commerce. It is owing to a recognition of this vital importance of the strength and efficiency of a mercantile marine as the complementary agent to a Navy and as a means of national defence that the development of shipping has become an instrument of national policy in every important maritime country of the world since the war. The British budget, for instance, annually provides for special appropriations for naval reserves such as retainers which assist manning of the merchant fleet. The British Admiralty has also paid from time to time subventions to certain lines with a view to utilize their vessels as auxiliary naval cruisers or transports in times of war. If India is to be a strong maritime unit of the Commonwealth contributing its share for the maintenance of sea communications and holding its place in the maritime trade of the world, it is essential that India should build up a system of coastal defence maintained by a Naval Force of its own. But it is not possible to build up a genuine national Navy without the development of national mercantile marine. And for the development of India's national shipping, it is essential for the public to appreciate our dependence on the sea and for the Government to have a positive mercantile marine policy.



PORTUGAL'S NEW CONSTITUTION

By A. C. FERNANDEZ.

Professor of Politics and Economics

THE remarkable financial achievements of Portugal under the New State have created world-wide interests in the political and diplomatic life of the nation which for a long time, prior to 1926, was known on both sides of the Atlantic as the 'sick man of Europe.' This interest of the world in Portugal's New State is manifested not only in the frequent articles on Portugal in the European and American Press, but also by a number of books on the corporative state which have appeared in English, in French and even in German.

The strategic importance of Portugal under the new conditions created by developments in the air defences has intensified this interest. The Belgian King will shortly pay an official visit to Portugal's embassy and important problems dealing with the foreign policy and defence and colonies are expected to be discussed in the Belgian metropolis.

Recently Portuguese waters were honoured by visits of naval divisions from England and Germany which remained in Lisbon for a considerable time. Just at present there is an important British military mission in Lisbon in deep consultation with Portuguese High Command. It is expected that at this meeting between naval and military experts of England and of Portugal a large number of moot points relating to the defence programme in the case of a European war will be threshed out in detail. Even America is showing its interest for the purpose of using the Portuguese colony of Azores and Lisbon itself as important stages in her services across the Atlantic between Europe and America.

The Catholic world has also evinced special interest in Portugal's recent political, financial and economic renaissance, since all these have been based on such principles as have the sanction and support of Catholic ethics and religion. The contribution of Portuguese clergy to the country's moral and economic regeneration has not at all been inconsiderable. In fact it has been doubted in many well-informed quarters whether Dr. Salazar could ever have been able to achieve his remarkable national reconstruction if he had not the continuous and

loyal support of the whole Catholic clergy of Portugal.

The new Constitution of Portugal which has recently been amended is, in many respects, a unique document of peculiar political and constitutional interests. It is based on the corporative principle and shows many special features which deserve study and consideration.

The Constitution is neither parliamentary nor presidential, neither unitary nor federal, neither completely democratic nor essentially despotic. It has for its basis the principle that Government are ultimately responsible to the people from whom they derive their power and their sovereignty. At the same time, the principles of parliamentary government and liberal technique have been profoundly modified in their application to the reorganization of the leading organs of the State. The Constitution is a semi-rigid document, fully written, but, its amendment does not require any special constitutional machinery or any kind of excessive formalities. Even recently it was amended with the same ease with which the Portuguese Parliament passes any ordinary legislative enactment.

In the opening part of the Constitution are mentioned the rights of the Portuguese citizens. These rights follow the lines of enunciation of the civic rights as you find them in the constitutions of liberal democracies like France, Switzerland and Belgium. The right of life, to reputation, to liberty, to the free expression of thought, to contract, to property, to public meeting, to associations and worship are points which the Portuguese constitution has in common with every written constitution of democratic countries. What is peculiar in the new corporative constitution of Portugal is the importance which section 4 gives to the family. The Constitution says:

"The state shall ensure the constitution and protection of the family as the source of the maintenance and development of the race, the parliamentary basis of education, discipline and social harmony, and by its association and representation in the parish and the town, the foundation of all political and administrative order."

The rights of the family which have been given a definite and distinct political, juridical,

and even economic status in the new Constitution consist of the rights for marriage and legitimate offspring, equality of the rights and duties of husband and wife between themselves and towards the legitimate children and such protection in the civil and criminal law of the country as is essential for the healthy growth of family life throughout the nation based on the principle of service to the country and nursed by the ideals of Catholic religion.

The Constitution undertakes:

(1) To encourage the establishment of separate homes under healthy conditions, and the institution of the family household;

(2) To protect maternity;

(3) To adjust taxation in accordance with legitimate family obligations and to promote the adoption of the family wage;

(4) To assist parents in the discharge of their duties of instructing and educating their children, and to co-operate with them by means of public institutions for education and correction, or by encouraging private establishments destined for the same purpose;

(5) To take all precautions likely to avert the corruption of morals.

In one of his memorable speeches Dr. Salazar explaining the basis of the new Constitution and its moral and social background, its hinterland, vigorously attacked the myth of the citizen as an obstruction on which political liberalism of the 19th century had been based with such disastrous consequences to the moral and political heritage of the world. 'The citizen,' he said, 'wrested away from his family, from his class, profession and from his life, is an enormous fiction, an unfortunate myth.' On the contrary, the living reality, the eternal verity is the *family* which is not only the cell of the social organization, but also the original nucleus of the parish, of the district and therefore, of the nation itself. 'It is for this reason,' said Salazar, 'that the Constitution must guarantee the effective formation, the full preservation and complete right of all the members of the family as a distinct unit on which the very nation is based.'

The next important unit to which the new Portuguese constitution devotes considerable attention is the corporative organization of the group as a distinct, independent, complete and co-ordinate organ of federal society which is a great human reality as opposed to the abstract general will on which the whole of political Rousseauism has been based. The new Portuguese State revolves round the recognition of the group organizations. The meaning of

the corporative system given by the Catholic Union of Freiburg in 1884, when the corporative system was defined as,

"a regime of social organization having for its basis groups of men and women held together by the natural and common interest, by their social functions and, therefore, having as a natural corollary the right for public representation in the different political and other organs of the State."

Article 16 of the Constitution states that it shall be the duty of the State to authorise corporative organizations for intellectual, social and economic purposes and to promote and assist their formation. Such organizations may have for their object scientific, literary, artistic or physical activities, relief work, charity, technical improvement, trade union spirit or other common interests in which groups of citizens are involved in their legitimate and proper social functions.

Several decrees passed either by the Portuguese executive or the legislature have implemented this article of the Constitution by elaborate rules and regulations governing labour organizations, national syndicates, people's houses, importers' and exporters' organizations, fishermen's houses, social insurance and other forms of group-life to which at one time Follett had given significant importance in her philosophical and political criticisms of liberal democracies.

Dr. Salazar in commenting upon this principle of corporative organization of the New State makes it clear that Portugal was exceedingly backward in her group-life and in her trade unions. This was so, because the economic conditions of the country were almost primitive whereas, therefore, in Germany and Italy corporative organization aims at the suppression of trade union feeling and at the removal of unfriendly and hostile relations between capital and labour, the Portuguese constitution seeks to build up what was not at all existing and to base social and economic functions of the State on the creation of a strong, healthy, autonomous groups working harmoniously together for the purpose of common weal. "The thought" stated Salazar, "which should dominate the corporative organization is to co-ordinate the corporations, unions and federations of an economic character both of labour and of capital existing either spontaneously or created by the State so as to remove them from the slippery path of internal competition and struggle and to harness them to the higher and nobler interests and services of the State."

At the same time it is necessary that the

State should protect the moral and material rights of the working classes and should recognise that labour is a great factor in the creation of wealth and therefore, has a right to be associated with all wealth-creating activities. It is on the realization of this principle that progress and social peace will depend. But the State reserves to itself the right to regulate in the way it best thinks fit not only the inter-relations among the different groups but also the relations between capital and labour and these two to society. But it does not interfere with normal economic activities of the citizens unless they are of a dangerous or excessively acquisitive character. 'As long as' says Article 35 of the Constitution, 'property, capital and labour fulfil a social duty in a system of economic co-operation and in accordance with the natural interests, the State will leave them alone.' But any exploitation of one by the other will call forth the State's active interference so as to redress a grievance or injustice. Collective labour contracts with a minimum wage have also a place in the Constitution. The system of compensatory economy is the case of the economic policy of the State.

Section 10 of the Constitution determines the relations between the Church and State. After guaranteeing the Catholic religion the right for public and private practice and for its own organization, discipline and association, the Constitution states that the State shall maintain the regime of separation in relations to the Catholic Church and any religion or cult, and practice within Portuguese territory. It also adds that Portugal shall maintain regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and grants to the Church the right to acquire, hold, sell or dispose of any type of private property. The old Constitution had withheld these rights from any religious associations. They have now been fully restored.

The second part of the Constitution deals with the political structure and organs of the State. The form of the executive is semi-presidential with a president elected by direct suffrage for a period of seven years. He is directly and exclusively responsible to the nation for actions and policies pursued in the discharge of his duties. The National Assembly has no control over the presidential powers and cannot compel him to resign his mandate by any kind of tactics, legislative or financial, much less by vote of no-confidence. The President selects ministers, dismisses them, opens, adjourns, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly, orders general elections and

by-elections. In this respect the powers of the President under the New State come very close to the powers of the American President. His privilege to represent the nation, to direct the foreign policy of the country, to conclude international treaties and allowances, commercial treaties, the privilege to grant pardon and commute punishment and to promulgate decree-laws and decrees resemble him to the Viceroy of India, except for the fact that all his acts must be counter-signed by the President of the Council and by the Minister to whose department the particular act has a reference. Since the President himself selects the Prime-Minister as well as the other ministers his executive and even legislative powers are not only extensive, but even effective, provided he is a strong man, capable of guiding, inspiring and supervising the whole Portuguese executive. At present General Carmona, the President of the Portuguese Republic has allowed his ministers complete executive autonomy and has shown no inclination whatever to interfere in any way with the policy, programme and administrative methods of Dr. Salazar.

With a view to enable the President to discharge his responsible duties adequately, he is surrounded by a Council of State which is different from the Cabinet. This Council is made up of the Prime Minister, the President of the National Assembly, President of the Corporative Chamber, President of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Attorney-General together with five eminent men of outstanding ability appointed for life by the President himself. According to the spirit of the Constitution the head of the Portuguese State has to exercise his more important political, legislative and executive powers in consultation with his Council of State, which must compulsorily be convened before he interferes, in any way, with the National Assembly or shapes his Foreign policy. The legislative organ of the State consists of the National Assembly which is the Upper Chamber together with an expert body called the Corporative Chamber which has important advisory functions of an expert and technical character. The National Assembly consists of 90 deputies elected by the heads of families. It has wide legislative powers like the making and suspension of laws, the passing of the budget, the grant of credit, sanction of laws, approval of treaties and international conventions and other functions like those dealing with currency, exchange, banking, defence, education and other national subjects. It has been the practice under the

new Constitution for Government to introduce most of the legislation after the model of parliamentary democracy and of cabinet government as is found working in France and in England. The legislature has, so far, introduced very few of its own bills but has passed a very large number of those that have been submitted for its approval by the executive. The members of the Assembly all belong to the National Union and in the last elections no candidate from any opposition party, open or secret, was admitted by the polling officers. The Government organised a single list of deputies which was voted upon not only in Portugal but throughout the Portuguese Empire. This is a very novel electoral method. It consists in confining the candidates to the members of a single party and in considering the whole country together with all the colonies as one single electoral college voting for the totality of the members of the legislature. As there was no chance whatsoever for non-members of the National Union to put up their candidates, elections of the Government candidates had a smooth and easy passage and secured a very large, almost universal support.

The National Assembly is assisted in its legislative tasks by the Corporative Chambers composed of representatives of local autonomous bodies and of all social, economic and cultural interests. Members of the Corporative Chambers are themselves elected by different groups, institutions, associations, universities and labour unions. The main function of this Chamber is to report on all motions, bills and other subjects including treaties placed before the National Assembly either by its individual members or by Government. The Chamber is divided into about 16 important Committees, each section specialising itself in one kind of work. The National Assembly does not embark on any of its more important work before it has in its possession the views and reports of the Corporative Chamber on subjects on the anvil of the Assembly.

The President of the Republic in spite of his extensive powers is after all the titular head of the State. His legal powers are generally latent, a kind of a fiction, but they may spring into activity in times of crisis. Ordinarily the executive is under the control of the Cabinet consisting of about 10 ministers responsible to the President and cultivating a system of collective responsibility. The executive not only discharges its ordinary administrative and fiscal right to draw up decree-laws on questions of urgent public interest. It has also large powers for making

rules and regulations which really mean legislation. But any law which affects revenue or expenditure must have the counter-signature of the Minister for Finance. All laws made by the executive have to be submitted to the National Assembly for its ratification. The executive also appoints the judiciary and controls the whole of the defence and diplomatic services of the Empire. Though the Cabinet has very large powers it derives the breath of its life from the President and therefore, it is subject to the dismissal by the President. At the same time every minister is personally responsible for his actions both to the President and the legislature.

It is difficult to compare the Portuguese legislature and executive with those of the presidential or parliamentary forms of Governments. The Constitution seeks to make an ingenious compromise between these two forms of Government by subordinating the legislature to the position of an inferior political and legislative status. The President is given ample powers which at present are exercised on his behalf by the Prime Minister Dr. O. Salazar. The National Union itself is a large one-party organization which is supporting him in all his activities. Such a constitution will work well as long as the element of personal leadership is accepted by the nation and its legislature, but the system does not promise any smooth working the moment a multiple party system springs into existence. The whole Constitution at present revolves round and is dominated by one single, strong, powerful personality. The centrifugal tendencies are decisive and Dr. Salazar has behind him the support of the army. The Portuguese Parliament has, under the new Constitution, played a very insignificant part in shaping National policies.

The judicial organization of the State is a somewhat complex and incoherent one. There are in the first place, ordinary courts of law, the Supreme Court of Justice forming the apex of the pyramid. It interprets, applies and enforces all ordinary laws regulating the relations between citizens and citizens. All disputes between the public servant and public citizens are decided by a special set of laws and courts, called Administrative Courts. These courts enjoy very wide and ample jurisdiction over all institutions, organizations and all activities of the public servants in their relations with the citizens. Neither the ordinary nor the Administrative Courts have any constitutional jurisdiction over laws made by the National Assembly or by the Cabinet. The legality of this can be questioned

only by the Parliament. But all the administrative actions and decisions including those of the Cabinet ministers are subjects which may form the basis of law-suits in the Administrative Courts by private citizens or by corporations. Thus the executive is deprived of arbitrary powers and of the discharge of arbitrary functions. The personal equation, the individual prejudice and political passion are in this way considerably reduced by granting to the Administrative Courts considerable jurisdiction over the legality of the decisions of the executive.

Portugal is the fourth largest colonial power of the world. Three hefty slices of Africa, a colonial population of over 10 millions encompassing an area of about a million square miles form the Portuguese Colonial Empire. She has important colonies in East and West Africa in addition to the smaller ones in India, the Atlantic Ocean, and in China. These colonies have been attached to Portugal for several hundreds of years and have formed part of the Portuguese Empire more or less as equal members, since Portugal, a little over a hundred years ago, liberalised her constitution and introduced parliamentary institutions. The establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 saw the development of semi-parliamentary institutions in the colonies with considerable administrative and financial decentralization. Unfortunately the New Corporative State of Portugal has reversed in a great measure, the traditions of liberal government which had been pursued by Portugal in the last hundred years. There is now a very close financial and administrative control. Previous to the establishment of the Portuguese dictatorship, Portuguese finances in the colonies were in a perilous condition. Financial disruption, administrative inefficiency, the system of spoils, political jobbery and corruption, recurring deficits, inefficient and dishonest financial administration were the features since the end of the last War and the rise of dictatorship. Salazar's administration selected Dr. Armindo Monteiro, the present Portuguese ambassador at St. James, as the first Colonial Minister who even visited the colonies to personally supervise the financial reforms which he decreed and

which were designed to meet the colonial deficits and to purge the administration of its most obvious defects. Unfortunately these measures of financial hygiene and sanitation were followed by colonial legislation of a racial type based on the principle of superiority-complex and of unequal treatment. The Colonial Act tore away the fine tradition of Portuguese liberalism and promised to Portuguese colonies a perpetual tutelage under guidance and control of Portugal. It also invented a number of citizenships, thus creating two broad distinctions between what had always been considered as citizens of the same empire—continental citizenship of Portugal and Colonial citizenship of the Empire. In addition to that the military law and organisation have given a subordinate place to the inhabitants of the colonies whether they are descendants from Portuguese families or are the indigenous inhabitants of the country. In Portugal itself the atmosphere in political and administrative circles has not been quite friendly to such peoples of the colonies who in virtue of their education, industry and activity are able to compete successfully with the Portuguese in their own home-land. The local administration in the colonies is excessively centralised and the Colonial Councils of Government have very few legislative functions. They are advisory bodies that have got restricted legislative powers subject in the first instance to the veto of the Governor and then to the veto of the Colonial Minister.

Such political situation which has for its basis and inferior status even to those colonies which like Portuguese India compare very favourably not only with other colonies of Portugal but with Portugal herself, has created naturally widespread discontent which has manifested itself in slender enthusiasm to the great achievement of the Portuguese dictatorship in the mother-country. Corporative principles of economic organization have not at all been in any way implemented in the Portuguese legislation dealing with the colonies. And thus it happens that though the colonies have achieved financial equilibrium, their economic progress has been insignificant and their colonial status has suffered a decline.

12th March, 1938.

WHY KARNATAK SHOULD BE SEPARATED

By V. B. KULKARNI

"The creation of Karnatak as a separate province cannot be resisted on merits."—M. K. GANDHI.

SINCE I last wrote in *The Modern Review*¹ emphasizing the necessity for creating Karnatak into a separate province, the march of events during the past few months has taken us nearer the goal of realization. Apart from the intrinsic value of unanimous popular demand, as manifested in the resolutions recently passed in the legislatures of Madras and Bombay, the recognition of the claims of Karnatak by the Governments of these Provinces has indubitably elevated our case for separation from the plane of mere desire and demand to one of practical politics. It is true that similar resolutions were adopted in the legislatures of the Southern Presidency on previous occasions, but under the diarchic system of Government, popular demand however decisive, had slender chances of becoming effective. Karnatak's claims for separation were pigeon-holed every time they were urged. The resolutions of March and April last and the *imprimatur* they have received at the hands of the Congress Governments of Madras and Bombay are, therefore, in our view a milestone in the history of our struggle for self-determination.

While the recent happenings have proven remarkably helpful to our demand becoming a *fait accompli*, they have at the same time not failed to cause needless disquiet in quarters opposed to separation. The debates and discussions that followed the resolutions on separation, betrayed a singular lack of understanding of the real import and implications of the demand. Karnatak has made out a strong and unassailable case for reversing the existing order of things and for remoulding her destiny in a manner best suited to her interests and well-being. She is satisfied and is prepared to convince honest doubters that she has with her in plenitude all the material necessary for rearing up a provincial edifice. In short, she advances her claim with a full sense of responsibility and does not seek the authorities to become guilty of any sort of political enormity by conceding her demand.

The sponsors of the unification movement

have drawn up their demand on the basis of certain data which in their view are unchallengeable. They have placed their cards on the table and invite criticism from those who are opposed to a reversal of the *status quo*. It is significant that this challenge remains yet unaccepted, although we have had no dearth of unreasoned criticism reinforced by sentiment, passion and prejudice. Nevertheless, we might assume, if only to make our case the stronger, that there cannot be more formidable objections to the creation of a new province than on the following issues:—

- (i) Is separation financially feasible?
- (ii) What are the disadvantages under the present arrangement and what benefits accrue from a reversal of it?
- (iii) Does not the creation of a new unit tend to retard the forces of nationalism?

For purposes of convenience, I shall take up the second objection first, namely, "what is our grouse under the present arrangement?" To a casual observer from outside, the spectacle of the Karnatak community remaining under the protective wings of powerful provinces like Madras and Bombay, not to speak of the tutelage of numerous States big as well as petty, is apt to look like a desirable consummation. But, like the toad under the harrow, we alone know where exactly the tooth-point goes. Nothing could be more intolerable and suicidal for a homogenous and culturally and historically conscious people, who in their own time played a significant part in building up the civilization of their country, to be wantonly cut into mincemeat and thrown away only to be grabbed by no less than twenty-two different administrative units.

Without burdening the reader with needless historical detail, I might at once state that Karnatak's history dates back to the 2nd century B.C. and its people held their hegemony in the Deccan with more or less continuity until the dissolution of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire in the Battle of Talikot. The dismemberment of Vijayanagar conduced to the setting up of numerous petty principalities all over Karnatak, which, despite its great mutilations, was able to conserve its cultural and linguistic individu-

¹ See my article, IS KARNATAK UNIFICATION FEASIBLE?, in *The Modern Review* of November, 1937.

ality as best as it could till the advent of the East India Company on the scene. With consummate skill the Company Sarkar introduced an era of "divide and rule" and finally succeeded in establishing its unrivalled sway in the Deccan by dislodging Tippu from the throne of Mysore. With the fall of this valiant soldier in the Battle of Serirangapatam, all hopes of reviving Karnatak's glory were shattered. Then followed the heart-rending spectacle of Karnatak being torn limb by limb and annexed by a multiplicity of States as the spoils of war. Thus we see today Karnatak obliged to bow its head to its masters who are more than 20 in number!² We are, however, told to take comfort in the knowledge that our dismemberment was undertaken with a view to reconstruct a brighter and better political map of India!

I shall now illustrate what this dissection means to the people of Karnatak. Thrown into the midst of a plethora of States and Provinces, each in differing stages of evolution, from medieval despotism to farcical provincial autonomy, the Kannada population is nowhere in a majority, the exceptions being Mysore and Coorg.³ The genius of Karnatak has been dealt a severe blow by the dispersal of its population, which, in the absence of a common unifying force, has lost its community of interest and the consciousness of its cultural and historical greatness. Instead of enriching and ennobling her own heritage and transmitting it to posterity, Karnatak has entered into a long spell of stupor, content to play the role of a camp follower and make votive offerings to the greatness of others. Her numerical inferiority and inertia have hushed her voice and nearly strangled her distinctive existence under every administration.

Apart from our cultural conquest, even our own language was until recent years, under a ban.⁴ Most of us had our schooling in languages other than our own mother tongue, Kannada. Till about 1923 Bellary, which, even according to that unsatisfactory and unacceptable Kelkar Award, belongs to Karnatak, had no High

Schools where Kannada was taught. The position of Belgaum, the northern border district of Karnatak, was much worse. So overwhelming is the influence of Marathi over the Kannada population here, that even today the trading class of this community maintains its accounts in Modi, a kind of Marathi script, which has much likeness to Kannada, as the Chinese script has to English. Even today non-Karnatak institutions in Karnatak refuse platform to Kannada in their activities. The wholesale "conversion" of hundreds of Karnatak families into Marathi-speaking families is carried on with a vigour which should make the missionary blush. It has been estimated that in one census alone about 2 lakhs of Kannada population was absorbed by others.

Here are some interesting facts, unearthed from old archives. Schools were opened in the Bombay Carnatak early in 1856 and Marathi was taught in them. Not until 1865 could the Bombay Department of Public Instruction come to know that the language of Karnatak was not Marathi but Kannada! Describing the situation Mr. Russel, an Educational Officer in the Southern Division, wrote in 1865 thus:

"The Deputy Inspectors and English Masters in this Division are none of them Kanarese and there are very few Kanarese men even among the vernacular schoolmasters in the Districts. *The Kanarese language has never been taught or cultivated in this Division as the Gujarathi or Marathi in theirs.* Therefore, the indifference of the Kanarese people in general to schools in which the books and teachers are mostly Marathi can hardly be wondered at."

Nobody took notice of this anomaly till the coming of Mr. Russel. Referring to this Mr. V. R. Katti then wrote thus:

"Before Mr. Russel's appointment, the Division possessed no Kanarese books of its own excepting the first three reading books of questionable utility.....A translation exhibitioner-ship was transferred from Poona to this Division at the time of Major Waddington, and it was held at the time of Mr. Russel's arrival by a Maratha man who was to prepare Kanarese books for Government Schools."

Further on we come across the most interesting statement that a non-Kannada knowing man was deputed to write Kannada books for use in Government Schools!

This is an old story, but even today the position is not much better. Except for a second grade College at Mangalore, Madras Karnatak has no College of its own, while in Bombay Karnatak, with four big Districts, there are only two Colleges. Small wonder therefore, that many of our young men who can afford, emigrate to places outside Karnatak where they could obtain better education. Again, Andhra has her own University and even Travancore will soon

²Karnatak of today is divided as follows: Bombay Karnatak, Madras Karnatak, Cantonment Karnatak, Coorg, Hyderabad (Dn.) Karnatak, Karnatak Jagirs in Hyderabad (Dn.), Mysore, Kolhapur, Karnatak Jagirs in Kolhapur, Sangli, some portions of Aundh, Miraj (Senior), Miraj (Jr.), Kurundwad (Sr.), Kurundwad (Jr.), Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Ramdurg, Akalkot, Jath, Savanur and Sandur.

³The populations of Mysore and Coorg are 6,557,302 and 1,63,327, respectively, out of a total population of 11,206,380.

⁴Even today in many Southern Mahratta States which are an integral part of Karnatak the medium of instruction is Marathi.

have one. But who is to listen to the cry of Karnatak? Our representation in the Senates of the Bombay and Madras Universities is negligible. Despite all these obvious disadvantages, we are told that our "partnership" with the premier presidencies of Bombay and Madras is of incalculable benefit to us, which we are advised not to lose in a fit of emotional enthusiasm for separation.

Being condemned to a position of permanent minority, Karnatak has scarcely any share in the governance of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, although she makes substantial contributions to the Provincial revenues. Even under the new dispensation her representation in the legislatures of these Provinces is utterly inadequate. It is significant that there is not a single Karnatak Member in the Cabinets of either Madras or Bombay even under the Congress regime.⁵ With her dismembered territories tacked on to inland and far-flung regions, Karnatak is denied those advantages which proximity to seats of Governments usually brings.

There are no industries worth the name in Karnatak, although it abounds in raw materials.⁶ Even its mineral wealth remains yet unexploited, as local private enterprise is almost non-existent. There are many States in Karnatak but their resources are utilized by their non-Karnatak rulers for purposes in which it is little interested. We are poorly served with rail and road communications, thus seriously hampering our trade and commerce. From 1818 to date Bombay has spent nearly 55 crores on irrigation works, out of which a paltry sum of Rs. 8-10 lakhs has been spent in Karnatak.⁷ Famine conditions in the Districts of Bellary and Bijapur are almost chronic. Tinkering with the problem is all that has been done so far.

We are cautioned against the guilt of impeding the forces of nationalism by seeking "needless" divisions. This is a poser which will deceive none. Let us not forget that the creation of the N.-W. F., Sind and Orissa into separate provinces was not considered unnecessary nor as calculated to dry up the fountain of nationalism. We refuse to be singled out for these sanctimonious homilies. Karnatak has always remained a redoubtable champion of the

Congress cause and her eulogy is best recorded in the words of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. Says the Sardar:

"The brave peasants of Karnatak have vied with you in their sacrifices, in the loss of their lands and property and in their privations and suffering. The tales of their bravery and their sacrifices have filled me with admiration and pride, and the news of their sufferings sometimes untinged me."

This is the record of a Karnatak chained to a multiplicity of masters. None can doubt that she will play a nobler part when she becomes the mistress of her own house. This is a consummation which both Madras and Bombay should endorse in their own interests, for, a weak divided Karnatak as their partner adds to their heterogeneity and complicates their problems. By ridding themselves of their unwieldiness they can fight their battles more effectively than at present. Let us not miss the significance of recent events in Orissa and the C.P.

"Is the separation of Karnatak feasible financially?" Before I answer in the affirmative I quote here what Mr. Gladstone said about needed reforms, although I shall certainly not take shelter behind his observation. Says Mr. Gladstone:

"Gentlemen, you need not give yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must never stand in the way of needed reforms; besides, with a sober population not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain the revenue."

Our claim for separation is the outcome of unanimous popular demand, and if it is found that until the resources of Karnatak are fully tapped, additional taxation has to be borne, this will be done most cheerfully. But even as matters stand, Karnatak's financial position is sound.

The total revenue of a separately constituted Karnatak from its eight districts and five talukas⁸ will be 260 lakhs, and after deducting Rs. 210 lakhs for running a provincial Government we have a clear balance of Rs. 50 lakhs,—a position which compares more favourably than in the Provinces of Assam, N.-W. F., Orissa and Sind. It is worthy of remark that the last-named Provinces cannot balance their Budgets without heavy subventions. Again, but for its share of Rs. 40 lakhs from Income-tax, even Bombay cannot balance its Budget.

The indebtedness of the Bombay Government is advanced as an argument against our separation. We refuse to submit to the sins

⁵ The Hon'ble Mr. A. B. Lathe, the Bombay Finance Minister, is claimed by the Maharastrians as belonging to them although he hails from Belgaum. What exactly is his attitude to this claim is not clear.

⁶ See Prof. B. H. Yelburgi's article "Karnatak Occupations" in *Karnatak Darshan*.

⁷ Vide *Karnatak Darshan*.

⁸ See sketch map showing the area comprising the new Province of Karnatak.

of others being visited upon our heads. The mad scheme of Backbay Reclamation and such others are not of our making. Bombay Karnatak's population is 12% of the Presidency's total population, and it is worth scrutinizing what proportion of the Presidency's revenue has been spent on Karnatak tax-payers. Any future financial adjustment should be on the basis of this scrutiny.

We have no minority problem, as the minority communities are equally enthusiastic

over separation. With such a strong case to support her claim Karnatak is determined to march to her chosen goal. At the 7th Unification Conference held in May 1938 under the presidency of Mr. K. R. Karant, a Parliamentary Secretary of the Madras Government, it was resolved to resort to direct action if such a course was deemed necessary. Karnatak will not stop with mere prayer and petition.

The claim of Andhra is equally just and must be considered along with that of Karnatak.

NEPOTISM

By M. F. SOONAWALA

THE public of C. P. has of late been scandalised by the prevalence on a large scale of Nepotism on the part of some members of the Ministry, a charge now admitted by them before Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Their action has already been questioned and criticised by the Press in unequivocal terms.

The very word "Nepotism" seems to be in bad odour with all and sundry. But it loses much of its obnoxiousness if it is viewed from a different perspective.

Nepotism when practised with due circumspection and discretion justifying the peculiar circumstances of the cases involved, would rather produce beneficial effects. It is no sin for a person in high position, if convinced of the ability and integrity of some relative of his, to have him appointed to a responsible post. The service concerned also thereby gets the benefit of the personal security of the high personage in case the appointee goes wayward, which is hardly the case if the personage has exercised sound judgment in his selection. Human nature being what it is dictates this policy in every walk of life. Private businesses and enterprises are not devoid of this age-old practice and certain families acquire hoary traditions of founders, promoters and custodians of vast interests with which their names are indissolubly bound up. The goodwill thus attached to firms commands values at times fabulous.

From time immemorial in all lands officials administering State affairs have been exercising their prerogative by conferring favours on their own kith and kin while making responsible appointments. It is true that under democratic

regime public vigilance is too sharp to prevent abuse of such a prerogative. Pitts and Chamberlains and MacDonalds and Butlers have illuminated the dry pages of history of even democratic countries.

Mussolini has his sons and sons-in-law placed in high command and Hitler is wise enough to connive at such weaknesses displayed by his immediate underlings. But Stalin had the rare courage of peremptorily ordering his son to leave for his home-town forthwith and pursue the calling of a cobbler as he was found incompetent to learn any art of diplomacy or industry. The Japanese Cabinet is dominated by either the Aristocracy or War Lords mostly connected by family ties.

The story goes, though I cannot vouch for its authenticity, that when once the eminent versatile genius, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was taunted for having succumbed to the weakness, *viz.*, Nepotism, his critic was immediately cowed down by the snub administered to him, "Well, my friend, I plead guilty of the offence of putting the right man in the right place. Hang me!"

Far from merely trotting forth an apology for a practice whose obnoxious character could hardly be mitigated or condoned, this is an attempt to show that it does also present an obverse side, the savoury aspect of which it is desirable to uphold in the best interests of society in general.

The tendency to raise the slogan of "Down with Nepotism" indiscriminately is to be deprecated. Let us be frank and stop the parrot-cry.

INDIA'S SENSE OF HONOUR AND LORD BADEN-POWELL

BY V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)

"We put a premium on tyranny by submitting meekly to tyranny", says the poet Tagore. According to Webster, tyranny is synonymous with cruelty, or causing hurt to others, without proper justification. Cruelty may be practised as much in word as in deed. Lord Baden-Powell's remark against Indians made from the high pedestal of an exalted position protected by the privileges of a ruling race, is a type of tyranny practised in word. The gallant gentleman makes an attempt to hurt the feelings of a whole nation by making assertions for which there is no justification. He manifests an ignorance of the simple and elementary words in the Hindustani language when he authoritatively says before the world, that Hindustani does not possess a word equivalent to the English word honour. Of course it is difficult to say that these remarks form a part of imperialistic propaganda carried on, on similar lines, by Mr. Archer in his book *Is India Civilised?*, or by our friend, the notorious Miss Mayo in her book *Mother India*. According to the saying of our great poet-philosopher, the ideal procedure for Indians is to treat these tyrannies in word, with the contempt that they deserve, as thereby we desist from putting a premium on them. One wonders how these imperialistic propagandists do not still realise that false propaganda after all does not serve the cause for which it is meant. On the other hand the effect they produce is quite the opposite. Sir John Woodroff's book in reply to the writings of Mr. Archer put before the world the merits of India more elaborately than they would have been, had not Mr. Archer written his book in that manner. Miss Mayo need not be specially reminded that India has now advanced much nearer the goal of Swaraj, than she was when her book was written, notwithstanding her propaganda. One need not be accused of exaggeration if it is asserted that such anti-Indian propaganda has helped to stir up the dormant qualities of Indians and accelerated their pace toward their desired goal. "Always have a calumniator as your neighbour. Calumniator's mouth is like a soap-cake, it helps to cleanse one's mind," says a poet-saint of Maharashtra.

If one looks back over the pages of ancient history, one finds that when nations start a

campaign of blind hatred against other nations, they usually show a tendency towards decline. By looking at the drawbacks only of the other nations, instead of trying to assimilate their good points, these nations isolate themselves from the rest of the world. "The fate of India was sealed when the word 'Mlechcha' was invented," says Swami Vivekananda. The downfall of India began when she started looking down upon other nations and thus isolated herself practically from the rest of the world. The same thing happened to the Chinese, when they started calling the other nations foreign devils and their own country "The Celestial Empire". One wonders if history is repeating itself in the West in this respect. Only a few months back, American tourists visiting Federated Malay States flashed news through Reuter, to the four corners of the globe that they had seen Mickey Mouse being worshipped by the Tamil coolies in a temple at Singapore. Naturally the "Mickey Mouse" was nobody else than the ubiquitous village deity Hanuman, who is worshipped by Hindu villagers in the temple of God Rama. What the American tourists gained by publishing this ludicrous news one fails to imagine. Instead of trying to know that the Tamil coolies worshipped "Mickey Mouse", if they had made an attempt to learn from these heathens that cleaning one's teeth before having a bedside cup of morning tea, and having a regular daily bath are very hygienic, they would have derived some benefit from their visit to the Tamil cooly lines during their tour in the Federated Malay States.

However, Lord Baden-Powell may be reminded that the equivalent for the English word honour, exists in many words in Hindustani out of which "Izzat" is the most commonly known to and used by the man in the street. Edmund Candler, the well known war correspondent, says in his book *The Sepoy*, "The words Izzat and Jiwan, are constantly in the mouths of officer and sepoy. 'Izzat' is best rendered by honour or prestige". As it is difficult to estimate the comparative value of the words, honour and Izzat, it is better to quote examples which will give an idea as to what value is allotted to the word 'Izzat' by the Indians. Lord Baden-Powell being an army man and a Britisher, anecdotes

are quoted here from the Indian army narrated by the gallant soldier's own countrymen.

The historian James Grant, in Cassell's *History of India*, quoting Sir John Malcolm says:

"Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan sepoy could be deemed of revengeful nature, though both were prone to deeds of extreme violence, especially in points where they deemed their honour—of which they have a very keen sense—lighted or insulted or their character stained. Of this spirit two or three examples may be given. In 1772, a sepoy of the 10th Native Bengal Infantry, supposing himself injured quitted the ranks and approaching Capt. Ewens commanding, with 'recovered arms,' as if to make some request, shot him dead, and then quietly awaited the death he merited. Captain Cook of the Madras Cavalry once struck a sentry for allowing a water bullock to enter his tent. The man waited calmly till relieved from his post and then seeking the Captain, shot him dead with his carbine. He made no attempt to escape. He had avenged his honour thus terribly for a blow given.

"A sepoy of the Bengal Native Infantry was accused by one of his comrades of having stolen a rupee and a pair of trousers. The Sergeant-Major before whom the charge was brought was both unable and unwilling to give it credence, as the sepoy had always been remarkably conspicuous for his bravery and upright conduct. But investigations had to be carried out. On examining the knapsack to the utter astonishment and regret of the whole regiment the stolen property was discovered. None however, looked more thunderstruck than the sepoy himself. The Colonel told him that though the circumstances were so fearfully against him he would not yet pronounce him guilty, as it was not impossible he might be the victim of some malignant design. In a few hours, the sepoy was found to leave his little hut and walk with hurried steps to a neighbouring field. Suspecting the purpose of his present visit to so retired a spot, a comrade followed him, but unfortunately too late to arrest the hand of the determined suicide. The poor fellow lay stretched on the ground, with his head hanging back and the blood gushing from open throat. He was taken to the hospital and carefully tended. He lingered on for fifteen days till he died of starvation. Two days before he died, it was discovered that a low class servant had placed the stolen goods in the sepoy's bundle and then urged its owner to accuse him of the theft. The disclosure of this circumstance appeared to give infinite satisfaction to the dying soldier."

Edmund Candler, in his interesting book *The Sepoy*, quotes the following incident which occurred during the last World War in the trenches in France.

"Rajput pride 'Izzat' is at the bottom of the saddest story of a sepoy, I have ever heard. The man was a hillman of Rajput descent. After two days of incessant fighting with minimum of rest at night he fell asleep at his post. On account of his splendid service and his exhaustion at the time which was after all the tax of gallantry, the death penalty was commuted, and the man was sentenced to thirty lashes. He would have much preferred death. However, he took his lashes well. He went about his work as usual and was in two or three more actions in which he acquitted himself well. After a complete year in France and five months in Egypt came the welcome news that they were returning home. On the afternoon, the day he disembarked at Bombay, the

Rajput shot himself. He had chosen to live when there was work to do. . . . And when he was a bare three days from his family and home he chose to die. Was English 'Honour' or Indian 'Izzat' at the bottom of this tragedy?"

Below are given a few incidents which are quoted not from any book on history but which actually took place in some of the military stations in India in recent times. They may give an idea as to what comparative value is allotted to the English word 'honour' and the Hindustani word 'Izzat' by the respective users of the two languages.

The first incident to be quoted happened in Kohat in the summer of 1919. Cholera had suddenly appeared in an epidemic form in Kohat and three I. M. S. officers and a military assistant surgeon had been hurriedly summoned from Peshawar for cholera duty. They were staying in the Kohat traveller's bungalow and it was the second day of their arrival there. A few yards to the north-western side of the bungalow was the post office, and the front courtyard was occupied by the staff of the brigade headquarters. Two of the I. M. S. officers and the Assistant surgeon were occupying the rear portion of the bungalow. It was a hot stuffy night typical of the Frontier summer, and the doctors were sleeping in the courtyard. Just after midnight they were roused from their sleep by loud screams mixed with moans, coming from somewhere near the bungalow. They hurried back to the verandah of the bungalow, to await developments. However the confusion soon ceased and the doctors went to bed, thinking that the disturbance was due to some Pathan thieves having entered the post office. Next day it was found that a Pathan raider had entered the Signal company's tent in the brigade headquarters camp, and snatched the rifles from two British signallers. The two Tommies getting frightened had run out of the tent and in doing so had trodden over the bodies of the servants of a Royal Engineers officer, as they were sleeping in the open. The Pathan next entered the tent of the Gurkha guard, and grabbed at the rifle of a sleeping Gurkha sepoy, who had kept it slung on his arm. The Gurkha felt the jerk and finding that a Pathan robber was trying to snatch away his rifle grappled with the Pathan in his half sleepy condition. Both of them stumbled out of the tent and before the Gurkha could take out his Kukri to hit the Pathan the Pathan stabbed him with his dagger and leaving him badly wounded in the chest bolted with the three rifles. The Indian Gurkha sacrificed his life for the sake of his 'Izzat', as losing a rifle

by a soldier is considered a dishonour in the army.

The second incident happened also in Kohat in the same year, but a couple of months later in the cholera camp. Cholera had taken a terrible toll of the sepoy and camp followers in the regiments stationed at Kohat. The mortality was appalling in the hastily improvised cholera hospital conducted by the three I. M. S. officers assisted by about four military sub-assistant surgeons and about half a dozen military ward orderlies, and some sweepers. Gradually the epidemic subsided and the hospital workers had some respite. The ward orderlies consisted of Sepoy Laxman Pawar, a Deccani Maratha from 128th Pioneers, Sawar Yakub Khan, a Hindustani Mussalman from Skinner's Horse, Sepoy Tiwari, a U. P. Brahmin from the 3rd Brahmin Regiment, and Sepoys Dularam and Narsoo Singh, Rajputana Gujars, from the 43rd Deoli Regiment, all under the command of Havildar Darveza Khan, a Sagri Khatak Pathan from Bannu. In a hastily improvised military unit, especially a hospital with patients dying of a disease where treatment was not of much avail and a lower staff selected at random from different regiments, discipline could not be expected to be perfect. There was reason to believe that the relations between the non-commissioned officer Darveza Khan, and the other five sepoy were far from cordial, and Sawar Yakub Khan, (who was nicknamed Bewakoof Khan by the Havildar), was supposed to be at the root of this internecine trouble. One afternoon the ward orderlies were unloading the Supply and Transport cart containing the provisions for the hospital. Some sort of wordy warfare started between Sepoy Dularam and Havildar Darveza Khan, which culminated in Dularam throwing down the Pathan Havildar on the ground and trying to hit him with the handle of a shovel. Naturally young Dularam was hauled up next day before the officer commanding the hospital, Major B. A court of inquiry was held and he was tried for assaulting his superior officer while on duty. He was found guilty and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The poor lad half sob-

bing shouted out, "Nobody listens to what I say. What have I done? I was first assaulted by the Havildar; so I hit him back. Why should I be sent to prison?" He was kept as a prisoner in the guard room, before the armed guard from the headquarters came next day to take him to the prison. As soon as he noticed the sepoy guard of a Punjabi regiment coming to take him away, from a distance, he snatched the rifle from the hands of sepoy Narsoo Singh, and ran out in the open shouting. He was seen by the two I. M. S. officers kneeling down in front of their tent and adjusting the bolt of the rifle. It was later on found that he wanted to shoot the I. M. S. officer who gave the prosecution evidence against him and the Havildar Darveza Khan, who was responsible for his prosecution. Narsoo Singh noticing this ran after Dularam, but before he could snatch the rifle away from him, he turned it toward his own face and pulled the trigger. Luckily it was loaded not with the usual service cartridge, but with game shooting cartridge containing small shot as is usually done on the Frontier where the army sentries guarding camps have to deal with Pathan marauders who crawl into the camp under the cover of darkness. So the shot did not kill him but tore off the skin of his face and shattered his jaw bone. The fair and handsome looking young lad's face mangled and covered with blood presented a hideous and distorted appearance. The poor lad made an attempt to kill himself to save his 'Izzat', which would have been damaged by his being sent to prison.

Finally it may be said that it is high time that Britishers of the type of Lord Baden-Powell realised that they are not enhancing the prestige of Great Britain by running down Indians and their country. Indians have long ago ceased to give any importance to the patronizing opinions about them or their country by foreigners, and have realised that the future of their country depends upon their own achievements, and not on the few favours bestowed on them with a condescending smile by those who have taken on themselves the laborious task of bearing the "White man's burden" for the salvation of the human race.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

LIBERALITY AND CIVILIZATION: By Gilbert Murray, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 2s. 6d.

This book contains two lectures given by Professor Gilbert Murray at the invitation of the Hibbert Trustees in the Universities of Bristol, Glasgow, and Birmingham in October and November, 1937. They are informative, and also thought-provoking, as the phrase goes. In the first lecture the Professor explains what he means by liberality. It is not Liberalism in the sense in which that word is used in party politics. He goes on to show the interdependence of liberality and civilization. In the second lecture he considers the problem of keeping alive liberal thought and feeling in a world which seems to have turned anti-liberal. "Civilized thinking means liberal thinking. Liberality is the inner content of civilization."

Readers of *The Modern Review* have already got some idea of the contents of the book from the extracts from it given in the Notes in the last June number under the captions, "Liberality and Free Speech", and "The Path of Madness and of War and the Paths of Peace". pp. 703-704.

D.

HIND SWARAJ OR INDIAN HOME RULE: By M. K. Gandhi. Printed at the Vithal Mudranalaya, Congress Camp, Vithal Nagar. Paper Cover, Pp. 183, xii. Price As. 4 (1938).

In a short foreword Mr. Mahadev Desai tells us how this little book which was out of print came to be reprinted. Lord Lothian, when on a visit to Gandhiji wanted a copy of it and at the same time Madame Sophia Wadia, the well known Bombay Theosophist did so. It was written in Gujarati in 1908 in South Africa and then proscribed in India. Translated into English for Mr. Kallenbach it has, continued to attract attention. In it lies in the germ of all that Gandhiji is preaching now. The booklet is worth reading, re-reading, as it shows the Mahatmaji at his best.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE: By Richard B. Gregg. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 398 with an index. (1938.) Price Rs. 2.

This is an Indian Edition of Mr. Gregg's work. He writes from South Natick, Massachusetts, U. S. A., and has fitly dedicated the book to Mahatma Gandhi. In sixteen chapters the whole subject of Non-Violence is discussed in detail from an Indian as well as the Western point of view and the author tells us that it is not a history of the Indian struggle for independence only, but

of such struggles elsewhere. The notes to the chapters bear this out as reference is made therein to the works of various world writers. The idea of non-violence is tested with recent findings of psychology, military and political strategy, political theory, economics, physiology, biology, ethics, penology, and education. It has thus embraced a wider scope for the propaganda of Ahimsa than that found in Gandhiji's writings and utterances. The conclusion reached, however, is identical and confirms in soundness of Gandhiji's preachings. It is a scholarly and learned work and deserves to be studied by all, pacifists as well as non-pacifists. Mr. Gregg is a lawyer and has considered the pros as well as the cons of the subject. He is an industrialist also and has stayed in India pretty long. He is thus qualified to speak on Indian conditions too.

X.

HISTORY OF KANAUJ—TO THE MOSLEM CONQUEST: By Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. Indian Book Shop, Benares City. 1937. Pp. XX+420. Price Rs. 7.

The history of Kanauj is a worthy subject of study for every student of Indian History. With the single exception of Pataliputra, Kanauj may justly be regarded as the greatest imperial city in ancient India. In point of antiquity and length of life Kanauj beats hollow even its proud rival. It was a royal capital for many centuries while the site of Pataliputra was marked by a petty village, and it continued to flourish as an imperial capital nearly six centuries after the glory of Pataliputra had vanished for ever.

During these six centuries Kanauj saw the rise and fall of five empires, those of the Maukharis, the Pratiharas and the Cahadavalas, and of Harshavardhan and Yasovarman. During the same period it was ruthlessly trampled under feet by no less than four powerful hostile armies, viz., the Karnatas, Kashmiras, Ghaznivides and Tursushkas, and its age-long duel with Bengal culminated in the complete triumph of the rival king Dharmapala who had his coronation performed in the eternal city in the presence of all the powerful chiefs of Northern India.

Against this background of political upheavals Kanauj witnessed an outburst of literary activity to which there is hardly any parallel with the exception of the legendary court of Vikramaditya at Ujjain. For few cities can boast of a galaxy of such renowned masters of literary art as Vakpatiraja, Bhababhuti, Banabhatta and Rajasekhara—not to mention lesser names—who have left a permanent mark on Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. As a seat of orthodox Brahmanical culture the fame of Kanauj spread to the furthest corner of Northern India,

and even today all the high class Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal look upon Kanauj as their ancestral and spiritual home.

This wonderful story of political and cultural greatness is told by Dr. Tripathi in the book before us. It is a scholarly work, marked by accuracy, precision, and sound judgment. The author has carefully examined all the sources and placed before his readers an interesting but unvarnished account of the memorable events that centred around Kanauj. His style is condensed and elegant and his criticism is always dispassionate and to the point. He has differed from previous writers on many points, but has referred to their views in moderate and temperate language. He has studiously avoided dogmatic expressions and an acrimonious tone which are unfortunately only too common in modern historical writings. On the whole the author is to be congratulated on the fine piece of work which he has produced.

It is inevitable that there should be room for difference of opinion on many points in a work comprising the history of so many dynasties. But it is very seldom that we can regard the author's standpoint as definitely untenable. In a few instances, however, the author seems to have departed from his usual caution in forming an unbiased judgment of available historical materials. We shall cite two examples.

The first refers to the coronation ceremony of Dharmapala at Kanauj, referred to in verse 12 of the Khalimpur copper-plate. The meaning of the entire verse is not quite clear. According to Kielhorn's translation, unhesitatingly accepted by the author (p. 216), the main fact referred to in the verse is the installation of the illustrious king of Kanyakubja, presumably Cakrayudha. This is, however, not so clear, and is merely an inference drawn from emended text of the verse. There is, however, no doubt that the verse contains a clear reference to the coronation of Dharmapala himself, a ceremony in which the golden pitcher was held over his head by the elders of Kanauj, and the host of kings—of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Kira, and Gandhara—had to nod their heads in hearty approval under the frowning looks of Dharmapala. Leaving aside the disputed question whether the ceremony also included the installation of Cakrayudha, a nominee and protégé of Dharmapala, on the throne of Kanauj, which is in any case a subsidiary issue, the presence of the kings in the coronation ceremony and their approval of it, under compulsion, leaves no doubt that they recognised Dharmapala as their suzerain. The author seems to have missed the real issue in his discussion of the topic on pp. 216-17 and p. 230. He thinks that the main object of the assembly was a "settlement of the affairs of Kanauj" to which the assembled monarchs gave their approval. He admits that the incidents described in the verse "indicates the power and position of Dharmapala who seems to have attained in his day the rank of the premier king of the North", but he fights shy of the natural conclusion that Dharmapala conquered those states. It is of course quite possible that some of these states submitted without any actual fight, but there can be hardly any doubt, that the main object of the verse is to indicate that Dharmapala's suzerainty was acknowledged by the states named therein. It is difficult, therefore, to agree with the author that "the passage in question only gives us a list of the principal kingdoms that had dealings with Kanauj, and the assumption that they were subject to it seems altogether fantastic and wide of the mark" (p. 217). Of course the subjection was to Dharmapala and not to Kanauj, which was itself a dependency of the Pala empire. Still more open to objection is the author's view that the approval of the ruler of Avanti was a mere "diplomatic gesture" (p. 239).

The second instance refers to the fact, specifically mentioned in an inscription of Lakshmanasena and two inscriptions of his two sons, that he defeated the king of Benares and erected pillars of victories in Benares and Allahabad. The author summarily dismisses this claim with the following remark:

"But in view of the position of Benares in the Gahadavala realm, and Lakshmanasena's (*sic*) craven flight without offering any resistance to the small force led by Bakhtyar Khilji, we may unhesitatingly say that 'the monuments of his greatness, never existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination.'" (p. 325).

It is evident that the author has never cared to read the history of Minhaj on which the tale of "craven flight" is based. Perhaps it would be interesting to him to know that Minhaj himself has paid the highest tribute to Lakshmanasena and referred to him as the greatest king of Hind; and further that no unbiased reader of Minhaj's narrative would choose to brand Lakshmanasena as a coward. Besides, while the author puts so much stress on the successful raid on Nadia, he conveniently forgets that Lakshmanasena and his successors maintained the independence of the greater part of Bengal by a stubborn resistance to the Muslim invaders for nearly half a century after nearly all the other powerful kingdoms of Northern India, including Kanauj, had been conquered by them.

But even granting that Lakshmanasena was disastrously routed by the Muslims in his old age and fled from Nadia, is it reasonable to infer that the stories of his conquest in earlier days were all imaginary? By a similar reasoning one would be inclined to discredit the story of Yasovarman's victories in Bengal because he was so disastrously defeated later by Lalitaditya. Indeed we have no ground to disbelieve the specific references to Lakshmanasena's conquests in contemporary inscriptions, if we accept as true similar references in contemporary inscriptions in the case of other kings.

I am afraid this long discussion would lead one to suppose that the age-long duel between Gauda and Kanauj is still in progress, only with the exchange of pen for the sword. I therefore conclude with the remark that such blemishes as I have indicated above do not take away from the real merit of the book. We have every right to expect more scholarly works from the young author.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE POSITIVE BACKGROUND OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY. BOOK I: INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POSITIVISM: By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. *The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series*, vol. XXXII. Panini Office, Allahabad 1937. Royal 8vo. Pp. 71+697. Price Rs. 16.

This stupendous volume of 700 pages was originally written as an introduction to the author's English translation of the *Sukra-niti*, but considering its size and its very wide range of interest, it is, without doubt, a *magnum opus*. The main object of the first volume, as its title indicates, is to consider the manifestation of the "positivist" spirit of ancient India in its various forms, and the author has collected together a great mass of material from multifarious sources; but it is in reality a veritable encyclopaedic *vide-mecum* of hundreds of things connected with India and the world at large, from the pre-historic Mahenjo-daro to the historic Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar himself, to the last (but not the least) of which interesting topic a Preface of 57 pages is devoted! The reader, however, will find very little of the *Sukra-niti* itself, which is professedly the starting point of the work, even within the capacious limits of the present volume, although there is a great deal of infor-

mation of diverse kind on Niti-sastra, Kautilya and connected topics, and the name of Positivist India is not taken in vain! The author, to judge from his profuse references to works in various Western and Eastern languages, is a well-read man; and nothing escapes his notice, specially, from China to Peru and, temporally, from the Assyro-Babylonian to the modern "Indo-Euro-American" milieu, whether it be Literature, Culture, Sociology, Politics, History or Philosophy. The Professor has a wonderful facility of diction, and a marvelous gift of coining words, phrases and formulas, such as Vertical Mobilities, Buddha-Kautilya complex, Geometry of Between-Man Relations; but one wonders if it is really necessary to sacrifice lucidity and revel in an imposing array of verbal profundity. In his impatience of scholastic limits our author appears to have a dislike for what he calls "Traditional Indology"; but it is doubtful how far this work of facile copiousness, as a specimen of neo-Indology, will really appeal to a critical and scholastic reader. Let us hope that the general reader will have the time and patience (which the poor reviewer must needs have) to benefit from his well-meant, if somewhat diffuse, popularisation of a difficult and interesting subject.

S. K. DE

SIKHISM : By Professor Teja Singh. Published by Longmans Green and Co. Rs. 2.

The problem for strife-torn humanity today is not in finding ideals and visions of the perfect, but in forging the missing links between the outer and inner aspects of behaviour. Spiritual wisdom lies enshrined in civilisation, but our conduct follows prehistoric fear and unreason: precipitation of moral law in terms of human relationship has yet to meet the modern demand. We need a technique—call it a technique of good life—not only for individuals, but for organised living; tribal sanctions seeking relief in fratricide can no longer satisfy an age in which wars, holy or unholy, are apt to end in wholesale extermination, and muddling through means sure domination by powerfully planned barbarism. Individuals, in many countries, recognise the world-situation, and would serve the higher conscience—which paradoxically enough, is wider awake today than before—by closing the dangerous gap that exists between hoarded ideals and instinctual living. Societies spring up, menaced by wide-spread atavism, but determined to supply nation and group with an actional basis of humanity.

Professor Teja Singh's book deals with eternal problems but it is also a timely publication. With rare charm and scrutiny he reveals the dual aspect of Sikhism—"the Ideals and Institutions"—and takes us to the borderland where the spirit and the material organisation of life are recognised together in the evolution of a religious community.

Sikhism—as a synthesising order—had to face from its inception the pressure of majority religions; spiritual light had to be given a container which would protect it from the blasts of communal rivalry, and guide followers in the *Panth*, the path of righteous living. Problems of initiation and practice, of attitude towards religious bodies and traditions had to be defined; as a reformist movement, Sikhism had to offer an uncompromising front to harmful social usage, to caste and sectarianism, while accepting the concept of spiritual democracy in which religions meet. The *Guru* gave the Laws, in spheres of conduct and contemplation, and recorded in the *Holy Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, they bear witness to the structural catholicity of Sikhism which made it incorporate truths from diverse religious sources without affecting its original character. Devotion and Service,

in each religion, have gone together: true spiritual freedom must lie in accepting the bondage—not bondage any more to a freed soul—of welfare work, but the peculiar contribution of Sikhism is that it insisted on inter-communal service, amidst difficult and dangerous circumstance, as part of the daily work without promising extra-spiritual felicities as reward. Luring recruits by prospects of easeful shelter could hardly be possible in a community which for the greater part of its history has had to struggle for bare existence. Territorial acquisitiveness sanctified by spiritual dispensation could not form the policy of a community schooled by service and sacrifice; this holds true even of the days of Sikh prosperity. At the time of the tenth *Guru*, the *Khalsa* idea was formed; the idea of a purified soul taking up life's duties, undeterred by suffering or persecution.

How did Sikhism organise service? What was the secret of the unitary existence of the community, even though dispersed over a wide area; how to interpret the ideological entity which lies behind the vows and rituals and signs? Professor Teja Singh's book answers many questions and provides a background to which such questions could be referred; he can be critical and yet his writings are saturated with the imperishable traditions of his faith. He tells us how the Sikh Order has saved itself from sectarianism and while he warns his community against fissiparous tendencies, he has no difficulty in tracing the unshakable loyalty to the *Guru* and the *Granth* which has welded the brotherhood into one and made it assert its principles in face of adversity. When one remembers how in recent times the *Akalis* suffered without retaliation, accepting the highest form of Gandhian non-violence and resisting opponents with untarnished spiritual fortitude, one realises what wealth of sensitiveness and power of discipline this heroic community carries within itself.

Professor Teja Singh gives us history, and with admirable economy, presents the essential features of the Sikh religion; he describes the rites and ceremonies, always noting their significance; takes us on pilgrimage to the *Takhts*, deals with the constitution of the *Sangat*, giving us details of the disciplinary organization. *Gurumattas* are explained,—he has some pertinent things to say on their political bearings—and much light is thrown on the nature of decisions thus made by the Executive on problems affecting the whole community. At the end of the book and running right through its pages occur lucid translations of Sikh prayers and devotional songs.

On problems of war-mindedness, and some vestigial forms of caste in the lower strata of the Sikh community one might need further elucidation; on the nature of the political institutions and of the external signs—the five *K's*—one would welcome examination in the light of modern standards, but the adequacy of the book as a guide to Sikhism evokes admiration. The organisational side of this welfare-working community demands the attention of a generation baffled by the ethics of "Ends and Means"—Huxley's book is the most significant contribution of our times—and Sikhism, as depicted in this monograph, challenges universal interest.

Reading this book one sees the completeness of Guru Nanak's preaching, as expressed by Guru Arjan, "Without pleasing God all actions are worthless." And again, in the same hymn, "I say, Nanak, if you exert yourself in action, you will be saved." (*Gauri Mala*.)

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

SWAMI RAMA : HIS LIFE & LEGACY : By P. Brijnath Sharga, M.A., LL.B. Published by The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.

It is an account of the life and teachings of one who was born in poor circumstances, strove to acquire learning by fighting against odds, completed a University career and became a Professor of Mathematics; but who later renounced the world, became a preacher and teacher and ultimately a recluse and died an accidental death at the early age of 33. The story is told in an attractive, though somewhat diffused, style.

THE STORY OF SWAMI RAMA : *By Mr. Puran Singh. Published by The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.*

This is another biography of Swami Rama. The difference in authorship has been responsible for a difference in outlook and mode of narration also. Besides, this book has aspired to be a little more critical than ordinary biographies of saints.

THE PASSING OF THE GODS : *By V. F. Calverton. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 326. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

This is a remarkable book—remarkable both for the courage with which the author treats his subject and also for the equally bold conclusions that he draws. The author's main theses are : (i) Religion is a "social compulsion" or a social force, and, as such, should be studied sociologically. Hitherto, the approach to the study of religion has been mainly psychological, treating it as an individual reality only. (ii) The influence of religion has depended on the fact that it promised not other-worldly benefits so much as fulfilment of this-worldly interests. (iii) And the classes in society whose interests it served have been the staunchest advocates of it. (iv) In a classless society which appears to be the eventual aim of mankind, religion will have out-lived its usefulness and will be there no more. "Religion is dying today, and the gods are passing, not so much because the human race has no more need of the function they served, but because it has built up superior substitutes for them" (p. 320). The future, therefore, belongs not to religion but to science, not to the gods but to men. Obviously, it is taken as an indisputable fact that the gods are passing.

The writer supports his conclusions with a wealth of information and an array of arguments which are bound to compel attention. All his facts are perhaps not accurately stated. For instance, when he says (p. 58) that "among the Brahmans, the King is considered the Creator of the Gods," or that "in Bengal, they openly spoke of *Tshanda Gosain* as a God who could be approached only by the wealthy" (p. 78), he is treading on uncertain ground. But such small inaccuracies do not materially affect his main interpretation of history.

It is not difficult to imagine that many will not accept his conclusions or his interpretation of history. But all his facts are not open to challenge. His chapter on American Culture is particularly illuminating. It gives a vivid picture of how 'God and Christ had become open allies of wealth and station' (p. 259) and 'how the Prince of Peace had been converted into a War Lord' (p. 260).

The book is a Marxist broad-side on organised religion. Guardians of religion in all lands ought to take note of it; and instead of pretending to condemn it in a superior fashion, ought to see if there is no real force behind the attack. Books of this kind are a special need for India where the old fabrics of religion still refuse to be reshaped and where still the cry of "religion in danger" can easily collect a motley crowd of men.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE ECONOMICS OF CORPORATE SAVING : *By J. Ellwood Amos. The University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1937. Pages 136. Price \$1.50.*

The importance of 'saving' as an economic category has increased remarkably in recent years. The writings of the recent employment-economists have made expressions like 'positive saving,' 'negative saving,' 'forced saving' greatly significant in different branches of economic study. A book professing to deal with the *economics* of corporate saving should, therefore, be a welcome addition to the increasing volume of literature on the subject.

In fact, however, Mr. Amos has not discussed so much the purely economic aspects of corporate saving as the statistical difficulties of arriving at a correct measure of the saving practised by business corporations. His analysis of the motives for, and the effects of corporate saving is almost elementary. The chapter on 'some theoretical considerations' will disappoint the reader who will expect a logical discussion after a brilliant exposition of the statistical problems.

The value of the book lies in the descriptive chapters. The author has analysed carefully the policies adopted by different types of business corporations as regards saving, and the devices that very often obscure the real saving or 'de-saving' policy of particular types of business. There is a valuable chapter on the effects of the surtax imposed in the U. S. A. on the undistributed profits of corporations under the Revenue Act of 1936. The readers of Mr. Amos' book will be grateful to him at least for the mass of information he has so carefully brought together.

BIABYTOSH DATTA

MATHEMATICS FOR THE MILLION : A POPULAR SELF-EDUCATOR : *By Laurelot Hogben. Published by George Allen & Unwin, London. Pp. 648. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

Many people leave school with an inferiority complex about mathematics, feeling that it is a 'subject' they cannot just grasp. But modern civilisation is based on science, and mathematics is the language of science. No one can become an intelligent citizen unless he can understand the language of experts. Without this understanding he is at their mercy. The author has an amazing gift of clarity; his exposition is not only brilliant but popular; with sound simplifications he has made things which usually bring despair intelligible to the average citizen. In helping the average citizen to become the intelligent one, he has helped the progress of democracy.

The book teaches mathematics as it grew as man's instrument to understand and master his environment; for building, navigation, surveying, mining, manufacturing and exploration. It becomes an extraordinarily vivid history of science as it grew in its social uses. The author has established beyond dispute the existence of a relationship though it may be, between the growth of mathematical facts and the severely practical problems of the society that gave them birth. This is in itself a significant contribution towards the history of science,—and a scientific advance in itself. The author makes the hesitant reader at once an actor and spectator in a social pageant, leading him from the Pyramids to polar exploration, from camel caravan to the steamships crossing the oceans.

The best thing we can do to the reader is to recommend this remarkable book to him. This is one of the indispensable works of popularisation we have come across since we left college. For example, the author's treatment of Statistics or the Arithmetic of Human Welfare is so lucid and elegant that it can be readily understood and appreciated by one who has forgotten his college

mathematics. It reminds the Bengali reader of the late venerable Ramendra Sundar Trivedi and of his popular philosophical and mathematical essays. And we make no apologies for our enthusiasm for the entire 648 pages of the book.

J. M. DATTA

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN : By C. N. Vakil and D. N. Malusta. Published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1937. Price Rs. 5.

Professor C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay, has inaugurated a very useful series of handbooks on the economic problems of modern India and under his able editorship twelve valuable volumes have already been published. The present study is the 12th in this series entitled "Studies in Indian Economics" and published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd.

The volume under review deals with a subject of great practical importance to the economic life and prosperity of India. It describes the transformation of Japan from a poor, feudal, backward, weak nation to a modern, advanced, prosperous, industrialised, strong and great power. It points out the chief factors which are responsible for the amazing progress achieved during the last 70 years and discusses both the elements of strength and weakness in the economic position of Japan. It clearly brings out the significance of foreign trade for Japan and the consequent importance attached to the subject by the government and the steps taken by it to ensure its stability and progress.

The authors then carefully analyse the trade between Japan and India and discuss the problem of Japanese competition in India. They examine the conditions which necessitated the conclusion of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, first in 1934 and again in 1937, and the provisions of the two agreements and they state their criticisms and conclusions. And the whole work is carried out by the two authors in a scientific spirit and judicious manner and the volume is eminently readable and interesting. It should prove very useful to the commercial and industrial community, the members of the central legislature and to the students of Economics and Commerce in the country.

The main defect of this valuable study is its brevity. For instance the whole subject of financing the economic reconstruction and modernisation of Japan has been dealt with in less than two pages of the book. Similarly, the working of the 1934 Trade Agreement has been examined and discussed in less than 4 pages. Both these subjects are of tremendous practical importance to the government and the people in this country at the present juncture and a comprehensive discussion of them would have greatly added to the value of the book. I feel sure that the provincial governments would have been particularly grateful to the authors, if from their study of reconstruction and modernisation in Japan, they had pointed out ways and means of financing the programmes of economics and educational reconstruction in Indian provinces. In my opinion, the utility of the book would have also been greatly augmented if the authors had given their suggestions in a concluding chapter for meeting the terribly serious competition of Japan to Indian industry and trade. However, the book as it is, is an important and a very useful publication, and will go a long way in promoting the understanding of the problem of Japanese competition and trade relationship with India. It deserves to be read widely.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

HOW SHALL WE DEFINE LUXURY : By C. R. Agaskar, B.A., LL.B. Published by the author at Saraswati Bag, Jogestwari. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 4-4.

The author in this monograph discusses the problem of unemployment. There is a number of suggestions for the removal of the evils of unemployment, but mostly divorced from economic laws and facts. The author's advocacy for free higher education to all, is not a practical one. He remarked that "the cry of the unemployed is nothing but a cry for luxuries" and that a revert to old plain and simple living will end all evils. Is denying the hard facts when bare necessities of life for the vast number of the population is wanting. The question of unemployment is baffling the best brains of the world and is certainly not so easy solution. Unemployment and maldistribution of wealth stand at the very root of the economy of a nation and is a subject which needs more sound and serious treatment.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

A TREATISE ON INDIAN INCOME-TAX LAW AND ACCOUNTS : By Mr. B. N. Das-Gupta, B.A., A.S.A.A. (London), R.A., Incorporated Accountant, Head of the Department of Commerce, Lucknow University. Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

In this book the learned author has very thoroughly and carefully discussed the Income-tax Law as it is, analysing the Sections into their essential elements and indicating some of the points where changes in the law seem desirable.

Although in this book exhaustive citations of numerous case laws and Judicial decisions, departmental Rules and Instructions have not been included but still it has included therein all the typical cases. The author has been forced to adopt this method in view of the forthcoming amendment of the Act. The author places before the public an unbiassed interpretation of the Income-tax law as it is at present.

It is a neat handy book showing the practical working of the Income-tax Law, useful both for the busy Lawyer, as well as Accountants, Businessmen and Assessors generally.

The book presents several special features, viz., the present law has been discussed by way of elucidating the provisions of law by applying them to concrete cases, complicated points of law have been explained by illustrations, several suggestions have been put forward for consideration of the public as well as the Legislators and all the important provisions of the law have been collected together for ready reference by all the assessors.

Further, many practical problems relating to Insurance Companies, Bank, Share-broker and Partnership have been worked out in this book.

The book contains a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.J., the Law Member of the Government of India and an exhaustive Index which enhances the value of the book.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

VILLAGE THEATRES : THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL THEATRE : By Tandra Devi. With a Foreword by Nandalal Bose. Tandra Devi Publications. Tandrashram, Srinagar, Kashmir. Price As. 10. Post-paid As. 12.

Srijit Nandalal Bose writes in his foreword :

"There was a time when this art (of puppet or marionette shows) was very popular in our villages, for it is simple, cheap and amusing and makes a ready appeal to the imagination. The author indicates that the Doll

Theatre may reach also to a high level of artistic beauty and educational value. Every province in India had, in olden days, developed an individual style of this art, suited to the genius of the people. Even now, in a lingering form, it is to be found almost all over India. Lack of sympathy of the educated classes, who import their standards of taste from abroad (unfortunately, not the best Western standards either) has undermined the prestige of this art, as it has done of many indigenous culture...."

The author (well known to many as Mrs. Maude MacCarthy) deserves our gratitude for her efforts to revive this art and everyone will agree with her when she says that "this (puppet) theatre should be brought back in villages and small towns, not merely by reviving the ancient doll-shows, but by the re-birth of the ancient spirit in modern forms of puppetry". But it is difficult to agree with her when she, in her great enthusiasm, observes: "I believe that the National awakening should bring forth the National Theatre, and I hold that that theatre is the Puppet Theatre." It is hard to believe that the highest dramatic and histrionic aspirations of a nation should be asked to find their fulfilment in puppet shows. She commits the same mistake as some other enthusiasts of our country commit when they claim that the folk-art as practised by the *patuas* of Bengal represents Art of Paintings in its best.

PULINBIHARI SEN

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE EIGHTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE. Mysore, December 1935, Bangalore, 1938.

We have here a big volume consisting of two parts. Part One in 152 pages gives a complete report of the Conference, while in Part Two are published the Presidential Addresses of the different sections and about seventy articles—less than one-third the number submitted before and accepted by the sections. Some of the papers published here are highly interesting and useful though many that are left out appear to have been equally so, if not more. It is to be regretted that no indication has been given as to the principle, if any, that has been followed in selecting the papers for publication. This kind of publication of selected articles to the exclusion of others, however, naturally implies, if nothing else to the contrary is definitely indicated, the inferiority and unfitness of the latter, which, however is not generally the case. As a matter of fact, the practice of making room for only selected articles in a volume like this will be always open to criticism, not necessarily unjustified and unreasonable. Several alternatives may be possible under the circumstances. If funds permit space should be made available for all the articles read or taken as read in the Conference. If this is found to be impossible in consideration of the smallness of the funds, as is generally the case, specially in the case of the volume under review, the summaries of the papers along with the Presidential Addresses may be published as is done by the Indian Science Congress Association. If only the names of the papers read in each section are printed referring, as far as possible, to the journals where some of these may have been published, as was done in the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, this will be of considerable use and interest to scholars. Further, this will not only save money but serve to strengthen the various Oriental journals and help to secure wider publicity for the papers as some of these journals reach more people than copies of the proceedings are expected to do.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

TANDYAMAHABRAHMANA WITH SAYANA'S COMMENTARY: Edited in two volumes by Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Professor, Benares Hindu University. Pp. 494+46+612+31, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benares.

We had much pleasure in noticing the *Baudhayana Dharmasutra* edited by Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri, the well-known professor of Mimamsa in the Benares Hindu University. Today we are equally very glad to have from him a new edition of the *Tandyamahabrahmana* 'the great Brahmana taught by one Tandin'. It is also called *Praudhabrahmana* or 'Great Brahmana', and *Pancavimsa-brahmana* as it consists of twenty-five chapters (*adhyayas*). For the first time and with Sayana's commentary it was edited in Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica in 1870—1874) and translated into English by Caland (1931). It is to be regretted there is not yet any translation in any Indian vernacular.

The present edition is based not only on that of Calcutta, but also on two MSS. in Grantha script and three in Nagari collected from different parts of the country. That this edition is far better than the first is quite clear. Here a large number of quotations in the text and commentary is traced to their sources and various readings are noticed in the footnotes. Yet there is room for further improvement in this respect. For instance, the Calcutta edition reads (XXII. 18.7)—

“एतेन वे जेम भृत्वा पौगडरीक इष्ट्वा”

The present edition has *Paundarikam* for *Paundarika*. But in fact the reading should be जेमभृत्वा पौगडरीकम्. Here the base is *Kshemadhrivan*, a proper name. (See Caland's tr.). The Calcutta edition seems to have led the authors of the *Vedic Index* to interpret the word *Paundarika* as 'descendent of Pundarika'. But in fact *Pundarika* is here a kind of soma sacrifice lasting eleven days. In his index Pandit Chinnaswami has given its right meaning. His introduction is learned discussing different points regarding the text and showing the relationship between the text and the *Srantasutras* of Katyana and Apistambha. There are different indexes enhancing the value of the book.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

DHARMA-KOSA: Edited by Lakshman Shastri Joshi, with an Editorial Board. Vol. I, pt. i. Vyavahara-khanda: Vyavahara-matrika. Published by the Prajna-Pratistha-Mandala, Wai, Satara, 1937.

This ambitious publication, which includes in its scope the comprehensive and critical compilation of the entire material found in Sanskrit texts, with regard to the history of Hindu legal, political and social institutions, from the works comprised in Vedic literature down to late commentaries and treatises composed towards the end of the 18th century. The stupendous mass of material, culled not only from printed literature but also from unpublished manuscripts, is classified and arranged, according to general and special headings, in chronological order as far as possible, and presented as an exposition of the historical conclusions that may be gleaned from it. No important text is omitted or ignored, and the extracts are so digested here in their original words that the reader will find in orderly sequence the evolution of a particular idea or institution relating to Hindu religious and customary law and usage. In the words of the Editor, the work to be completed in several volumes, will include a detailed study "of the family rites and religious usages, of the expiatory rites, of the sacrifices, of the festivities and modes of

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worship. of the fasts and the pilgrimages, of the religious faiths and of the Gods, of metaphysical speculations and philosophies, of the rules governing the individual conduct towards the family, the caste, or society, of ethics, law and politics, and of all social institutions of the Hindus." The work is, thus, not a mere laborious compilation of the mechanical kind, but, essentially, a study in cultural evolution, for which the learned Editor and his Board of Assistants and Advisers appear to be fully competent. The work, when completed, will form a monument of patient and critical learning, indispensable to all who are interested in the social and religious institutions of ancient India. The present volume consists of more than 700 quarto pages but deals only with a part of Vyavahara or legal procedure. It is noteworthy that not only printed texts are utilised and quoted, but sometimes their incorrect and doubtful readings are amended. Also, the very large number of quotations, found in the commentaries and digests, from Smṛiti works which are now lost, is collected together; and in this way, half a dozen or more old works are partially restored from citations. The work was started in 1925 by Narayan Shastri Marathe, but on his retirement from Garhasthyasrama, his worthy disciple, the present editor, is carrying it on with unabated zeal and energy. The first volume augurs well for the volumes to follow, and the enterprise certainly deserves wide sympathy and encouragement, as being at once a popularly useful as well as a strictly scholarly work.

S. K. DE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SVETASVATARA UPANISHAD: *Translated by Swami Tyajisananda. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mysore, Madras. Pp. 131. Price Rs. 12.*

Although Svetasvatara Upanishad is not one of the ten Upanishads of which Sankaracharya wrote commentaries, yet it is none the less important as is evident from the references made to it by the commentators in their commentaries of the Brahma-sutras. The book contains the Sanskrit text and its English translation together with explanatory notes. The intrinsic value of the book is further enhanced by the separate rendering of each and every textual word into English. The book, we hope, will be of much use to those who are not well conversant with Sanskrit.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

BENGALI

SVARA-BITAN: *Part 3. By Rabindranath Tagore. First edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This book contains fifty of Rabindranath Tagore's songs, with their musical notations by the late Dinendranath Tagore, the poet's grandnephew, who was a distinguished musician. It has been edited by Sailaja-ranjan Majumdar, a noted musician of Santiniketan. Lovers of Bengali songs will appreciate this publication very much.

SAMAJ OR SOCIETY: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Fifth edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of fourteen essays or articles by the poet and some imaginary correspondence between an imaginary grandfather and an imaginary grandson.

The fourteen papers are on the following subjects: The course of History in India, Miserliness in Giving, Indian Marriage, Woman's Education, Woman's Humanness, Unity of Hindus, Tyranny of Custom, Sea Voyage, Noose of Luxury, Oriental and Occidental, Reference for

the Undeserving, East and West. What to Call Oneself, Hindu Marriage.

All the essays and the letters are noted for their distinction in style, power of original thinking, and occasional unexpected humour. They should be widely read by both men and women, young and old, all over India.

KSHANIKA: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This is a well-known book of poems by the author. The poems are written in a playful, half-humorous half-serious vein in light measures, but are not on that account devoid of serious import. Their re-issue in a handy volume printed in big type will be much appreciated.

RABI-RASHMI, or SUN'S RAYS: Part I. *By Professor Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University. Price not mentioned.*

The meaning of the name of this welcome bulky volume will be easily understood. Rabi, the name of Bengal's poet, means the Sun. His poems are styled his rays by the author.

Professor Bandyopadhyaya's two volumes, of which the present work is the first, are a study of and commentary on the poet's poems and plays. This, the first part, deals with those which were written up to some 40 years ago. The second part will bring the study up to date. It is in the hands of the printer.

The work will be of great help to the general reader in understanding and appreciating the poet's works. In it the author has given the reader not only the fruits of his own devoted labours for years but has laid under contribution other serious students and commentators of Tagore. The Poet himself has occasionally helped to remove the author's doubts and difficulties. What the Poet has written is of peculiar value. Very interesting and helpful are the parallel and illustrative quotations from Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi and English authors by the writer.

Bengali literature has now to be read by candidates for the matriculation and intermediate examinations of some of our universities, and for the B.A. and M.A. degrees, and Calcutta University has now prescribed an honours course in Bengali for the B.A. For all these some works or other by Tagore are sure to be prescribed. As Professor Bandyopadhyaya's book is sure to be of great help to teachers in teaching Tagore in class and to students in mastering his works for examination purposes, he has earned the gratitude not only of the general reader of Tagore but also of our student community.

Our publishers do not usually publish bulky and expensive works of this description. The Calcutta University has earned the thanks of the author and the public by publishing it. We only hope that it will hasten the publication of Part II of the work. The printing and publication of the first part, of some 452 pages royal octavo, took five years. That was rather slow work for a big press.

D.

GUJARATI

VIJNAN-SRISTI: *By Revashankar O. Somapura, B.A. Bhavnagar. Price Re. 1-II.*

A collection of about twenty articles on topics like rubber, motor car, the art of printing, telephone, radio, the solar system, etc., not specifically for schools but for general readers. The accompanying illustrations are few, and not very well executed either, but more to our interest

is the author's attempt, mostly successful, to render technical terms in pure Indian language.

KALPA-BRIKSHA : *Umiashankar Thakur. Published by Gitamanjari Granthavali Karyyalay, Anand, Gujrat. Prices Re. 1 and Re. 1-4.*

A children's book, suitable for use as a school text also, but entirely on a novel plan: the letters of the alphabet are treated, by apt alliteration's artful aid, to the exquisite delight of the reader, and woven into a Pauranic story—thus combining story interest, Pauranic grounding, humour and enriched vocabulary in a strange assemblage of words, etc.

The sketches are well done and the printing good.

The novel attempt is well worth examination by educational experts.

RAGHUVAMSA : *Nagardas A. Pandya, B.A. Badval. 1937. Price Rs. 2.*

The nineteen cantos of Kalidas's immortal *Kavya* have been rendered into Gujrati verse; the translator has tried to be faithful not only to the spirit and language of the great poet but also to his metrical scheme—different towards the end from the prevailing metre of the particular canto. Word-notes are given in explanatory hints at the foot of each page as occasion arises, and in the introduction Pandit Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri tries to fix up Kalidasa's date—that debatable question in which scholars delight.

P. R. SEN

MARATHI

KASHI-RAMESHWAR YATRA : *Printed and published by Govind Chimnaje Bhat. Pages 200. Price Rs. 1-8. Profusely illustrated.*

This well-printed book is the sixth publications of the Principal Bhat's travel-series. Though originally meant to serve as a rapid reading text for the school-boys, the book does not lack literary merit. In its flowing style, fringed with light touches of humour, the narration all over has skilfully avoided the bore, which is so common with such travel-tales. Immense historical information about this well-known old route from Rameshwar to Benares comprising a variety of descriptions ranging from

the ancient temples at Madura and the nature's bounties on the Nilgiris, to the Buddha at Gomateshwar and marble rocks of Bhedaghat, has been given in a wayman's way. Leaving such defects as the out-of-place quotative repetition of the Queen's Proclamation in the chapter on Allahabad, the book has indeed added to Marathi travel literature and can be safely ranked along with the already famous travel-books of Kale and Kelkar Tikekar and Kalelkar, etc.

VIMYACHA SANDESH : *By Manubhai Gopaljee Desai, Gujrath Vidyapeeth. Published by the Author. Pages 67. Price six annas.*

This booklet named 'The Message of Insurance' was originally written in Gujrati, and it was warmly received in Gujerat. And passing through two editions in the original, it has now appeared in a translated form in Marathi. It contains a general information about the economic principles underlying Insurance and the progress of insurance activities in India, as compared with other Nations. Rules guiding insurance agents and persons getting insured, Gandhiji's 'aparigrah' and insurance, insurance and woman's rights are some of the instructive chapters. Surely, the booklet shall be very useful to those non-English knowing hundreds who become insured without surety.

JAPANCHYA PRAVASHACHEE SHIDORI : *By V. R. Velankar. Publishers Shree Gajanan Mills, Sangli. Pages 193. With several photographs.*

Being intended to serve as a guide for persons desirous of visiting Japan, the first half of the book is devoted to primary information regarding Japanese language and grammar, with an elaborate Japanese-Marathi Dictionary of words of every-day use. This part of the book is indeed very helpful, though such a book in Marathi was already available named 'Japanese Bhasha' by S. V. Paranjape. The latter half contains all through a businessman's superficial point of view in touring over Japan, giving some interesting details of the customs and formalities of the Japanese people. One chapter wholly unnecessary in such a book like this, sermonizes the Indian youths with the oft-repeated advice that they should take more interest in industries, ignoring all other limitations.

P. B. MACHWE

KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

The Celestial Hair-dresser

"On the left sits Buddha in the act of removing his three-pronged tiara. In the centre, the Heavenly Hair-dressers advances holding a razor in his hand; while the God Indra stands behind him with hands pressed together in sign of adoration. Chapter XVIII of the *Abhiniskramana Sutra* tells how Buddha, in preparation for the period of his austerities, lopped off his hair with a sword. The five little figures who kneel in the foreground must, I suppose, be the five Brahmans whom Buddha afterwards secured as his first five converts. The whole

scene, highly florid and sumptuous in the original versions of the story, is admirably simplified and secularised by the sober hand of the Chinese painter."—Waley, *Chinese Painting*.

Portrait of Kublai Khan

Kublai Khan (1214-1294 A.D.) was a great patron of the Confucian Temple and he restored the Temple in 1278. The picture is now in the collection of the Confucian Temple at Confucius's birthplace, Chu-fou in Shantung.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Fusing of Different Linguistic Groups

Dear Sir,

In the April issue of *The Modern Review* in the Notes columns, on page 493, you write, "Gujaratis dwelling in Maharashtra have not become fused with the Maharashtrians, nor the latter living in Gujarat with the former".

But in reality the case is not so. In Karachi there are hundreds of Gujarati-speaking families, but the names of castes of a part of them is Bhopatkar, Kirtikar, etc. They are not few in number, there are thousands of such people. Such names of castes are not found in *real* Gujaratis. When you ask these people about their history, they tell that their forefathers belonged to Maharashtra. But now they do not speak Marathi. To them Marathi language is as foreign as it is to me or to you. They marry their sons and daughters with the Gujaratis, and are completely mixed with Gujaratis. One of them, Dr. Popat Lal Bhopatkar, was elected to Sind Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket in the last general election.

Similarly there are about 800 families in Sind, who speak Sindhi and live like Sindhi Hindus. But their castes are like Punjabis. They also marry their sons and daughters with Sindhis. They can't speak Punjabi at all. Many of them have much reputation in Sindhi society. One of them also was elected to Sind Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket from Sukkur.

There are thousands of Punjabis living in U. P. from last hundreds of years. They also can't speak Punjabi, and speak and live like United Provincians. They have completely mixed themselves with the people living in that province.

The examples are not finished yet. There are two or three hundred Sindhi families living in Multan and adjoining districts from unknown period. They speak Multani, and have relations with Multanis.

Last of all I come to myself. I am told by my Kulprohith (family priest) that about five hundred years before our forefathers were residing in the Multan district and districts adjoining Multan. Today I can speak and understand English, Hindi and Gujarati. Punjabi we have adopted as our mother-tongue. But we can't even understand Multani.

Many more such examples can also be found if research be made.

I am not of the idea that Bengalis should also mix with Biharis or Assamese, and speak Maithili or Assamese, or any other such thing. What I want to say only is that the lines above quoted and possibly written by you, are not correct. Because generally whenever people speaking one language went to other places and settled there permanently, they cut all their connections, or, say, were forced to cut the connections, with their former language and society, and adopted the language and culture of the people among whom or the places where they settled.

An admirer of yours

I am Sir,

Sadu Jiwal Lal Bhardwaj,
Prop., Punjabi Chandu Halwai,
Karachi.

Editor's Note

The observation quoted from our Notes by our correspondent was made with reference to recent times, when

travelling is comparatively cheap, easy and rapid, but not with reference to days past when travelling and migration were difficult.

We do not know whether the facts and figures given by our correspondent are quite correct. But there is nothing improbable about them. We know there are Brahman families in Jaipur (Rajputana) whose ancestors migrated from Bengal centuries ago. But at present they do not speak Bengali or dress or live like Bengalis or intermarry with Bengali Brahmans of Bengal. We do not know whether they intermarry with any indigenous Brahman families of Jaipur. Similarly the Kashmiri pandits of U. P. speak Hindusthani, not Kashmiri, but they do not generally intermarry with other U. P. Brahmans. There are numerous Bengalis in Bihar proper whose ancestors migrated from Bengal some centuries ago. They bear Bengali names. We have read, many of them do not speak Bengali, but personally we do not know. Perhaps they do not intermarry with Biharis of their own castes. In Bengal there are numerous Kanaujia and Bhumihar Brahmans, and Rajputs, whose ancestors settled in Bengal long ago. They all speak Bengali as their mother-tongue and dress like Bengalis, but they do not intermarry with indigenous Bengalis. In Orissa there are Bengalis who cannot speak ordinary correct Bengali. They are known as 'Kera' Bengalis. Their ancestors settled in Orissa long ago. Some Maharastrian families—e.g., that of the late distinguished Bengali journalist Sakham Ganesh Deuskar, came to Bengal long ago and adopted Bengali as their mother-tongue.

We do not know any considerable number of recent emigrant families in any province who have given up their mother-tongue and adopted that of the region where they have settled and who intermarry with the local indigenous population.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani on Two Indian Movements

My attention has been drawn to the comments made in the Notes of *The Modern Review* of May last, on two passages occurring in my book *The Gandhian Way*. The passages in question are quoted from *Navavidhan*, which paper seems to have criticised them. The Editor of *The Modern Review* writes, he has not seen my book. He has, therefore, not seen the passages in their context. Evidently he did not think this necessary before indulging in adverse criticism.

In the first passage my sin has been to style the third rate copy of western civilization produced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of British rule as 'bastard'. I have further said that this civilization "like the mule it looked strong and serviceable but not creative". *The Modern Review* writes, "we are not inclined to comment on this coarse, if not vulgar, passage". I am sorry that even after being pointed out by the Editor I am unable to see the coarseness if not vulgarity of calling an unassimilated caricature copy of a foreign culture as bastard and mulish and uncreative. Evidently the learned Editor considers the use of these words in any context as vulgar. He will perhaps find their mention in a dictionary equally objectionable. The Editors of *The Modern Review* and *Navavidhan* are shockingly surprised that "Mahatma Gandhi has done the author (myself) the honour to write a foreword to his book". It has occurred to the editors that perhaps the words 'bastard' and 'mule'

used in that particular context may not have struck Mahatma Gandhi as coarse and vulgar and he saw no objection to writing the foreword.

The passages in question occur in a speech which I delivered in the year 1931 at a Students' Conference at Calcutta. The speech was widely quoted in Calcutta papers then. It was reproduced in the columns of *Young India* from where my publishers have taken it. After seven years the Editor of *The Modern Review* has discovered the vulgarity of the passages. It is a fruitful activity. I am but a poor scribbler but if the Editor runs through history, plenty of material of this sort will be found for his facile pen. He will find enough material of this sort in the religious books of the east and the west. He will find it in the literature of the world, ancient and modern; in Kalidas and Shakespeare and in such modern masters as H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, not to speak of others. "Vulgarity and Coarseness" in language seems to be common enough if the standard is set by the editors of *The Modern Review* and *Navavidhan*.

Further it is stated in *The Modern Review* that *Navavidhan* feels that the above passage has reference to the Brahmo Samaj. Some Sectarrians so work themselves up that they think that their particular denomination is being ever run down. They then become supersensitive and take offence where none is meant. In the passage quoted above as is clear I have not alluded to the Brahmo Samaj but to the type of culture that was introduced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of the British. I may here say that I am not even original in my criticism. Similar criticism will be found in Bengali authors of note, Shri Rabindra Nath Tagore, D. L. Roy and Bankim Chatterjee and others.

I have talked of the Brahmo Samaj in a different context and fortunately the passage in which I have done so is also quoted by the two journals. My thesis was that only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative. Talking of the modern religious movements I have taken the examples of the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramkrishna movement. The latter I consider more clearly indigenous than the former. Every religious movement is of course influenced by what goes on, the world over, at the time. But some movements are more purely of native origin than others. About the Brahmo Samaj I have said: "It could not create a movement India-wide or permeate the masses or draw the busy world's attention to itself." "This", I have said, "was done by purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Shri Ramkrishna and unfolded by the genius of Vivekananda". What I have given is a critical study of the two movements. I have meant no disrespect to the Brahmo Samaj. I count many Brahmos as my dear friends. I have great regard for the Brahmo Samaj, its founders and its achievements. It is quite possible that my Brahmo friends and other members of the Samaj may not agree with me in the critical estimate that I have made of the two religious movements, the product of the genius of modern Bengal. I am at the same time certain that the followers of Ramkrishna will find mine a true estimate. However that may be, I fail to understand how my estimate is falsified by quoting to me the high esteem in which Vivekananda held Rammohun Roy and his debt of gratitude to the latter. Vivekananda has recognized his obligation to western science and literature. Does it, therefore, follow that Vivekananda's movement was inspired by the west or that western thought was superior to his? Anyway, I have no quarrel with those who hold that the Brahmo Samaj was a more purely Indian movement than the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda movement, or that the former penetrated more into the masses. My criticism is objective

and I leave it to the students of modern religious history to judge between me and the learned editors of *The Modern Review* and the *Navavidhan*.

Again I am reminded that the Congress took up the work of untouchability at the suggestion of Mr. V. R. Shinde. As if I am concerned to prove the priority of conception of Gandhiji or the Congress in any field. In the same speech if the editor of *The Modern Review* will care to consult my book, which by the way may be in his collection of books for review, he will find that I have not credited Gandhiji with any such priority. I have said, "some will doubtless say that these ideas were there even before Gandhiji. Some items were in the old programme of the Bengal and Poona nationalists. I am not here concerned to establish the priority of Gandhiji in the field of discovery. My point is proved if I can show that he has brought them more forcibly before the public and has in every case seen to it that some organised constructive work is done".

I am sorry that objective critical estimates have been given a sectarian tinge and passages have been torn out of their context and meanings put into them which I never imagined. I am sure no unbiased reader of the speech "The Two Revolutions" will put on it the interpretation put by the two learned editors.

J. B. KRIPALANI

Editor's Note

In criticizing a sentence or a passage, extracted from a book, the ideal to be followed is certainly to do so with reference to the context. But this is not always practicable. In the case of Mr. J. B. Kripalani's *The Gandhian Way*, I got to know that it had come to my office for review, only after my note on the two passages extracted from it had been printed. It has been given to one of our reviewers for review.

It is to be understood that in what follows I write only for myself. The editor of *Navavidhan* is not responsible for my comments. Nor was he responsible for what I wrote in the May number.

I am sorry, what Mr. Kripalani has written has not convinced me that the passage relating to the "bastard", the "mule", etc., is not coarse or, possibly, vulgar.

Mr. Kripalani observes: "Evidently the learned editor (of *The Modern Review*) considers the use of these words in any context as vulgar." I am not learned. What is "evident" to him is not evident to me even after his attempt to open my eyes. Mr. Kripalani is wrong here. I am not so foolish as to consider the use of these words vulgar in any context.

Mr. Kripalani continues: "He will perhaps find their mention in a dictionary equally objectionable". No, Mr. Kripalani is wrong here, too. I have sense enough not to "find their mention in a dictionary" "objectionable" in the least.

There are many words in dictionaries which may be and are used quite properly in legal and medical or other scientific works, but which may not be used with similar propriety in many other kinds of writing. One may be sure, Acharya Kripalani knows this.

"Bastard", when applied to men, or often when used with reference to things human, is an opprobrious epithet. It is calculated or likely to give offence to those with reference to whom or whose notions, talk or doings it is used.

I do not like to repeat Mr. Kripalani's unsavoury sentences containing the word, but I must say the creative process described by him with such objectivity is unknown and incomprehensible to me.

I was not at all shocked that Mahatma Gandhi had written the foreword to Mr. Kripalani's book. My view,

is that, as Mahatma Gandhi, being an apostle of *ahimsa*, does not and will not use offensive material weapons and verbal weapons (i.e., offensive and abusive words)—that is my idea of the Mahatma, so his disciples, too, are expected to refrain from using such material and verbal weapons. As Mr. Kripalani is such a person, he is expected to be 'non-violent' in the use of words. I was not and am not concerned to speculate what might or might not have struck Gandhiji as coarse or vulgar.

Is there no word in the English language to mean the product of the mixture of different cultures, breeds, etc., without any implication of moral reproach? One may be sure, the Acharya knows there is. He could have used some such word instead of 'bastard.'

Mr. Kripalani says the passage occurs in a speech delivered seven years ago in Calcutta, which was widely quoted, and that "After seven years the Editor of *The Modern Review* has discovered the vulgarity of the passage. It is a fruitful activity". As I have not yet had the advantage of reading a single speech of Mr. Kripalani's through or more than a few sentences of some speech or other, if any, it comes as a great revelation to me that I had been perhaps engaged during the last seven years in the fruitful activity of discovering the vulgarity of a single passage in a single speech of his.

Any amount of coarseness and vulgarity in the ancient and modern religious and secular literatures of the East and the West will not make them desirable literary commodities used indiscriminately in other contexts.

Mr. Kripalani says that in the passage quoted he did not refer to the Brahmo Samaj. So far as I am concerned, in this matter, I accept his word as final. But it was not I who said that he had referred to the Brahmo Samaj. If the Editor of *Navavidhan*, who did so, thinks he ought to say something on the subject, perhaps he will do so.

Mr. Kripalani says, "In the passage quoted above", he has alluded to "the type of culture that was introduced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of the British." This is rather vague. Unless the section is definitely named and described, there cannot be any fruitful discussion of Mr. Kripalani's observations. Some may think this section was meant, some that. But as the section or its culture has been thought worthy of castigation by him, it is perhaps not nondescript; it ought to be possible to name it and some of its noted representatives.

Says Mr. Kripalani:

"My thesis was that only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative. Talking of the modern religious movements I have taken the examples of the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramakrishna movement. The latter I consider more clearly indigenous than the former." "About the Brahmo Samaj I have said: 'It could not create a movement India-wide, or permeate the masses, or draw the busy world's attention to itself.' This, I have said, 'was done by purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Shri Ramakrishna and unfolded by the genius of Vivekananda'."

I have no desire to minimise the achievement of the Ramakrishna Mission or to criticize it in any adverse spirit, or to institute a comparison between the Brahmo Samaj movement and the Ramakrishna Mission.

Mr. Kripalani's thesis is that "only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative". In two different sentences he describes the Ramakrishna Mission as "more clearly indigenous", and as "purely Indian movement", and implies that, therefore, it has created "a movement India-wide", "permeated the masses", and "drawn the busy world's attention to it". Of course, no movement in India is *literally* India-wide or

has *literally* permeated the masses. In spite of their entirely non-indigenous origin the Christian missions are perhaps more 'India-wide', in a relative sense, than any Indian movement. So the extent and spread of a movement may not be due solely or mainly to its Indian or non-Indian origin and character.

From what Mr. Kripalani says, it seems he thinks the Brahmo movement has not been powerful and creative. That it is not powerful now is plain. *But in the spheres of literature, science, philosophy, art, industries, education, and spiritual productions such as hymns, men and women who are known as Brahmos have been creative—some of them among the most creative among Indians.* Is Mr. Kripalani ignorant of their names? It would be considered officious on my part to try to ascertain the position of the Ramakrishna movement in these fields of creative activity. Mr. Kripalani may do so, if he likes.

In the thoroughly anglicized Indian Christian community of earlier years, Michael Madhusudan Dutt was Bengal's greatest epic poet and one of the greatest of Bengali lyric poets, and Miss Toru Dutt, Bengal's greatest Bengali poetess in English.

Even among Eurasians there has been at least one man of genius, Derozio, if not more.

I do not know which other *section* or *sections* of people Mr. Kripalani had in view when he used the words "unlucky" and "uncreative."

I quoted Vivekananda's tribute to Rammohun only to show that the former, whom Mr. Kripalani considers the unfolders of a "purely Indian movement", "claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Rammohun Roy had mapped out". That is to say, the unfolders of the "purely Indian movement", took up the task mapped out by the originator of what Mr. Kripalani thinks the *not* purely, or *not so* purely, Indian movement.

I have never said that western thought was superior to Vivekananda's or that Vivekananda's movement was inspired by the West. Nor do I hold or have said that "the Brahmo Samaj was a more purely Indian movement than the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, or that the former penetrated more into the masses." Why does Mr. Kripalani attribute to me by implication opinions which I have not expressed and do not hold? There are controversialists who ascribe to their opponents easily refutable views which the latter do not really hold, in order to have the satisfaction of smashing them. Acharya Kripalani is not expected to be one of such persons.

I hold that the Brahmo Samaj has worked and still works for the masses and is in contact with them—though it may be to a very small extent. Any comparison with other religious bodies was remote from my thought.

I mentioned what Mr. V. R. Shinde has done, not to establish the priority of conception of the Brahmo Samaj in any field of work, nor to minimise Mahatma Gandhi's very great work for the depressed classes. I want simply to point out that the Brahmo Samaj has thought for the masses, worked for the masses and continues to do so, though its achievement has not been imposing. It beside my present purpose to inquire why the Brahmo Samaj has not achieved greater success.

Mr. Kripalani complains that I have put wrong interpretations on some passages in his speech. In this rather long note I have tried to explain what exactly I meant and mean.

A few words more in conclusion. Mr. Kripalani has used expressions like "purely Indian movement", etc. As he has cited the names of Rabindranath Tagore, Banki Chandra Chatterjee, etc., in connection with his or adverse remarks on a certain unnamed movement of certain nameless section of Indians, which he has given a bad name, with reference to whom those great intellects

never used abusive words like bastard, mulish, etc. It may, therefore, be interesting to state here, that in his essay on "East and West," pp. 213-215, *Samaj* (new edition), Tagore says :

"The greatest thinkers in our country in modern times have spent their lives in bringing about the union of the West with the East." (Translation.)

And then he proceeds to describe what Rammohun Roy, M. G. Ranade, Swami Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee did with that object in view. Of Vivekananda he writes :

"...Vivekananda also was able to stand in the middle keeping the East and the West to his right and his left. To keep India permanently contracted within the narrow

Indian culture and tradition, denying the West in the history of India, is not the lesson of his life. He had the genius to receive, to unite and to create. He dedicated his life to the making of a path for giving India's *sadhana* to the West and accepting the *sadhana* of the West for India."

Of Vivekananda's Master, Ramakrishna, too, it has been said that in his *sadhana* he combined by his spiritual chemistry the non-Indian Islamic and Christian *sadhanas*.

Rabindranath Tagore writes in the introduction to his very recently published Anthology of Bengali Poets that modern Bengali poetry and fiction owe their origin to the inspiration derived from European literature. So that kind of creative activity also is not purely Indian.

WORLD AFFAIRS

INDIA'S "CHINA DAY"

ON hundreds of Indian platforms on the 12th of June last, Indians assembled to express their deep sympathy for the Chinese in their fight against Japan and thus celebrated the "China Day" as directed by the Indian National Congress. These demonstrations, as we noted formerly, signify but the interest which India in common with other lands, is forced to take, and willingly take, in the world affairs today. More and more we realise that our fate is somehow linked with that of others, and, more and more we are, though a subject people, making it plain to others that the Indian people have a right to have their say, on the big things that are shaping the world. May be our voice is ineffective—is not the voice of many mighty people today as much impotent?—but the great and significant fact is that we are discovering our voice.

China particularly has a bearing on our future political development as we all can easily understand. For India, apart from all other considerations, China is both a lesson to read and a warning to mind. She bears a close parallel to India in many respects—in bulk, in population, in the inheritance of an ancient civilization not altogether different, and in the possession of a social organisation with the family as the unit. Both share an ardent desire to adopt their life to modern times, and both lamentably betray a lack in the capacity for organisation and technique which dooms every attempts of theirs to failure and frustration. Hence, India in her unconscious mind dimly perceives the closeness of the parallel, and, in conscious life is stirred by the tragedy of China.

Just about the time the tragedy for the

Chinese is not any way relieved. Canton on the south is witnessing daily bombing; and is preparing against a serious Japanese invasion. In the centre, Japanese army after the fall of Suchow and the virtual occupation of the main railway systems of China were pushing further west. It threatens Hankow now. It was supposed that the Japanese would stop at Suchow to consolidate and gather together their long and strained line of communication. As masters of the vast territories they would weld together North China, Manchukuo, Jehol and the new conquests of East Central and maritime provinces. Contrary to all suppositions, Japanese warships steamed up the Yangtze with a warning to foreign powers to keep clear of the area against any untoward incidents that might occur as a result of engagements with enemies, and Japanese army swept on, penetrated further and further east along the Yellow River. "Who has the Yellow River", a Chinese proverb is said to state, "has the whole of China". Was this old saying and the truism that it embodies, the cause for Japanese advance? Perhaps the Japanese people at home, living on doled out official news of war and victories, wondered too long why the war did not end and at last questioned why the worthless Chinese opposition was not yet blotted out. A quick answer to that was planned. It was echoed through the bombing operations on non-combatants in Canton. It was to be broadcast by a loud and resounding victory along the rivers in the very heart of China. For once, however, Japan has been robbed of this happiness by the Chinese river god. Hankow may be saved for some time by the Yangtze. Whoever again

be responsible for the breach of the dykes, the Yellow River burst forth, and a long wall of water marched on the Japanese forces which had to beat a retreat. Japan had for the time being to tell the world the story of its noble 'relief works' in that area while, along with it, the world read of the bombing of the Cantonese Red Cross workers by Japan.

CHINESE PREPARATIONS FOR A PROLONGED STRUGGLE

Thus the war drags on in the front. In the rear the Chinese Government are meanwhile trying to organise themselves for a more protracted struggle. If time is on their side, they realize time is not to be lost in the front alone; it has to be utilized behind the lines in planning for a long war, for a regular supply of men, money and munition. The people's life has to be placed and settled on a war basis. The measures devised by the Chinese Government for that end have been described in a recent issue of the *Hindusthan Standard*, by a Chinese, Mr. C. Kungson Young, late director and editor of the China Press, Shanghai, and we recount them briefly here:

First, China's human power is inexhaustible. Japan has roused it to an unprecedented temper of sacrifice; even, women, it is known, vie with men in joining colours, and in doing their allotted duties otherwise. It only needs direction and organisation. Millions of Chinese are therefore being trained for the front, modelled on "Chiang's Own"—the well-known army of the Generalissimo that had modern training under foreigners. Mobile units are growing out of the militia too to continue the guerilla war in which the 'Red' units are so experienced.

But China's real difficulty is in arms and munition. From outside has flown in inadequate purchases. But except from Russia, as Dr. Wellington Koo pointed out in the League Council on May 10, China had no considerable help from any other power. The recent Sino-Soviet understanding places China on a better footing in this respect. But transport is bound to take up long weeks even though the attempts to shorten it by making new roads succeed. China, therefore, must organise her own arsenals. From Hankow the big Hanyang Arsenal and Hanyang Iron and Steel Works have been removed to a distant interior, machineries have been installed for the assembling of field guns and tanks, and plans completed for the manufacture of heavy field guns and tanks of their own. An airplane factory is about to come into existence.

'War Cabinet' also for the exigencies has

produced compactness and efficiency with Chiang as commander-in-chief; H. H. Kung as premier of the War Cabinet; Dr. Wang-Ching-Hsi; Oong Wen Hao, Chang Chia-guna, and Chen Li-fu forming the nucleus of this War Cabinet.

By far the most formidable need, however, is the economic and financial stability of the state. Here, Kung's currency reforms of 1935 are standing now in good stead; foreign exchange regulations have now been promulgated, and subscriptions are pouring in from the Chinese outside. "Kung has announced the floating of a war loan of 500,000,000 dollars Chinese currency *plus* an approximately equal amount in Customs Gold Unit and foreign currency.' These financial measures are of high importance. If these fail, Chinese collapse is bound to follow. The *Foreign Policy Report* of the U.S.A. (April 15) on 'China's Financial Progress' enumerates the measures and concludes: "For the near future, at least, there seems no reason to believe that China's military resistance will collapse for lack of financial resources."

The economic programme of the Chinese Government, outlined below, is to supply the basis for this Chinese resistance:

(1) Development of the nation's industries in the interior provinces to meet war time needs.

(2) Increase of exports to maintain, the present currency stability.

(3) Exhaustive study of China's natural resources, agricultural, industrial and transport conditions in the interior provinces of Szechuan, Kweichow, Yunnan, Kuangsi, Hunan and Shensi.

(4) Establishment of textile factories, paper mills and modern sugar refineries in the Province of Szechuan.

(5) Establishment of factories for the manufacture of radio, telephone and telegraph equipment.

(6) Erection of factories for the repair of locomotives.

(7) Extension of railway system into the present inaccessible districts in the interior.

(8) Construction of railway to link the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kuangsi.

The exhaustiveness of the above programme is beyond doubt. Its fulfilment would certainly mean a war in which China will hold its own and emerge out of it a modernised state, nay, a world power, like the Soviet Russia. But the very immensity of the task and the Chinese failure at organising themselves as evident from their history of the past few decades raise doubts as to the possibility of the programme being fulfilled in practice. The very expanse of the territories that stretches out from the Yangtze valley, now under Japanese occupation, and the undeveloped condition of it, would appear as a herculean task for even the skill and efficiency of a first class modern power. For a people like the Chinese, lacking like ourselves the training

in the technique of the organisation of the vast and complex modern bodies of war and war equipments, the problem becomes almost baffling. Yet, China has hopes. Chungkian, the temporary capital of China, is about a thousand miles from the war front, and, however quick and sweeping may be the Japanese victories, it is bound to take a long time for the army to traverse this vast and undeveloped land. "It is this immensity in territory, this immensity in human power, fortified, so to speak, with a united determination to resist conquest, that justify at least a cautious optimism in China's ultimate victory."

CHINA TO BE DOPED AND DESTROYED?

Still one has to remember the warning of Mr. Vernon Bertlett, recently returned from a tour in the Far East, that 'China may lose the war, even if Japan does not win it'. War has destroyed much of Chinese wealth and prosperity; Canton has seen the mad orgy which it will not be easy for it to forget; but a more malignant and more fiendish measure is already being devised by Japan to work the doom of the Chinese. This has taken two forms: first the legalisation of the opium traffic in North China as in Manchukuo; and second, the ousting of Chinese-owned and foreign-owned cotton mills in the areas Japan controls by military-backed enterprises of Japanese adventurers, as recently described in the *Manchester Guardian*. This last is but sops from Japanese militarists for the Japanese business interests, which are not very enthusiastic on this military adventures of the over-bearing soldiers. This also signifies an attack on the foreign interests. But it is the natural fate of the foreign enterprises, the governments of which, though they never put any faith in the Japanese promises of maintaining their interests untouched, suffered China to be beaten rather than face Japan to resist in a joint encounter. The plight of the Manchurian foreign interests was there for them to read. The 'Open Door' in North China was banged before their very eyes. Whatever promise or understanding the British diplomats might have secured on the status of the Shanghai Maritime Customs, they knew that Shanghai's

"open-door was being closed tighter by the widespread smuggling activities of the Japanese, the admittance of Nipponese goods duty free in occupied areas, and the host of nonsensical restrictions on trade imposed on shippers and consignees in Hangkow and Yangtzpoo districts.

So, 'Japan removes', as *The China Weekly Review* called, 'the open door's welcome Mat'.

Opium, it was noted by *The China Weekly Review* in April last, was appearing in Shanghai market in considerable quantities after the city fell. It is not legalised there as in North China, but enters the area from various sources. The Japanese army in Nanking was found selling opium to the public through its 'special service departments', somewhat resembling army canteens. The Imperial Japanese Army was thus proved to be in the narcotic business. "The objectives are two-fold: Revenue and the doping of population—Japanese military method of pacifying subject peoples."

For China, freed or enslaved, legalisation or revival by Japanese encouragement of smuggling of the opium traffic in the occupied territories is bound to spell a disaster. It is nothing short of condemnation of a people to a moral death by a process of moral slow poisoning.

JAPANESE POSITION

While in the front line Japan is winning, she is behind time too. The time-lag is not without effect, moral and economic. The Japanese Finance Ministry has just announced the budget for the year 1938-39. It provides for a revenue of £372 millions and expenditure of £358 millions—a decrease of £20 millions in revenue and an increase of £17 millions in expenditure compared with 1937-38. The figures of course do not include the extraordinary military budget of £283 millions. War is a costly affair. The "China incident", not a 'war' although according to the Japanese, is proving so to them even as an 'incident'. The former Japanese Foreign Minister, Koki Hirota, had admitted this on May 7 last:

"In the present circumstances, Japan must be ready to make enormous sacrifices in human lives as well as in financial resources. It is not possible to envisage the future with optimism if we consider the turn international situation is taking in respect to Sino-Japanese conflict."

Already the economic pressure had been severe on his people. The "Agence Telegraphique", R. U. P. reports thus that, as regards U. S. A., December arrivals from Japan were down by 28 p.c. compared with 12 months previously; January arrivals down 35 p.c.; February arrivals down 52 p.c. This is, the *Nichi Nichi* reports, due "to an intense business depression there and to America's feeling against Japan in connexion with China incident".

Japanese trade, as disclosed, has sunk slowly. According to *The Times* Tokio correspondent it records a setback to the level of four years ago. "Exports for the first three months of 1938 amounted to only 569,700,000 yen,

against 701,000,000 in the corresponding period of 1937... imports for the same periods are down, from 1,007,000,000 yen (1937) to 624,100,000 (1938)." "Japan's weakness in War is that she cannot tighten her belt much"...so opines the correspondent—which, incidentally, may prove an untrue prognosis. But to quote on: "almost the whole of her normal overseas expenditure is for raw materials for manufacture and when these are reduced her income shrinks, and the heavy demands of munition factories, coming when her earning power is reduced, cause a lack of balance which is more dangerous than actual recession."

That Japan is worried to some extent is evident from the reshuffling of its Cabinet last month. General Ugaki's (the new Foreign Minister's) talk of traditional friendship with Britain is not without significance from this point of view. But there is always a weakness on the part of China's friends exaggerating these tendencies in Japan. It will not do to forget the temper and peculiarity of the Japanese people. They can stand many privations; they are fired into a more brutal fury as their time-table fails; their pride and ambition are inordinate. *The Times* Tokio correspondent for once, we believe, is right when he reminds the readers on the moral and economic effect of the War on the Japanese. "Both are cumulative. Neither is really important."

JAPANESE SOCIAL RIFT

Yet undoubtedly there is a danger lurking behind the apparent calm of the Socio-economic life of Japan. We need not repeat that this highly industrialised country has still enthroned an old and traditional autocracy, or rather a militarist oligarchy embodying the ideals of Bushido and Samurai chivalry with modern imperialistic expansionism. In the plan and pattern of political life the big capitalist plays today a minor role; the militarist has on his side the teeming population, the peasantry, which supplies the soldiers and has no love for the bourgeoisie and its profiteering politics on the parliamentary chess-board of Japan. War as an adventure is welcome to the militarist, and opens a promise to this populace hungering for lands to settle and cultivate and live and toil; but the adventure has to be paid for by the industrialists who has little share of the political power. Hence,

"the more we deplete the profits of Big Business by the boycott, and the clearer it becomes to them that there is no hope of British or American loans or credits the more inclined they will become to call a halt to aggression. If they waver, if the ruling class is divided

in its policy, the mass of the Japanese people who are without political rights or means to express their desire for peace, will be able to assert themselves and stop the war."

thus hopes the *News Chronicle* in completing its survey of the position and in analysing the conflict that rages beneath the surface between the Japanese militarist expansionists marching on to Fascism and the Japanese, big capital, afraid of the State control of their giant enterprises and taxation of their enormous gains that such Fascism is bound to enforce. The gulf is widening no doubt between the militarists with the peasantry behind them, and the industrialists with the vast modern enterprises of their own utilized to further the militarist objective now. The War drags on, the economic conditions deteriorate, the exports fall off, and a boycott abroad slowly makes its influence felt on Japanese business. Yet, the rulers are not blind to its implications. Is not their enterprise meant to assure the limitless expansion of the Japanese capital in China and clear the Chinese market of all opposition? Already, the foreign economic interests are being suppressed and weeded out and the field thrown open to Japanese interests. If they only look to it there, Japan can finance her War in China from the territories already under her occupation. That would mean a War without economic strain on Japan. If the Japanese plan to pay from their new Chinese investment for this War on the Chinese succeed, the Chinese hopes, built on a prolonged struggle, of course, will be shattered. But altogether investments take a long time to pay their way, longer still to pay a dividend adequate for a military adventure. What returns from Manchukuo or North China, Japanese capital is getting are still doubtful. Japanese big business cannot be, therefore, reconciled easily to a long War. As regards the Japanese proletariat, which might be expected to break away first from this anomalous social order, nothing is certain. Thousands are behind the prison bars, we are told; but the feudalistic structure of the Japanese Society is still strong. So, China should not count from that quarters in near future. It is a revolt of the bourgeoisie that may be expected.

CHINA AND THE U. S. A.

From India, China can in the very nature of things expect nothing more than sympathy. But nations in more fortunate position have also offered China no better help. America after the *Panay* incident went into silence with the compensation in the pocket, though the *Current History* (June) admits that "the Sino-Japanese

situations reveals the futile, impractical side of our latest adventure in prescribed neutrality." The 'Alternative American Policies' in this connection are examined in the *Foreign Affairs* (April-June) by Mr. Tyler Dennett, who thought that the U. S. A. had now before it in the Far East a broad choice between non-resistance and coercion—protestations, appeals, etc., and action, independent or associated. Secretary Cordell Hull—now busy in evolving a plan to stop bombing of the non-combatants in Spain and China—had in his mind the example of Manchukuo and other such chapters of international faithlessness when he wrote to Vice-President Garner in January last: "There is a broader and much more fundamental interest—which is the orderly process in international relationships to be maintained." For the present, we find, this fundamental interest is served by the protestations, by occasional expressions of broad liberal and democratic revulsion against aggression and terror, in devising plans for the Jewish exiles, or for stopping the air bombings. But the writer in the *Foreign Affairs* is of opinion that though the American people are not now prepared to support a War against Japan.

"Japan would make a mistake to count too heavily on the situation. Nearly three years were required to bring the United States into the World War. All that can be said for the moment is that both Japan and the United States are living dangerously, the one by a policy of ruthlessness, the other by indecision."

In a Naval War, weighing the possibilities it is thought, Japan would be immediately cut off from the use of all-American ports and from the Panama Canal, and if Britain joins the U. S. A., as she would most likely do, Singapore would bar the Japanese door to Europe. Besides, Japan even now is dependent on the U. S. A. for the supplies and later would do so for capital.

"In view of this, the present policy of the Japanese is to be explained only on the grounds that without warrant they have assumed that under no circumstances will the Americans fight. In this the Japanese are mistaken."

May be, but Japan is not mistaken in assuming that *under the present circumstances*, the U. S. A. or any western power will not fight in the East.

CHINA AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS

The U.S.A. have failed to put their economic house in order, and are facing moreover a "trade recession." European peoples are too much entangled in the web of the Spanish War and the Czechoslovakian crisis to think of any effective policy to help China. Britain, it may be presumed, would rather have a China, weak and

disorganised, than see Japan swallow it, and rise like a giant shadowing Australia and the Indian Empire. But, Britain cannot for the present make any move in the East, Soviet Russia alone has been taking a growing, though guarded, interest in the Chinese affairs. The recall of the valued German experts of the Chinese Army by Hitler threw probably Chiang Kai-shek more in the arms of the Soviet. A pact is said to have been concluded, and Chiang, the sworn enemy of the Communists, is to accept help again from the hands which he had bitten hard after the break with the Communists in 1927. It may be expected that Chiang will have the benefit of service now of the Soviet experts and technicians and propagandists who are masters in the art of organising resistance. Japan, of course, is too busy to go in direct for the Soviet enemy, and, it is really necessary for the Soviet too to knock out the eastern enemy at the Chinese gates before its ally, the Fuehrer, appears at Ukraine or right through Poland or Lithuania to the very door of Russia herself. Once Czechoslovakia is actually attacked Russia will have to fight for her own threatened life on the west; and, if Japan remains her old self at the moment, of course, with the Chinese opposition fully crushed, the Siberian Red Army may not prove equal to the task in the east. The Soviet will then be fighting on both fronts, east and west, and probably on some more; for, except for the international complications and jealousies, no power would desire to see the Soviet regime last and flourish even in Russia.

EUROPEAN CONFLICTS

Czecho-slovakia however has just secured the breathing space, thanks to the tact and vigour of her own statesmen, M. Benes and Hodza, and to the British diplomatic *demarche* on the situation in Berlin. The municipal elections passed off peacefully; the general elections are over as well. Father Hlávka's separatist Slovak movement is eclipsed, but a thumping majority for Henlein has been secured in Sudeten Germany. M. Hodza and Henlein's representatives are now discussing the terms of a permanent solution of the Sudeten Germany minority question. The situation is not so dark now as on May 20. It is to be seen how the two points of view are met and reconciled. The acceptance in toto of Henlein's conditions would, as we indicated, reduce Czecho-Slovakia into a weak and loose federation of minorities in which the German element, and, through them, the Nazis of Berlin, would predominate until such time as

the State of Masaryk goes into voluntary liquidation or is ordered to do so by the Führer. For the present the Führer is watching, but not idle, as we know. "Hitler will not need to go to war," Benes is said to have told a correspondent, (*Current History*, June, 1938), "if he can win without fighting". It is to be seen if Benes can prevent Hitler winning and maintain the existence of Czecho-Slovakia. It may fall fighting or go into pieces slowly. British diplomacy is having a role of 'pacification' to play here, with French diplomacy to give friendly advice to the Czechs.

Both Britain and France however are equally anxious over the fate of Spain too. Franco has won Castellon, but the Republicans have been strengthened in their fight by a new supply of men and munitions, and hence complete victory is eluding the grasp of the Spanish knight still. Meanwhile, to fulfil their pact with Mussolini, Britain in the League Council secured a permission of the recognition of the Abyssinian conquests of Italy. In the League Council *realpolitik* counted for more. Thus, Britain has anticipated Mussolini's promised withdrawal of troops from Spain. But, contrary to Mussolini's expectations, Franco is not yet the master there, and, Mussolini, it is said, is really anxious to find out a way to honour his Anglo-Italian Pact. The Non-intervention Commission is now earnestly coming to his rescue with a more acceptable and effective (?) proposal for withdrawal of all aliens. This will leave Franco to complete his victories, and, so Mussolini can agree to this, and save his 'honour' and his diplomatic secret investments too.

Britain is engaged at the same time in arranging for a truce between the two Spanish parties while Non-intervention is about to be put into practice, according to Mr. Butler. The peace 'feelers' are certainly not welcome to Italy; but in this matter it is Britain's primary interest not to see Spain fall either into the hands of the Republicans and their Red supporters or pass completely under the sway of Franco, and the Anglo-German Fascists who virtually are Franco's masters. She would rather have a

Spain divided between the two, each guarding the other, and the Gibraltar way of Britain menaced by none—that is just what Il Duce cannot allow. The Republicans in desperation are just now thinking of bombing reprisals in Italy, this, Italy quickly warned, would not be met by protestations, but swift and quick gunning and war. Are we then approaching this last act in the last days of June?

The Spanish tragedy any way is drawing to an end. It has let loose, however, horrors which other powers would not fail to repeat when necessary. The Japanese are never reported for fine sentiments; so, in Canton they outstripped the Spanish Insurgents' exploits in Valencia, Catalonia and Madrid. Usual protestations were dismissed by the Japanese in unusual and unceremonious diplomatic language. But 'the better conscience' of the world, we may be assured, has been roused. For, are not the British people stricken with horror at the inhumanity of bombing the non-combatants? Mr. Chamberlain even is of opinion that even as a method of demoralizing the enemy resistance it is ultimately of doubtful value. Of course, Mr. C. F. Andrews had long ago protested against the same method when applied to Indian frontier men. Mr. Chamberlain, however, can defend that still, because Britain always warns the enemy beforehand. The Chinese and Spaniards too, he may be reminded, had such warnings after the first occasion of bombing at any rate. And, the Britisher forgets that in the League it was he who stood against abolition of air bombing. Others simply now follow his Indian example, for long unrivalled in the world.

China and Spain, we hope, remember this British Indian chapter now, and, the Spanish intellectuals affirming their solidarity with the Chinese people, or, for that matter, the Chinese people for whom we observe "the China Day", will realize, as they remember this, that "the struggle is one", to quote the manifesto of the intellectuals, and that "the universal civilization is at stake" in China, in Spain and in India too.

G. H.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Congress in Office

Founded in 1885, the Indian National Congress has passed through the various stages of infancy, adolescence and a vigorous manhood. Writes Nagendranath Gupta in *The Hindustan Review*:

The Congress spoke fearlessly of freedom, it accepted without hesitation the challenge thrown out by the Government, it submitted without complaint to lathi blows, but it never thought of accepting office under the present regime. And yet the unexpected has come to pass. The Congress is well astride the saddle of office and its seat is becoming firmer every day. The other day when the Ministers of Bihar and the United Provinces resigned it seemed as if the brief reign of the Congress was over and another period of a bitter struggle was about to set in. Happily, however, the united good sense of the Viceroy and the Governors themselves prevented the precipitations of such a catastrophe, and the Congress continues to remain in office.

By one of those ironies which cannot be explained but which upset our calculations there is no Congress Ministry in Bengal. The President of the first Congress was a Bengali and so is the present President, but the Congress is in a minority in that Province. Not only so, but the Cabinet there is a most unsatisfactory one and there is not one Minister who has the confidence of the people. It is quite on the cards that the Congress may come into power in Bengal and Assam may follow. But the Punjab and Sind will stay out though, all things considered, the non-Congress Governments in those Provinces are satisfactory.

There is a little breathing space and we may halt and look around us. For the nonce, at any rate, the weather is set fair. It is not for us to say when the barometer will show signs of a disturbance again. The Congress Governments have done good work and may do better. They have justified popular confidence. They have abated no jot of their independence and their goal remains unchanged. At any moment they will be prepared to exchange office for prison. What more do you want? Prohibition is assured and the people will become sober and wholesome. Let us criticise the Congress by all means but let us not expect the impossible from it. Let us wait and watch certainly, but let us hope also—hope that the path to liberty is clear and in a few decades India will be free—as free as Britain is today.

Our Heritage

India has bulked large in world thought; its literature, its art, its philosophy, its science, in a word, its culture and civilisation deserve the earnest study of mankind. Writes Hamid Raza in *Triveni*:

Indian civilisation possesses a considerable unity and contains the germs of expansion. It has a peculiar

unifying tendency which is manifest in different channels of life and thought. India had a clear understanding of the central unity in the midst of all diversity, and tried to ignore differences of values in different things, for otherwise life would be impossible. Thus Indian culture has given its heterogeneous elements a certain organic unity. All the foreign races—Aryans, Sakas, Kushans, the Huns—were assimilated by Indian civilisation and became, in a sense, its torch-bearers. All the mighty impulses that entered into India were synthesised on the same plan. All religions India welcomed, since she realised from the cloudy heights of contemplation that the spiritual landscape at the hill-top is the same, though the pathways from the valley are different. To us all she says, "Raise your eyes. Things in the valley separate us. Up yonder, high above us, we are all one. The variety of ways has meaning at the foot of the hill, but if we understand what they signify on the snowy summits, we shall know that all are reaching out for God." What wonder, then, that India, with her assimilative genius, may succeed in unifying the different creeds that have met on her soil! Her soul has always yearned for unity underlying the diversity of phenomena.

In conclusion, he says:

To sum up, India is immortal. Her great civilisation teaches us the lesson of simple living and high thinking. Her sciences, arts, literature, and philosophy have ever fascinated the imagination of mankind. Literature and art express India's visions of beauty and perfection. Philosophy and religion contain her most intimate realizations of inner experience. Indian civilisation is a product of centuries of co-operative effort of all those races which settled in India. It is a complex organism growing in richness and content, and the contribution made to it by the British people is an incalculable one. Every aspect of Indian cultural life and activity is as wide as life itself. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has truly said: "Many nations had contributed to enrich Indian culture and life, and, therefore, they should prove to the world that Indian culture did not merely excel in metaphysical genius and in undying philosophy but that there was a dynamic force in it, namely, the gift of Islam, which had played an important part in their national life as well." We are living today in one of the creative periods of Indian civilisation. As it is active and dynamic, Indian civilisation has endured so long and proved so capable of adaptation to the growing complexity of life. India's living past affords a new vision of her cultural destiny. We should earnestly try to understand and appreciate Indian civilisation, and re-evaluate its traditions in the light of our modern scientific and industrial outlook. Its spiritual heritage has a vital meaning for the modern world. Amidst all her failures and foibles, she has not unbent. Her sense of the divine in man. But India has to envisage the *Zeitgeist* and to restate her cultural ideals with due regard to her philosophical traditions. Her philosophy then will have a new meaning for the modern world.

Dharma Rajya—Finance

Finance was as important in Ancient India as it is today in the West. Observes H. Krishna Rao in *The Aryan Path*:

Wealth is a necessary appendage of life, individual and public. Wealth and wealth alone, says Kautilya, is important inasmuch as character and desire depend upon wealth for their realisation. "All undertakings depend upon finance." But the acquisition of wealth should not be opposed to Righteousness.

The land tax, fines and forfeiture constitute the chief items of revenue. The other sources of income are taxes on merchants and artisans. The author of *Sukra Nitisara* recommends:—

- (1) Duties (Sulka) : 1/32 to 1/16 *ad valorem*.
 - (2) Land Revenue : $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the produce from places irrigated by tanks or rivers and 1/6 from rocky soils.
 - (3) Royalty from mines : $\frac{1}{2}$ of gold, 1/3 of silver, $\frac{1}{4}$ of copper, 1/6 of zinc and iron, $\frac{1}{2}$ of gems, after the expenses have been met.
 - (4) Revenue from the collectors of grasses and woods : 1/20th to 1/3.
 - (5) Revenue from tax on Livestock : 1/8 of the increase of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes and horses.
 - (6) Tax on artisans : one day's work in a fortnight for the State. If the people undertake new industries, cultivate new lands, dig tanks or make canals for their good, the king should not demand anything of them until they have realised a profit equalling twice their expenditure.
 - (7) Tax on usurers : 1/32 of the interest collected.
- The following classification of taxes may interest the modern financier. Kautilya instructs the collector-general to collect revenue from:—
- (1) Durga (Fort) : tolls, fines, liquor, prostitutes, gambling, artisans.
 - (2) Rashtra (Country parts) : ferries, boats, pasture land and roads.
 - (3) Khani (Mines) : all minerals extracted.
 - (4) Setu (Bridges and gardens) : flowers, fruit and vegetable gardens and wet lands.
 - (5) Vana (Forests) : game and timber forests.
 - (6) Vrija (Herds of cattle) : cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses.
 - (7) Vanikpatha (Public highways) : land and waterways.

The Problem of Nutrition in India

Dr. K. P. Basu concludes his informative article on the problem of nutrition in India in *Science and Culture* with the following remarks:

Before deciding on the policy of national agriculture, it is highly important that dietary surveys should be undertaken throughout India so that facts about actual consumption of different ingredients like proteins, carbohydrates, fats, etc., per head and the actual defect in nutrition may be definitely known.

Another urgent necessity is the establishment of laboratories in different parts of India for the study of and scientific research in human nutrition. The foodstuffs of India have got to be analysed, their protein, fat, carbohydrate, mineral and vitamin contents and the biological value of the proteins determined, and the effect of methods of preparation and cooking on their nutritive value investigated. The nutritive value of diets as actually consumed has also got to be determined. Basic researches in nutrition should be a prominent feature of these

laboratories. India is a vast country and the dietary habits of people in different parts are different. It is impossible for one central laboratory to deal with the different nutritional problems of the country.

The problem of nutrition in India is one which requires immediate attention. Compulsory primary education with a view to educate the mind of every individual is no doubt greatly to be desired, but the fact remains that millions of children in India are physically and hence mentally incapable of profiting by any education. The fundamental problem is to make them physically and mentally fit by ensuring an adequate nutrition for them. The State has a very great responsibility in this matter. Provincial Nutrition Advisory Boards, and a Central Nutritional Advisory Committee for all India including nutrition, agricultural, animal husbandry, educational, economic, medical and public health experts should be immediately set up. These Boards will direct diet and nutrition surveys, control and co-ordinate the work of the nutrition laboratories, define satisfactory diet standards which would be of practical use in the country, suggest supplements to correct the deficiencies in diet, advise regarding the dietary aspects of maternity and child-welfare work and control and undertake propaganda through trained workers.

The Indian Research Fund Association is doing valuable work in this direction but the scope of its work should be considerably enhanced.

Corporations, Municipalities, District and Union Boards and also Infant and Child Welfare Organizations can do very valuable work specially by organizing the supply of pure and fresh milk and by disseminating knowledge regarding correct nutrition, so that people in India should not only live but also enjoy the joy of living.

A Survey of Childhood Education in India

In presenting a brief survey of childhood education in India Dr. Satyananda Roy remarks in *The Indian Journal of Education*:

There is a flourishing Montessori School in Calcutta, sponsored by Lady Abala Bose. In recent months we have heard of the Nursery School started by Mrs. Minmoyee Ray. The Lady Hassan Suhrawardy Creche for working class children is an altogether new institution of its kind in Calcutta. The Sishu Sadan or Children Hospital in connection with the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan which is soon going to have a nursery school of its own and the Ramkrishna Sishumangal Pratisthan are institutions which have the interest of both the parents and their children at heart. The Mental Hygiene Association, the Marriage, Birth Control and Social Hygiene Leagues and the activities of the Women's Educational League—all are contributing to the solving of parent education problems in their own ways. I am glad to announce that we have a few new or experimental schools like those conducted by Mr. Animananda (or Mr. Rewachand Gyanchand of Sindh) and one of our colleagues and fellow-workers, Mr. Ajit Kumar Banerji, besides some well-conducted Kindergartens and Montessori Departments under the direct supervision of the Mothers and Sisters of Christian religious orders.

The work of Parent Education is an extremely difficult task in our country and just a slight bit of spade-work is being done on this side of India though work was begun in this direction in other parts of India more than twenty years ago. The vast illiteracy, the grinding poverty and the crushing burden of social injustice have been instrumental in checking the progress of education. The colossal ignorance of the mothers of the race has contributed not a

little to the difficulties experienced in launching any project for parental education.

Education of Industrial Workers

Satis Chandra Sen, Workers' Delegate to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1937, writes in the course of a paper contributed to the Adult Education number of *National Reconstruction* :

Before launching upon any scheme for that purpose the difficulties and the conditions of life of the Indian workers must be fully understood. Generally an Indian worker begins his work in the factory at 8 a.m. and lays down his tools for the day at 7 p.m. Besides, as he has generally to prepare his food himself he has to spend an hour or more both at the beginning and at the end of each working day for the purpose. So after doing hard work in his factory and making his own food an Indian worker neither feels inclined nor has any energy left to take up any mental work—not even reading or writing. This is the reason why institutions such as night schools could neither attract many adult workers nor be effective for educating them. It will be found that night schools are attended more by the children of the working class people than by the workers themselves.

However, night schools cannot be left out in any scheme for imparting education to the adult workers. It can render some valuable service if situated in the locality where the workers generally reside. In some places it is found that the school rooms are used as clubs for the workers who come there just for a chat with the teachers who are generally labour workers and seek their assistance and advice on various matters.

Services of the especially trained labour workers whom the labourers may look upon as their friend, guide and philosopher may be requisitioned both for the removal of illiteracy and spreading of general education amongst the workers. They will visit the workers' quarters in the night and on holidays and collecting them in small groups will teach them to read and to write and create interest in their mind about diverse matters. For the purpose of general education establishment of circulating library, distribution of newspapers and pamphlets amongst the workers, as is being done in Europe, may be undertaken.

But it must be borne in mind that whatever method is adopted it must not put any extra strain on the worker's mind and must not assume the character of a drudgery. After hard and prolonged hours of work no labourer, specially one whose heredity and environment are rather uncongenial for any mental work, will be willing to take lessons unless their interests are specially roused or they find it a pleasure. So education here must combine with recreation. Lantern lectures, radios, cinematograph may prove valuable for this purpose.

So if the work of eradication of illiteracy and spreading of general education amongst the workers is to be seriously undertaken, then opportunity must be created for these workers to learn their lessons during the hours which would be otherwise devoted in the factories. But no wage-earning worker will be willing to come to take any lessons if he is to lose his wage for these hours. So if something like "study leave with pay" is arranged and either the employers or the Government are made to pay their wages to these workers for this period of study leave, then this scheme may be successful. But this, I am afraid, is out of the question now.

Hindu Astronomy

In the course of his article on Hindu Astronomy in *The Indian Review* Asoka C. Dutt observes:

In the golden age of Sanskrit literature, astronomy shared in the general revival of learning and great strides were made in this science.

This period, according to Mr. Kaye, lasted from 400 A.D. to 700 A.D., and according to Mr. R. C. Dutt, from 500 A.D. to 800 A.D.

Three illustrious names stand out prominently in this age.

I. Aryabhatta. He was born at Pataliputra in 476 A.D. He was no blind follower of tradition but a respecter of truth irrespective of its source. As Mr. Kaye says: "Aryabhatta is chiefly notable as an opposer of certain aspects of the orthodox Hindu teaching of his time. He demonstrates that Mount Meru is not high. He teaches that the Earth is a sphere and that it rotates on its axis."

Aryabhatta maintains that eclipses are not caused by Rahu but by the Moon and the shadow of the Earth.

For his progressive outlook he has been vilified by the orthodox teachers and, perhaps, by none more strongly than by Brahmagupta.

II. Varahamihira. He was born in Avanti probably in 505 A.D. and died in 587 A.D. His *Panchasiddhantika* has been referred to, and he wrote other works on Astrology, the best known being the *Brihat Samhita* (edited by Dr. Kern).

III. Brahmagupta. He was born in 598 A.D. He represented the orthodox view. As quoted by Alberuni, he says: "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for it is the nature of the earth to attract and to keep things." Besides his commentary on Aryabhatta's doctrines, he wrote a book called the *Brahmasphutasiddhanta* comprising 21 chapters. "The first 10 contain an astronomical system, describing the places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars, etc."—(Mr. Dutt).

The last Hindu astronomer of eminence was Bhaskaracharya, born in 1114 A.O. His work the *Siddhantashiromani* along with the *Suryasiddhanta* are regarded as the most authoritative text-books on the subject in this country, although there are reasons to believe that the extant edition of the latter book differs materially from the text of the old work of the same name.

Two Etchings of Nandalal Bose

In the course of a review of an Exhibition held in Calcutta last month under the auspices of the Santiniketan Asramika Sangha, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee observes in the *Comrade*:

The refreshing atmosphere of reality and truthfulness is nowhere more palpably perceptible than in the section of Graphic arts. Subjects of these pictures are generally chosen from the most common environment in which the artist spends his daily life, but the newness of the treatment that raises these works from mere reproduction of reality to the category of higher art is the direct result of the artist's original vision.

He is no more a mere delineator, he is a creator in the truest sense of the term. To realise the truth of this statement one need only look at Nandalal Bose's etching, "A Goat."

One can hardly conceive of a more common animal,

but the grace and strength of the curves with which it is drawn and the very peculiar contour of the figure are the product of the magic combination of the artist's keen observation and his bewildering imagination. The real has not been changed into something unreal, it has been recreated into something immensely more real.

The forceful swing of the arms of the girl (in Nandalal Bose's etching, "The Poet and the Dance") seems to awaken a rhythmic swing even in the atmosphere encircling her. The Poet-Philosopher's reposeful attitude in the midst of the whirling surroundings sets an excellent contrast and seems to maintain the central equipoise in a very delicate manner.

A Few Facts About Poland

Poland ranks fifth in Western Europe with her population of 35 millions, and sixth with her territory of 150,000 square miles. Maurice Frydman, in an article in *The Indian Review*, relates a few facts which may be taken as the outstanding landmarks in the history of Poland.

Between the Carpathian Mountains in the South and the Baltic Sea in the North, on a vast plain watered by the mother river of Poland, Wisla, surrounded by countries known presently as Germany from the West, Czechoslovakia from the South-west, Roumania from the South, Russia from the East, Lithuania from the North and Eastern Prussia from the North-west, dwelt from immemorial times Slavonic tribes, of which Poles were one.

These tribes were worshipping Nature gods in timber, shrines, growing corn, rye and wheat, spinning and weaving, linen, breeding horses, cattle, sheep and bees, living in self-governing and self-dependant villages. They were a sturdy, simple and peaceful folk, loving music, song, cooking and painting on wood, ready always to defend their own, but rather careless about invading other people's land. The social system was patriarchal, with a high degree of respect for womanhood. Many goddesses in the old Slavonic faith bear testimony to it.

About 800 A.C. they were still devoted to their Nature gods, but the pressure of less peaceful Christian tribes from the West forced them to enter into defensive alliances and finally, when the Polanian tribe elected one of their wheel-wrights, Piast, as their head for his wisdom and statesmanship, he succeeded in bringing into permanent political union several Slavonic tribes who adopted the name of Poles.

Hundred years later (about 900 A.C.), the Poles were converted to Christianity.

About 1000 A.C. Poland was already a powerful and prosperous country and continued to grow till the middle of the 13th century.

Tartars came to Europe at that time, conquered the Russian tribes, but were stopped by Poland's knighthood, who saved Europe from devastation.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, Poland was rapidly developing. Agricultural improvements, building of towns, opening of mines, founding of the Cracow University, the second in Europe, promulgating of a code of laws, the first complete code in Europe, building of state granaries—one followed the other in rapid succession.

Poland was the only country at that time to give refuge to the Jews, driven out from most of the European States. Towards the

end of the 14th century, Poland and Lithuania entered into a permanent political union.

In the 15th century, the Teutonic order of the knights of the Cross, plundering and murdering the peaceful Pagan tribes in the Eastern Prussia for the sake of their souls, was badly defeated by Poland and promised better conduct. In the next century, Eastern Prussia having to choose between the absolute rule of the Prussian king and the democratic Poland, chose the latter and became a part of Poland by voluntary union.

The 16th century was the most brilliant in Polish history.

Already in 1430, i.e., 259 years before the Habeas Corpus Act of England, Poland issued her law that nobody shall be imprisoned unless legally convicted. The Polish Parliament was established in the 15th century, and in the 16th she was a regular republic with kings elected for life but not hereditary.

Poland became a safe refuge of all oppressed people in a most ghastly intolerant and fanatic Europe. All persecuted creeds and opinions found shelter in Poland.

The 17th century was spent in repulsing the invasions of Turks, Swedes and Russians.

At that time there were but two nations—Poland and England who enjoyed Parliamentary government, and in many respects the people in Poland were more free and more safe than in England.

Especially in the 18th century when people began to murmur against the tyranny of the kings, Poland was constantly cited as a country of exemplary freedom.

Internal weakness and mutual understanding of three powerful absolute monarchies, Russia, Germany and Austria, broke down a free and proud nation.

The 19th century witnessed several efforts of Poles to regain their independence, ruthlessly suppressed.

The Great War weakened the oppression. The Poles had prepared their future army about 20 years before the Great War, and when it came, they immediately organised small armed units wherever they could and got their freedom out of the furnace of war. Joseph Pilsudski was the father of Poland's independence.

Freedom was and has remained the key-note of Poland's history.

Aldous Huxley—Interpreter of the Intellectuals

According to S. L. Kaul, among contemporary writers Aldous Huxley is an intellectual *par excellence*. He writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

In method, Mr. Huxley is independent and personal. As a novelist, he is far removed from the caricaturist of the Dickensian school. He does not care for plots. Indeed he does not mind if he is regarded as a novelist or not. Mr. Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*, large as it is, has the classic unity and compactness of structure. But each of Mr. Huxley's novels is an assortment of fragments from high-brow life. Brimful of ideas, he is to the general body of the Edwardians and Georgians what Meredith was to the Victorians. He is an essayist, a thinker, even in fiction. He puts himself bodily into his books. He has not the detachment of Mr. Arnold Bennett. The heroine of the latter's *Sacred and Profane Love* speaks of the double personality of the novelist: writer and censor, as if the combination were a fatal gift. Mr.

Huxley abounds in self-conscious characters. It should, however, be noted that he does not make of them mere registers of immediately changing consciousness like James Joyce, Virginia Woolfe and Dorothy Richardson. He does not specialise in religious psychology like Sheila Kaye Smith. Both in material and psychology, he transcends J. B. Priestly, Hugh Walpole and Joseph Conrad. His *Point Counter Point* has material enough for half a dozen novels of Mr. Bennet or Miss Rebecca West. He does not care to be an artisan of fiction, carefully conserving his observations and ideas, and parcelling them out for a series of popular books.

He goes on to say:

Mr. Huxley writes mostly about the intellectuals of the contemporary age. His characters keep diaries and have read great books and been influenced by them. The chief among them are authors or would-be authors, journalists, artists, philosophers and representative men and women of the age. No writer takes as great pains as Mr. Huxley about the ideas of his creations. He even mentions the books that his men and women have read, and the masters that have influenced them.

Of the present-day writers, it may be confidently asserted that Mr. Huxley is the best interpreter of the intellectuals. His chief characters are intelligent men, the more serious among whom are assailed by doubts as disillusioned men whose work and ideas and amusements are a bore or a mere refuge from boredom, men who cannot resolve the conflict within them and synthesise the ideas that seek to master them.

Huxley is groping for a new integration of values.

What then is going to become of the disillusioned intellectual? Perhaps the only answer to this question for each person can come from the innermost recesses of his own mind. Mr. Huxley has shown in his essays that he is no imitator of St. Francis of Assisi. Of course, his irreverent references to "the Kingdom of God" and to moral values in general are intended only to show up the modern man's loss of faith and cynicism. It is never his ambition to be Mr. Oscar Wilde's Prince Paradox. But to the intelligent reader of his books, it is obvious that the answer to the questions that trouble minds like his cannot be found in books either of religion or science. Each man must find a solution for himself by turning inwards. He has more than hinted at that. This does not mean asceticism. But it is certainly the path of the mystic, of the inquirer within himself, who has shed all the prejudices of his individual mind, prejudices born with him as well as the prejudices that come from book-learning and ratiocination.

Saint Pattanathar

St. Pattanathu Pillai or as he is familiarly called St. Pattanathar was one of those early Dravidian Saints who had exercised such a

profound spiritual influence on the life of the people in South India by his soul-elevating poems and teachings that to this day, even after a thousand years, his message is as fresh and helpful as when it was first delivered. *Sadhana* gives a brief description of the life and teachings of the Saint:

Our Saint came from a wealthy South Indian merchant family and was born in the sea-port town of Caverypu Pattanam, which was situated somewhere near where the river Cavery flows into the sea.

He flourished towards the latter part of the eighth century or the earlier part of the ninth or at any rate not later than the ninth century.

After completing his secular and spiritual education, he married, at the age of about 22, Shiva Kallammai, a young woman who had also finished her education.

The husband and wife lived happily for about 20 or 25 years and though they had no child of their own, they adopted one from a Shaiva family and named him Marudavanar. But the latter who was fondly brought up with great care and love by both of them died a bachelor at the early age of sixteen and while passing away left a palm-leaf manuscript in a small box to be given to his father after his death, wherein he referred to the endless desire for wealth and said that "the amassed wealth that is not spent for the good of God's children is only as useful to a person as an eyeless needle." This had such a profound influence on the woe-begone father that it brought about his renunciation and conversion from the life a householder to that of a *sannyasi* (ascetic).

He began his *sadhan* of conquering the fleeting pleasures of sense life and continued the same till he had found union with his Parama Shiva, which was the ultimate goal of his existence.

The Parama Shiva of our Saint is the one All-pervading Spirit, with neither form nor earthly frame, whom no temple can hold, no book can exhaust, no priest can reveal, no preacher could explain and no philosophy could expound. "He is the Lord God of all ages of all lands and of all people, who reveals Himself to His *bhaktas* (devotees) in their own hearts" and shines there most and best.

He asked sinners "to cast aside their little self and dedicate themselves to God." No wonder he made many converts, including among whom Sri Bhadrachariyur who was an enlightened king of one of the states in South India.

Our Saint was "a moral and spiritual rebel" who fought against all shams—false priests, books, traditions and cults—which stood between God and man. To him Shiva was *Anbu* (Love) who cannot be purchased or bribed and to behold whom no mediator of any sort is necessary.

He says: "Religious devotion which busies itself merely in humanitarian activities is superficial, unenduring and momentary emotion. Religious devotion which ends in purely passive contemplation is barren, empty and individualistic. True religion is the golden chain that connects God and man"—linking the contemplative aspect of a *bhakta's* life with the practical aspect.



Reception of President Subhas Chandra Bose at Chittagong,

[Courtesy : S. N. Dutt.]

ROYAL MARRIAGE AT ALBANIA



Queen of Albania



The rejoicing crowd near the Tirana Mosque



The Queen of Albania is seen signing the Marriage register; King of Albania and Count Ciano are seen standing behind her.



Thanks to Japan

Thanks to Japan, writes Pearl S. Buck in the *Asia*, the great inner provinces of China—the original China in the first place—hitherto almost untouched by modern times and maintaining their medieval civilisation, are suddenly being repopulated by the modern Chinese. As a result of Japanese invasion China is moving into the interior; some may call this retreat, but to do so is to miss the importance of the movement.

As much as two years ago Nankai University began putting up buildings in Chungking and Yunnanfu, in preparation for the very thing which has happened. When the Japanese bombed Nankai University they thought they had destroyed it. They were mistaken. Nankai University was already not there. It was safe, thousands of miles inland. Other great universities have followed its example. And the Ministry of Education itself, in spite of the tremendous military costs to the government for defense, is proceeding steadily with its work. The Central Military Academy is already established in new buildings in Chungking; the provisional schools for students from the war zone, started in Sian, are marching further westward to the country bordering Tibet, carrying on a "moving university" as they go.

Something must come of this return of the young Chinese to their own true country:

They will change the people in old China, and old China will change them. Two distant extremes will meet and mingle. For no foreigner ever has been as remote from the real Chinese people as the modern educated Chinese has been. He has not only not understood his own people, but too often he has been ashamed of them and despised them.

I see a significance which is symbolic in those long lines of the young Chinese marching on foot into their own country. Thanks to Japan, a real Chinese culture may be the result, a culture truly composite of the best of old and new. What no one has been able to do in China, Japan has forced the Chinese to begin to do themselves. While the outer provinces lie a waste of war the rich untouched inner provinces will be developed. And when Japan withdraws, as withdraw she must some day, a new Chinese race will be ready and will come out of those inner provinces to reclaim and to rebuild the whole. What the effect of this may be upon the world of life and art, not to mention politics, can scarcely be calculated. Those who know the Chinese best have long felt the gathering of a new power in her which promised, if it could only come to expression, a real golden age. There was lacking, somehow, the final spark to the tinder. This spark has been given, and it is difficult for the moment to see anything except what seems to be the devastating fire. But when the fire is over, those who survive it will be a stronger race and a better than the one that went in or the one that was there.

No greater benefit could possibly have been given to China than Japan has thus given. I do not say it is worth the war, for nothing is worth the folly of war. But I do say that, granted the war, Japan has opened the whole of China not only to new intellectual forces but to material forces as well. For merchants and bankers are going inland too, and whole factories are moving, with all their machinery. And they are not bottled up in that interior, though for the time they are cut off from old seaports. They are developing new trade routes, opening, as they call them, "back doors" to Europe and the South Seas, which in time may become front doors. Northwest through Sinkiang and southwest through Burma these doors are being opened and enlarged and the Chinese do not feel cut off and isolated from the rest of the world. Thanks to Japan, China may develop a stronger foreign trade than she has ever had, and not with Japan.

Chinese Art

In the course of an illuminating paper (condensed from the *Magazine of Art* by the *Parade*) on how a difference in technique which appears to be merely mechanical has far-reaching consequences in Chinese Art, Lin Yutang writes:

The whole difference in technique and conceptions of line and form between Chinese and Western painting goes back to a difference in tools and materials: the Chinese use a hair brush and ink, whereas Western painters use a pencil or pen or a brush with oil paint. The consequences are extremely far-reaching. It is an aesthetic and not merely a material difference. The basis is mechanical, but the developments are spiritual.

To-day the entire field of Chinese art is profoundly influenced by this mechanical accident. It is a case of accomplishing a great deal with very little.

The Chinese speak of painting as the "play of ink on paper". This paper is so sensitive to the touch of ink that every trace of the brush across its surface is recorded in a way which almost suggests the effect of light on a photographic plate.

There is an entire technique about the handling of the brush:

Either the point or the body is used, its varying impact, whether pausing or lifting from the paper, achieving strength of stroke or sureness or gracefulness or delicacy. Then there is the control of the comparative liquidity or dryness of the ink, so that when laid on paper it can suggest different tones and qualities of surface.

Chinese painting, therefore, begins with the mastery of the stroke:

Chinese contributions to the notion of line and rhythm are important, because line is emphasised in Chinese art, has a more important development there than in Western art, and reveals a greater richness and variety of rhythm. And here we come to the quality which

is most basic of all—rhythm. The stroke became a means for imitating the irregular lines of nature, for Chinese art is characterised by hatred of the straight line. One of the singular contrasts between Chinese and Western painting is the emphasis on outlines in the former and the emphasis, in the latter, on surface—with consequent obliteration of outlines. In most Western painting the outlines of forms are implied rather than indicated by bold strokes.

The Chinese emphasis on line, then, leads to an appreciation of the linear aspects of nature:

To the Chinese artist, all nature is vibrating with the sensuality of its rhythmic lines, the soothing lines of blue hills and winding rivers, the soft lines of clouds, the rugged lines of rocks, the delicate lines of bamboo, the massive lines of pine trees, the entwining lines of cypress and old giant creepers and the graceful lines of willows. So long as we are not blind to the beauty of lines and rhythm, the beauties of nature can never be exhausted. The secret lies in training ourselves to see these lines, their witchery, their clarity and their grace or strength.

Japan's Foreign Trade and Industry

The foreign trade outlook in Japan is not encouraging, despite the efforts of the Japanese Government to balance imports and exports by curbing imports of non-urgent and unnecessary goods, says *The China Weekly Review*:

Partly as a result of the Government's measures, partly because of trade depression and partial boycott of Japanese goods in other parts of the world, a heavy shrinkage of exports has taken place since the beginning of the year, which cannot fail to exercise direct pressure of no mean proportions on Japanese industries and therefore on Japanese living conditions.

At the same time, the higher prices now demanded by Japanese exporters to meet increased costs largely due to increased taxation and Government interference with trade generally, tend to impede a recovery of the export movement. That the outlook is serious may be gathered from a recent statement in the *Oriental Economist*, leading Japanese financial monthly, that: "If the world depression drags on, Japanese export industries are liable to be hard hit and thus give rise to a problem perhaps even more grave than the China Incident itself."

Nevertheless, the adverse balance of Japan's foreign merchandise trade for the first quarter of 1938 was only Yen 65,900,000, showing a sharp decline of Yen 257,376,000 or 79.7 per cent in comparison with the corresponding period of 1937. Japanese exports for the first quarter totaled Yen 605,220,000 and imports Yen 670,922,000. Compared with the first quarter of 1937, a decrease of 17.5 per cent was shown in exports and of 36.5 per cent in imports. An examination of Japan's export trade for the period indicates that exports of cotton textiles amounted to Yen 97,000,000, showing a decrease of 10.6 per cent from a year ago.

In view of indications that raw cotton arrivals to Japan will hereafter be curtailed, it is feared that cotton textiles exports will show a further decline during the year. Exports of hosiery goods as well as woollen textiles are being affected in the same way as cotton textiles. Exports of such commodities as rayon textiles, canned and bottled provisions, pottery and porcelain and toys for the first

three months of this year decreased by from 20 to 40 per cent, compared with the first quarter of 1937. Owing largely to the depression in the United States, exports from Japan of raw silk and textiles have suffered a shrinkage ranging from 17 to 20 per cent compared with the first quarter of last year. In the import group, raw cotton decreased by 70 per cent, raw wool by 33 per cent, crude rubber by 55 per cent and lumber by 45 per cent, during the same period.

Turkey and Religion

The following note appears in the *World Dominion News*:

The Grand National Assembly made certain amendments to the Constitution of the Turkish Republic on the 5th of February last. Article 2 especially was changed and now reads (in part), "The Turkish State is Republican, Nationalistic, Populist, Laic, Etatist, and Revolutionary!" These six principles are the fundamental planks in the platform of the People's Party.

It is of special interest that the State is declared to be Laic. The term implies that the State does not recognize an official religion, nor does it stand to support any particular religion. In the old Constitution an Article stated that "The Religion of the State is Islam"; this is no longer so; no one now interferes with another's religion, each respects that of the other; in religion as in intellectual and political matters fanaticism has given place to mutual tolerance.

The deputy Bey Ne'ih Ali, writing in *Ulus*, the official organ of Ankara, warns the Turkish people, however, that freedom of conscience is not a limitless freedom. The State may interfere in certain situations. He says that children under eighteen may in foreign schools be subjected to a kind of spiritual compulsion in religion, and this in fact has happened and cannot be tolerated. But after passing the age of eighteen every individual is free to choose his religion, provided this does not disturb the social order. "The State is Laic, and everyone can think and believe as he likes, but the young must not be dragged into Catholicism, and thereby a culture foreign to our thought and feeling be permitted to spring up in the midst of the Turkish people."

Emil Ludwig on Hitler

Emil Ludwig observes in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

It is a mistake to say that Hitler is not German. In his demagogism, he unites just those incentives which goad the German mind to frenzy. He resembles Wagner in his histrionic instinct. It is from Wagner that Hitler has adopted his endless melodies that is, the wearisome repetition of the same few themes; the splendor of the processions and choruses, the burning thirst for success, the bluster, the brutality and blamelessness, which make Wagner's work so effective can all be observed in the way Hitler works on his audience. He is altogether most effective in his speeches, and he is the first popular orator modern Germany has ever had. . . . Hitler is like Wilhelm II in so many ways that he might be called Wilhelm III. Even physically—draw in the Kaiser's moustache on Hitler's latest photographs, and there is the Kaiser again: the smartness, the same histrionic energy. The ~~history~~ of modern Germany will one day record that

the people let themselves be gulled twice by the poses of a neurasthenic.

"Nashevism"

Z. Rowe coins the word "Nashevism", to describe the authoritarian regimes, and comments on the "common front" of Nazism and Bolshevism.

To us the difference between war and peace is a difference in *kind*, whereas to the Nashevist war differs from peace only in degree. Nashevism recognizes no difference between war and peace except that in war all pretense at amicable relations is abandoned; in peace, deference to the pretense of friendship restricts the attack on the enemy to three fronts: propaganda, economic pressure and terrorism. Under these three heads Nashevism conducts various forms of organized lying, fraudulent bankruptcy and violence ranging from murder and abduction to the kidnapping of a nation.

No odium attaches to treaty-breaking because a treaty has only the same significance in 'peace' that the consolidation of newly-won positions has in war. Having scrapped the Versailles Treaty, Herr Hitler extolled the Locarno Treaty—and likewise scrapped it a few weeks later.

As long as we remain blind to the Nashevist common front we will be shuttled back and forth between Nazism and Bolshevism according to the momentary delusions of our own public opinion.

An Irish Seer

"While we strive after happiness, he holds it in his hands"—observed George Moore about A E, the Irish poet and seer. 'A E' has already been placed among the great mystics, and it is only as a mystic that he can be understood, writes "Brother John" in *The Inquirer*:

The belief in the Divinity of Man colours all A E's writings. As also does a second great idea, that came to him on the hill of Kilmashogue. Here it was revealed to A E that the Earth was a living being—veritable Mother of all living things.

"I heard them in their sadness say,
The earth rebukes the thought of God;
We are but embers wrapped in clay
A little nobler than the sod."

"But I have touched the lips of clay,
Mother, thy rudest sod to me
Is thrilled with fire of hidden day,
And haunted by all mystery."

The Mother of Life was very real to A E. She has many names—Isis, Ishtar, Artemis, Hertha, and so on. A E called her Dana, for he lived in Ireland and had seen the Paps of Dana.

He was always a student of Comparative Religion, and confessed that he found truth in all the Bibles of the World, and "a singular identity of belief." All the Bibles taught men how they might become as Gods. And this was A E's test of organised religion: "The religion which does not cry out: 'I am today verifiable as the water wets and the fire burns. Test me that ye can become as Gods'—mistrust it. Its messengers are prophets of darkness."

There was a very practical side to this Irish seer. For years he worked for the Agricultural Organisation Society, helping to establish banks and creameries, and talking about pigs and poultry. He edited a farming paper. He also took his part in Irish politics, and represented his country at Conferences. Then he became Editor of *The Irish Statesman*, the leading literary journal of his country.

In Dublin, as he grew older, A E was a sort of Socrates. In spite of all the "troubles" he still believed in Ireland, and he inspired men and women to be worthy, not only of Ireland's past, but of Ireland's future.

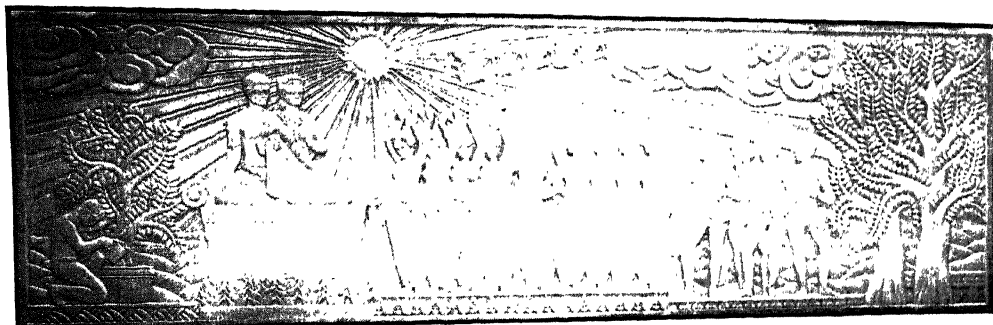
The Novel of Ideas

Sir Hugh Walpole observes in the *Listener*:

Today the most modern belief of what the novel ought to do is that it should be interesting in the matter of ideas. The modern novelist is out to give you new and arresting ideas. Now why do I think that that is not nearly as good a thing for the novelist to do as to give you characters? Of course, if he gives you characters *and* ideas, all the better, and there is no novelist of any great merit anywhere who does not give you some ideas about which you can think. But I believe that is really his own voice giving utterance to these ideas, and I think he might do that much better in some other form: in written philosophy, or what you please, history even, and, of course, in autobiography. And if he is going to create, he has to create outside himself; he won't have much time for planting his own ideas into his characters, because his characters will become unreal. They won't be naturally the vehicle of his ideas if they are independent people themselves.

For instance, in *Henry Esmond*, by Thackeray, you cannot imagine Beatrix speaking as Thackeray himself, a man of many years later, of a different kind of civilization almost; you cannot imagine her speaking as Thackeray would speak. You cannot imagine, for instance, that Mr. Pickwick was really the young Dickens, almost a boy, sitting and doing his journalism day by day, eager for life, full of vitality, but of a totally different vitality from Mr. Pickwick.





DANCE OF LIFE

The rhythm of life has been depicted in this mural "Dance of Life", a bas relief by Sculptor Jacques Schnier. It will occupy a space 80 feet long and 26 feet high on one of the East Towers. The relief will be covered in gold leaf.

AMERICA'S ORIENTAL-OCIDENTAL EXPOSITION

By CARLTON KENDALL

IN 1939, the United States is to celebrate the achievements of The New Deal with two great international expositions. One of these is to be held on the Atlantic seaboard in New York State. Its exhibits will depict the trade and culture of the European and South American nations and the industrial and scientific advances of that half of North America lying east of the Rocky Mountains. The other exposition is to be on the Pacific seaboard in California and will be participated in by the Oriental and Occidental nations bordering the Pacific Ocean and the eleven Western States, together with Hawaii and Alaska.

On these two expositions America is spending nearly two hundred million dollars erecting two unique magical cities—the one facing Europe and the Occident; the other Asia and the Orient. Symbols of peace and goodwill, they rise as two beacons to the achievements of a modern civilization being built by a free people whose heritage finds its roots in the age-old cultures of the earth. The Pacific exposition especially reaches out to the peoples of India and Asia a friendly hand of welcome. Many of those who read this article will probably visit it. Coming at a most significant moment in the history of western United States, when the Pacific Coast States (with their combined areas as large as that of western Europe) are emerging from a pioneering period into the dawn of a technological era, it aptly celebrates several recent American engineering achievements that will transform western America from a remote

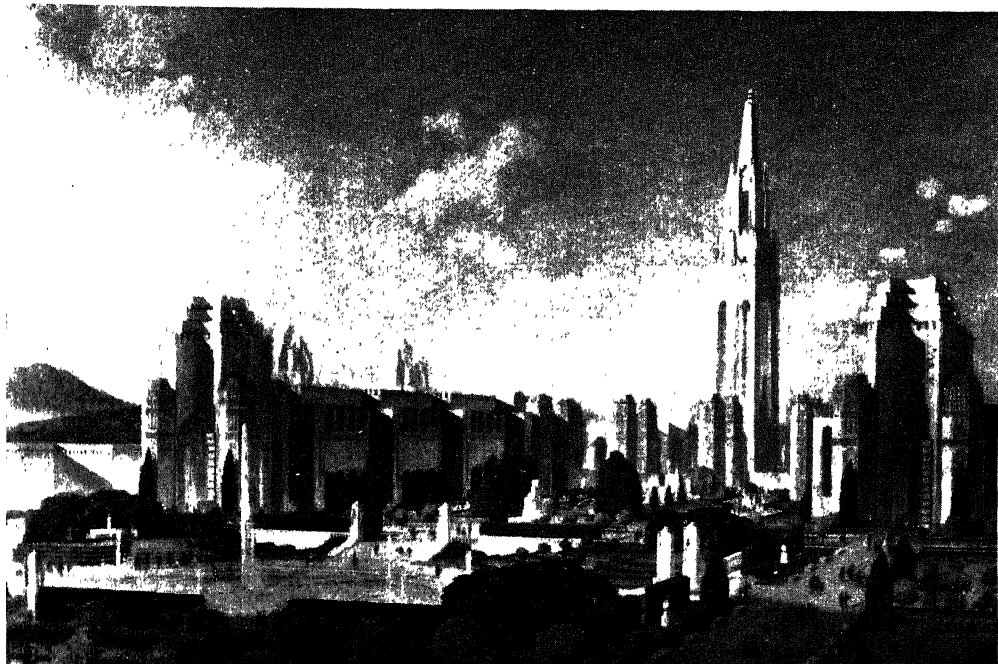
sparsely settled area into one of the future centers of human civilization. These achievements are: the completion of the world's two largest bridges spanning San Francisco Bay, the inauguration of rapid air transportation (including the trans-Pacific clipper service connecting America and Asia) and the erection by the government of three giant water and power projects, the Boulder, Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams which will furnish irrigation to millions of acres of rich agricultural land and cheap electrical power to an area as large as one-half of India.

But beyond these local accomplishments, the Golden Gate International Exposition, as it is called, will celebrate the awakening of the nations bordering the Pacific and Indian oceans to a new era of civilization, a new epoch in their individual unfoldment, a new quickening of the life pulse of their social organisms. It is this deeper theme—"The Pageant of the Pacific"—which runs like an overtone throughout the entire exposition, its landscaping, its architecture, its exhibits, even the selection of the site itself.

Where now rise the vast exhibit halls, less than three years ago was nothing but the lapping waves of the Pacific Ocean; for the exposition is erected upon a man-made island built by U. S. Army engineers in San Francisco Bay opposite the Golden Gate. This island is over a mile long and three-fifths of a mile wide and rises thirteen feet above sea-level. Protected from erosion by a three mile rock wall, it has

added 400 acres to the area of the United States, later, after the exposition, to be utilized as a central airport for the two million people inhabiting the cities surrounding San Francisco Bay. Two of the exposition buildings are giant concrete and steel hangars and another is to become the permanent administration and terminal head-

percentage. By barge, 100,000 yards of rich topsoil was brought from the fertile delta regions of the Sacramento valley where many East Indians made fortunes some years ago by raising asparagus and potatoes. On this earth foundation, crews of landscape gardeners have planted over 4,000 trees (some 60 to 70 feet high),



Court of the Moon, an approach to the Central Court of Honor, with its 400-foot Tower of the Sun. It is one of the many landscapes with tree-lined promenades and sunken gardens. On the left is the Hall of the Mineral Empire, on the right the Homes and Gardens buildings

quarters for the airport. The landscaping surrounding these permanent buildings is to remain, making it ultimately one of the most beautiful air ports in America, a fitting terminal for trans-Pacific passengers and for the fast overnight planes connecting San Francisco and New York City 3,000 miles away.

To transform a salt-soaked black sand island into a semi-tropical garden set with pools, fountains and beautiful courtyards sheltered by dream-like colonnades and pastel-tinted pavilions supplied with all the electrical, gas, water and sewerage facilities of a large city was in itself no small task. Charts were made of the salt tolerance of the plants, trees and shrubs to be used and the land washed with fresh water from a special reservoir constructed for that purpose, until the sand was free from any dangerous saline

40,000 shrubs and literally millions of flowering plants, using every electrical and chemical device known to modern horticulturists for stimulating plant growth to its highest beauty. In this garden, risen from the sea, are set the hundreds of buildings housing the exhibits.

While futuristic structures comprise the outstanding architectural features of the exposition in eastern United States, this western exposition, true to its theme, has combined modernism in architecture with the inspirational forms from the older civilizations around the Pacific Ocean, particularly the Mayan, Cambodian, Incan and Malayan. Its designers avoided that stark architectural realism, almost brutal in its conception, that characterizes many attempts to depict the spirit of the mechanistic, materialism today sweeping metropolitan areas

of western civilization. Instead they tried to achieve an effect that would suggest the romantic lure and charm, the spiritual attainments, the century-old cultural aspirations of the Orient combining with the scientific civilization and



PACIFICA

This is a 70-foot figure by Ralph Stackpole, which will dominate the Court of Pacific Shores. Behind the figure a curtain of metal bangles that will sway in the breeze to produce harmonious sound and color effects

material modernism of Occidental cities. The approaching visitor nearing the island by ferry is impressed with a massed effect of stepped setbacks surmounted by 400 foot "Tower of the

Sun" bearing at its peak a giant golden Phoenix, Bird, symbolical of the reawakening of Pacific civilizations.

The lighting at night embraces several unusual recent electrical developments. Dark light is used to enhance the color effects and no direct lighting is visible so that to an observer on the Bay the exposition appears a luminous, magical, ageless city of mystery risen from the sea and bathed in glowing soft colors against a timeless sky.

The visitor enters through an imposing gateway whose ramparts rise in the heavy masses of two Malayan pyramids converging sharply into Cambodian towers supported by formalized elephants. Passing into a walled city, he is confronted with a series of courtyards some with mirror-like pools reflecting the tinted walls and sculptured details of the buildings, others with splashing fountains and still others a riot of bright-colored flowers. In one such flower courtyard only plants with red blossoms are used. The main feature of the horticultural effects, is a "Persian Prayer Rug" of mesembryanthemum covering 25 acres.

The exhibits, like the buildings housing them, are centered about the one idea of showing in graphic manner the various cultures developed by the nations bordering the Pacific as a background for demonstrations of the newest advances of modern science and engineering, special stress being placed on those discoveries that will aid man in his civilized evolution, in his century-old struggle against the ravages of nature, in the perfecting of himself and his artificial environment to meet the requirements of the strenuous ordeal of living in a changing modern world. Such recent agricultural developments as the newly discovered methods for profitably raising agricultural products without soil in chemically-treated tanks where crops attain unbelievable yields secure against insects, independent of seasonal cycles, temperature and weather conditions will be shown. Example of the latest type of "electrical farms" now transforming American rural life, speeding up productive agriculture, freeing the long toiling farmer from back breaking labor and bringing to him all the comforts and advantages of the city dweller are among the many exhibit features on display that will directly influence the future life of the rural individual in the agricultural nations bordering the Pacific.

For the exposition the American government has planned a demonstration of the recent developments brought into American life through The New Deal, of the social changes, of the

construction of planned communities, the programs for clearing city slums, the great nationwide building of public works which is transforming the vast countryside into a network of paved highways, navigable rivers, and modernized farms supplied with cheap electric power. A special community of the new types of American homes has been built. Here visitors can see the latest improvements in house construction and the latest aids to the housewife: mechanical robots that perform much of the housework.

Today in California even many of the laborers' cottages enjoy the newest electrical equipment: automatic washing and ironing

close doors when a person or an automobile approaches or leaves, the new "electric nurse" recently put on to the market in America which watches the baby and informs its mother about its condition at any moment of day or night without her having to go into the nursery or leave tasks elsewhere in the house, the "cold heat" stoves over which meals can be cooked while the top of the stove is as cool to the touch as a dining table—a boon to the housewife or servant of the future who has to prepare meals on hot summer days, or that careless individual inadvertently forgetting that hot stoves burn human fingers that touch their surfaces. These and many other scientific wonders that will



Aerial view of Boulder Dam, which impounds the waters of the Colorado River in the heart of a barren desert region, creating Lake Mead which is 115 miles long and 8 miles in width, thus making it the world's largest artificial lake. The black dots on the top of the dam are automobiles

machines, electric vacuum cleaners for taking up dust, electric refrigerators for manufacturing ice for the family and keeping foodstuffs preserved at cool temperatures, automatic controlled stoves that will begin cooking the dinner an hour or so before the family expects to return home, automatic radios that can be set a day ahead to turn on and off special programs of music or public addresses that the householder does not wish to miss.

In addition to these things, which are already a part of the everyday life of the average family living on the American side of the Pacific, there will also be shown glimpses into the future homes: "electric eyes" that open and

transform the daily lives of all of us in the next score of years, will be shown, together with the best in modern art, music and culture. It is an exhibition of the past, the present and the future.

In all over twenty foreign nations are erecting buildings or arranging special displays, together with the eleven Western States of the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and several British dominions, besides many special scientific and educational displays from American universities, medical laboratories and research institutions. Every important oriental nation, with the exception of India, has already made arrangements to present graphic exhibits depicting its cultural, economic, scientific and spiritual

achievements and to tell the twenty million or more visitors expected about the wonders of their homeland. Those of us who know the wealth of thought and material accomplishments in India today hope that she too will join with her sister nations of the Pacific and Indian oceans to help celebrate this emergence into the new path of human destiny that ties America and Asia with the common bond of mutual interests.

Structures for the other oriental exhibits are already rising from the sands of the man-made island, some representing expenditures of over a million dollars. Most are uniquely typical of the oriental cultures they depict. The Chinese exhibit, for example, is in the form of a Chinese community, surrounded by Chinese gardens landscaped with rockeries, old bronze statues, pavilions, camel-back bridges and winding lagoons, patterned after an old cormandel screen. At one end of the main garden is a temple with a golden statue of the goddess Kuan Yin; in the center a multi-colored pagoda in which, among other displays, is shown early Chinese inventions antedating many modern similar western discoveries. Outside the village proper are Chinese farms operated by rural farmers brought from the interior villages of China, showing the agricultural heritage from Asia that forms the basis from which modern mechanized agriculture has developed.

The Netherlands East Indies Building is set with bas-reliefs copied from the ruins of Borobudur and intricate Javanese scroll-work. The Johore exhibition contains a Malay Hut in charge of native Malays. The Japanese exhibition is the most extensive ever planned by the Japanese people. The building to house it was constructed in Japan and has been sent over to the United States in crates and erected on the exposition site. It is in the form of an ancient Japanese feudal castle surrounded by Japanese gardens supervised by Dr. Murata. In addition, a Samurai's home is also to be constructed in the gardens. The buildings proper are designed by the three most famous Japanese native architects: Dr. Uchida, Dr. Okuma and Dr. Kishida.

Indo-China's exhibit reflects the great ruins of Cambodia and the Latin American countries on the other side of the Pacific have used as a motif for their exhibits the ancient civilizations built by the Incas, the Aztecs and the Mayas. Japanese Nô plays, Javanese puppets, Bali ceremonial dances, Chinese drama and Indian music will be presented as well as exhibits of all forms of oriental art. Nor will many of the

priceless spiritual teachings, so long nourished in the Orient, be forgotten in the array of material displays. Special conferences are planned and special lectures scheduled to bring these treasures of the soul to the exposition visitor for, perhaps of all the Orient has brought to man, no gifts are more precious nor more needed in the world at this time than those written upon generations of human hearts by the great seers of Asia.

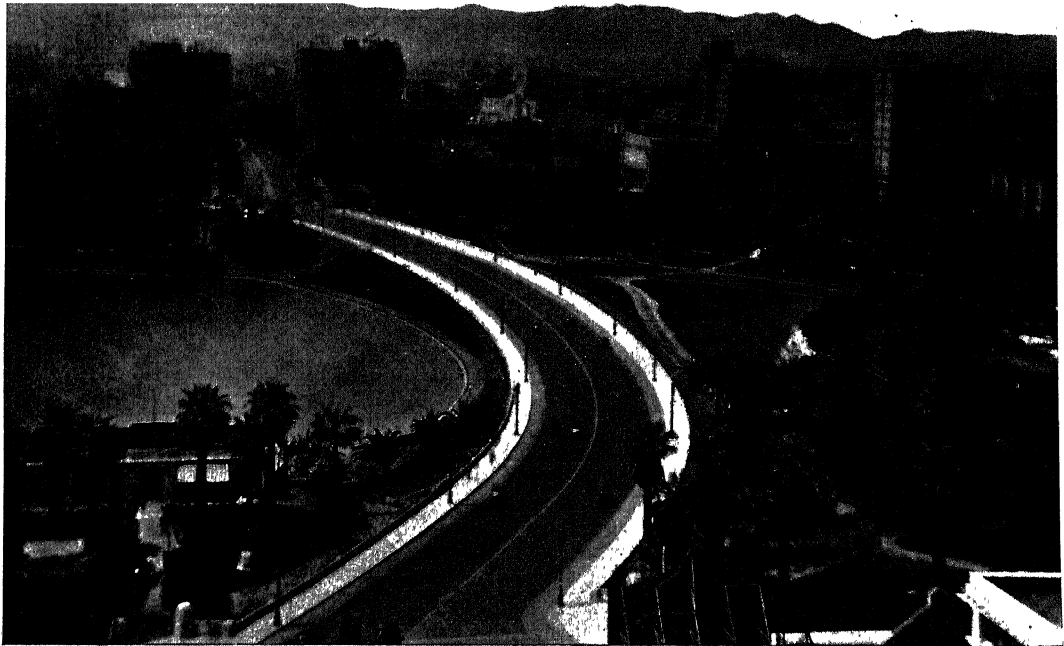
As a setting for this exposition of the Pacific, the selection of California was a happy choice. With its months of rainless summer, it has always been the home for elaborate outdoor pageants and for many outdoor symphonies, operas and plays presented on mountain tops and in the giant redwood forests. Its people have the gaiety of the Italians, the Spanish love for fiestas, the French joy in fêtes and little fairs. Perhaps more than any other part of the United States, California has from the old gold-mining days following 1849, enjoyed a carefree spirit which finds full expression in celebrations. Like India, it is a land of fertile valleys, rich with orchards and teeming farms, with the sea on one side and the snow-crested mountains forming a natural barrier at its back. In Europe it would have been a separate nation. In America it is an integral part of the forty-eight states, though distinct in culture and atmosphere. Facing the Orient, it turns to the Orient as well as to the Occident for its inspiration.

Over a quarter of a million East Indians, Chinese, Japanese and Philipinos live within its borders, each race contributing a measure of its heritage to fuse into the vital new civilization arising there. The Japanese have brought fifty or more Buddhist temples to California, the Chinese their Joss Houses and Confucian societies, the Philipinos Mohammedan churches, the East Indians Sikh and Vedanta temples. Sufi and Hindu retreats are scattered here and there amongst its mountains, while in the cities the influence of oriental architecture, household furnishings and culinary art may be discerned on every hand.

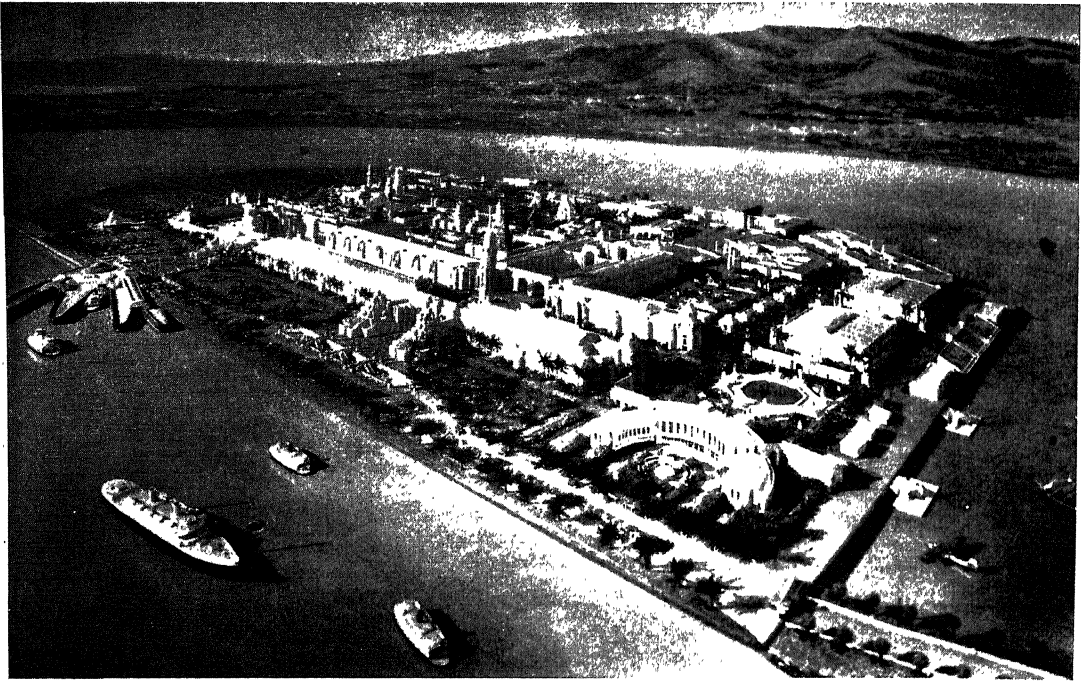
Named "California" for Odronez de Montalvo's romantic novel, *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, published in Madrid in 1510 and which describes an enchanted island "to the right of the Indies, very near the quarter of the terrestrial paradise", this land, with its great central harbor entered through the hill-cleft straits of "the Golden Gate", is in truth the garden joining Asia and western occidental civilization. To the Occident it turns for the development of its bodily comforts; to the



Sunset over San Francisco Bay, recently spanned by the world's longest bridge connecting San Francisco and its adjoining communities. The two main decks of the bridge stretch $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles



Los Angeles is the largest city in Western America



A spectacular preview of Treasure Island, site of the 1939 *Golden Gate International Exposition*, to be held on San Francisco Bay, is afforded by this photograph of an elaborate scale model of the Western World's Fair



The California giant redwoods are some of the oldest living specimens of vegetation upon the earth. The trees grow from 200 to 300 feet high and have a diameter around 20 feet, and a life-span of from one to two thousand years

Orient for the awakening of its spiritual self. Too young to be, as yet, completely crystallized by the pattern of western industrialism, this Pacific Coast of North America still reaches out for that profound spiritual understanding of the function and purpose of human life which for countless centuries has formed the seed-atom of Oriental philosophy.

As the Orient finds herself developed spiritually far beyond her technological attainments, inversely the Occident is beginning to realize that her new scientific discoveries far overshadow her spiritual evolution and threaten to enslave her populations with the case hardened chains of material power undirected by adequate inner comprehension. She too is fighting for her freedom and, like Asia, searching for that pattern which will bring a peaceful solution of the complex human problems besetting the world

today. Beyond race, beyond nationality, moves the common destiny of man. The contemporary struggle of social evolution which grips the nations surrounding the Pacific and Indian oceans, is a community problem affecting all the peoples inhabiting that geographical arena. The reshaping of their respective civilizations, the emergence into a new cycle, a new freedom of life, the completer conquest of man's collective mastery over physical nature and over his own inner nature—these problems draw the people of Asia and the people of western America into closer ties of mutual interests. So, when the Golden Gate International Exposition opens its gates in February 1939, it will be a fitting celebration for the beginning of a new era in the forward progress of the nations inhabiting the Pacific basin.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Gouri Rani Banerjee, daughter of Dr. H. C. Banerjee L.M.S., Saharanpur, passed the M.A. (Sanskrit) Examination of the Benares Hindu University this year in the First Division standing First in the University. She appeared in this and all other previous examinations as a private candidate and passed them with credit.



Miss Gauri Rani Banerjee.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The picture of "A Haripura Village Woman" which appeared in *The Modern Review* for March, 1938, p. 353, was reproduced from the cover page of the special annual

number of the *Hindustan Times*. We regret proper acknowledgment was not made in the March issue through oversight.

INDIANS ABROAD

THE Indian generally goes abroad in search of a living like other people. But the Indian as a rule is only a labourer who, because of the low standard of life he is said to be used to at home, is able to supply cheap labour in the labour-market everywhere. He is thus often accused of underselling his labour and thus becomes the object of hate and derision of his competitors who, whatever be the actual grounds of their defeat, always put it down to the lower Indian standard of life. As soon therefore as the needs of the employers abroad are satisfied, the Indian is sought to be got rid of. The story is true almost wherever the Indian set his foot—in Africa, Malaya, or the Indies. Ceylon of late witnessed a bitter campaign against the South Indian labourer who is said to be squeezing out the very islander himself. The Ceylonese were however neither very scrupulous in their regard for facts nor very wise in forgetting what the reaction or the reprisal from the Indian side may mean to the island's economic life.

Recent informations speak of Ceylon recruiting her own plantations labour from the island itself. It is to be seen if Ceylonese native labour answers to the purpose.

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

The Malayan planters and the Department of Labour in Malaya imposed, as is known, a 10 p.c. cut in the wages of the Indian labourer from May 1, last, which has meant 45 cents for men and 36 cents for women per day. Because of a cut in the production of rubber a further reduction of the wages to 40 and 30 cents for men and women respectively from August 1, next has been decided on. The Central Indian Association of Malaya submitted a long Memorandum to the Government of Madras pleading for the prohibition of the assisted emigration to Malaya, and 'advocating the stoppage of unassisted emigrants from Madras districts to the Malayan peninsula.' The Memorandum alleges that "at least a majority of them (the unassisted) do not pay their own passages from their own pockets any more than the assisted emigrants". "An adequate minimum living wage for Indian labour, coupled with permanent family colonization seems to be the only course available for the solution of the serious impasse which has arisen in connexion with the emigration of the unassisted emigrants to Malaya".

EMIGRATION TO FIJI

The Immigration Committee appointed by the Fijian Government in December last "to report on Indian immigration and the issue of permits and travel documents" has, it is announced, completed its labour and the report will shortly be available. The Indian immigrant, it is known, still suffers from many small disabilities, and, as there is considerable labour shortage in Fiji, if extended immigration of Indians is recommended, Fiji Government should be made to guarantee for them economic security as well as non-communal franchise.

A heartening fact is the progress announced to have been made by Indian education in Fiji. The Fiji Government have promised to establish new schools, one at Suva another at Nadi, and grant £100 for night schools for adults, besides assisting the communities that are prepared to help themselves by giving building grants for schools etc.

AFGHAN DRY FRUIT TRADE

Indians were sufficiently alarmed at the proposal of the Afghan Government monopolising the Afghan dry fruit trade. It would cause ruin to many Indian traders. An Afghan government order recently abandoned this proposal in response to the appeal from Indians, and the Government have been gratefully thanked by the President of the Indian National Congress for this.

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

The story of the riot in the British colony of Mauritius and the wounds inflicted there on the Indians as a result of the firing by troops about two months ago failed to attract sufficient notice outside. The following extracts from the interview of Pandit Satyadeo, reported in the *Bombay Sentinel*, and quoted by the *Indian Opinion* of Durban, speaks of the grievances of the Indian workers in the Sugar factories, their disabilities and their experiences.

He told our representative that three lakhs of Indian residents in Mauritius out of the total population of 4 lakhs had no representation either in the Legislative Body or in any civic bodies. Government jobs were denied them, their children were forced to toil in the factories, their civic liberties trampled over and the Immigration Laws hardly enforced.

Describing in detail the two recent outrages that took place in Mauritius on unarmed Indian workers who were on strike, Pandit Satyadeo said that about 60 workers made for the factory, owned by an Indian who was also the British

nominee to the Legislative Council, with a view to put before him their grievances.

At the time about the month of August, last year, sugar export price in the world market seemed to them to be rising, but the cuts in their wages had not been restored in spite of the attempt of the Labour Party Society recently formed there.

But hardly had their grievances been heard, when, he told our reporter, shots rang in the air and some persons were injured in the premises of the Indian Sugar Factory owner. The Police inspector who raised his hands to ask the party concerned to stop firing got a bullet in his hand!

Then a prolonged, although to a little extent sporadic strike, he added, followed. Fresh troubles began. The meetings of the workers were dispersed and at one of the meetings, the Police were stated to have opened fire with the result that three died and several others were wounded.

"But the authorities," P. Satyadeo said, "continued long after the incident to ride roughshod over the feelings of the petty planters and labourers and our appeal for humanitarian consideration went unheeded. Although four months have passed, the report of the Inquiry Committee set up in this connection has not been published."

In the Inquiry Committee, he stated, no Indian was appointed.

INDIAN FARMERS IN NATAL

Indians had gone to Natal Coal and Cane fields as labourers under the indenture system. At the termination of the indenture, Indians recruited from India drifted into various walks of life, "but the majority took to farming," says the *Indian Opinion* (May 13th.), which editorially refers to the danger that the Indian farmer is now facing in the areas because of the dumping of bananas from the Portuguese East Africa under a treaty.

Indians who, at one time lived quite close to Durban, which they looked upon as the only market for their produce, have now gone further afield—miles away from Durban. Motor transport has made distances disappear. That bananas and other produce arrive practically every day at the Durban market from Port Shepstone—a distance of 75 miles—is an indication of what motor transport has done to the Farming industry. Banana plantations are the mainstay not only to those who farm on the outskirts of the boundaries of Durban, but also to those who farm along the South Coast extending to Port Shepstone. The Mozambique Treaty which enabled bananas from Portuguese East Africa to be dumped into the Union, affected the Banana industry in Natal to such an extent that the Natal Indian farmers began to think whether it was worthwhile farming. The Treaty in guaranteeing labour for the Reef Mines, did so at the expense of the banana industry which directly contributed to the development of the wealth of South Africa.

Once the bananas in Portuguese East Africa are ready to be reaped, the markets of South Africa would be flooded.

The Natal Indian farmers would be well advised to consolidate their forces so that in matters affecting their interests they could speak with one voice. The Mozambique Treaty could have been modified if proper representations had been made to the Government at the time. The case of the Indian farmer went by default.

We believe there are two Associations each claiming to represent the Indian farmers.

A strong Association with a membership of at least fifty per cent of the Indian Farmers would be the only adequate safeguard against such dangerous enactments as the Marketing Act. The Indian Farmers should learn to grow on their own strength.

SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS

South African elections which resulted in the return last month of the Party in power, the United Nationalist Party, to which Mr. Hofmeyr, known to India for his fairness on the Indian question, belongs. Mr. Hofmeyr's attitude was the cause of many "upheavals" within the Party; so "South Africa needs many more Hofmeyrs before the Indian community of South Africa can have its much deserved rest." The Indians there have been denied franchise, that elementary right of man. Even the so-called uncivilised natives of the country have some semblance of representations in the Parliament, which the Indians lack. It is time for them to make a united demand for it, as one of them, Mr. P. R. Pather, pleads in the following:

Three parties have been in power since Union, the South African, the Nationalist and the United Nationalist Parties. None of these parties has exhibited any feeling for the Indian. Each party has had its share of anti-Asiatic legislations. And none has spared the Indian. We will continue to occupy the position of inferiority so long as we are denied the franchise. Recently the Natal Indian Congress presented a petition to the Natal Provincial Council urging the restoration of the Municipal franchise. That petition has been thrown out. The petition unfortunately was half-hearted, and did not have the backing of the people. By that, we mean that an appeal for the restoration of the franchise should be made not by way of petition signed by one or two persons, but it should emanate from the Indian community of Natal as a whole.

The occasion demands a united front for the Indian community and that is the only sure way of making a bid for the franchise.

RESERVATION OF THE KENYA HIGHLANDS

The motion of Major Cavendish-Bentinck for a 'White Kenya Highlands' has received a fit warning from that tireless friend of the overseas Indians, Mr. C. F. Andrews, in the Indian press. Kenya papers to hand prove how reasonably and spiritedly the Hon'ble Messrs. Shams-ud-deen and J. B. Panday thrashed out every aspect of the question in the Kenya Council to show the hollowness, the insult for the Indians involved, and the disservice to the Imperial issue that is signified by the proposal mooted in the face of all the promises and assurances from the the Secretary for the Colonies which we referred to in our last issue. To bring home the disaster that is impending we recall the opinion of Mr. Andrews:

When asked what disaster would be, Mr. Andrews said that it would be the very first act of deliberate racial discrimination on a vaster scale than the British Parliament itself had sanctioned and determined. Other cases of racial discrimination of a more doubtful character both in Fiji and in Kenya had already taken place but this reservation of Kenya Highlands by an Order-in-Council would be absolutely glaring. It would mean that the British Parliament had completely abandoned its principle of racial equality and justice. Since 1833, the British had stood for no racial discrimination.

"There have been many acts in which that constitutional principle has been broken, but this, if carried out in Kenya, would be the first flagrant breach of the British Constitution" added Mr. Andrews.

"I think it glaringly inconsistent if one and the same Parliament professing to grant Self-Government to the Indian people in their own country at the same time pass an order which virtually denied the same people their most fundamental and elemental rights in another Colony," concluded Mr. Andrews.

"ALL RIGHT" AT TANGA?

Kenya, it is known, is notorious for its anti-Indian measures. From the smug self-satisfactory talk of the Indians in Tanganyika and Uganda, one might conclude that it is all right over there. The *Tanganyika Opinion* wants our colonists to remember that this is quite contrary to the fact. In the railway and in the English-run and English-patronised hotels the Indian is barred from any equality or social contact with the Europeans.

In civil services this distinction of races goes much deeper and takes the form not of ordinances but of unspoken social rebuffs and persecution. Why did the only African Assistant Secretary of the Dar-es-Salaam Secretariat throw up his privileged job? Why is an Asian not placed even in acting charge of higher posts? Except a stray case or so, will any Government conscientiously say that they do not consider it unusual that Asians should be placed in acting charge of high offices ordinarily scheduled to be filled up by European incumbents?

Both in Uganda and Tanganyika there are such divisions as European and Asian posts, and we want to know what statutory authority the Government of the Mandated Territory have to divide the civil service into Overseas recruited, Intermediate and Local services.

THE SOLUTION OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African Indians are generally found to be in favour of keeping aloof from the Anti-European Front, the formation of which was announced about two months ago. They consider their problem to be allied to those of the native people, but still distinct in certain respects, as the Indians form a distinct group in South African life. Seth Govindadas was keen on this idea. He had recommended even a scheme of colonisation, 'starting a limited company on co-operative lines'. We were afraid this was hardly the proper method, and, our doubts have been borne out by South African

'Indian Opinion' as well. It probably makes the best suggestion for the solution of the problem.

If the report in the press is correct, Seth Govind Das proposes that Indians in India and East Africa should start imitating the imperialist powers in their policy of exploiting the backward races. I believe that Indians in Africa have a nobler mission to perform than the adoption of this policy. Nothing should be done by the Indians in East Africa by which their relation with the Africans should be strained at any time in the present or the future.

Helping in the regeneration of the African race is the destiny which awaits the Indians in Africa. Stooping to schemes of exploiting the Africans politically or industrially can never be justified by the Indians here or in Africa and I am sure that if Seth Govind Das had consulted the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress or any prominent Congress leader he would have acted in a different manner. Settlement of Indians in East Africa can be justified only to the extent that it remains harmless to the future progress of the Africans and to the extent that it actively helps such progress.

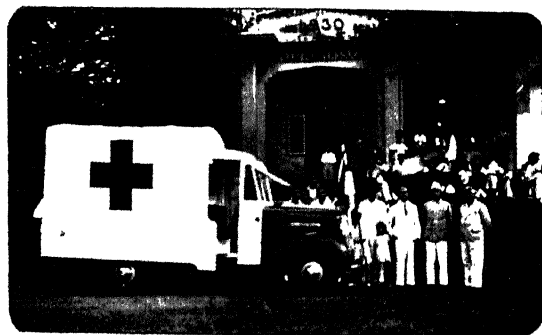
G. H.

Ambulance For China

Presented by the Central Indian Association
of Malaya

Dear Sir,

In connection with the Sino-Japanese War, the Indian National Congress had declared that our sympathies should go to China in her present



Ambulance presented to China by the Central Indian Association of Malaya

struggle against Japanese Imperialism. Following the lead of the Congress the Central Indian Association of Malaya, decided to focus local Indian opinion to this aspect of the question, as a result of which I am glad to inform you that my Association was able to raise sufficient funds to present the Chinese Government with an Ambulance for Red Cross Service. The cost of the Ambulance as well as the cost of transport and insurance up to Hongkong is paid by this Association.

In one of the photographs of the

MORE THAN
1 *in every* **3**

TEN HORSE-POWER CARS NOW SOLD

are

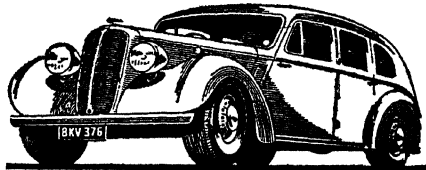
HILLMAN

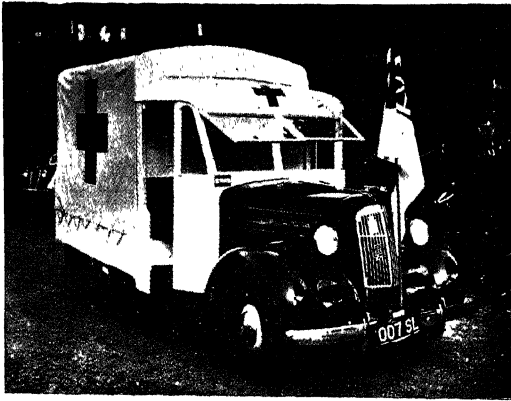
MINX

Official registration figures recently issued shows that of all 10 h.p. cars now sold throughout the United Kingdom, the MINX accounts for no less than 33.7% of the total — and this against some sixteen different makes.

Distributors :

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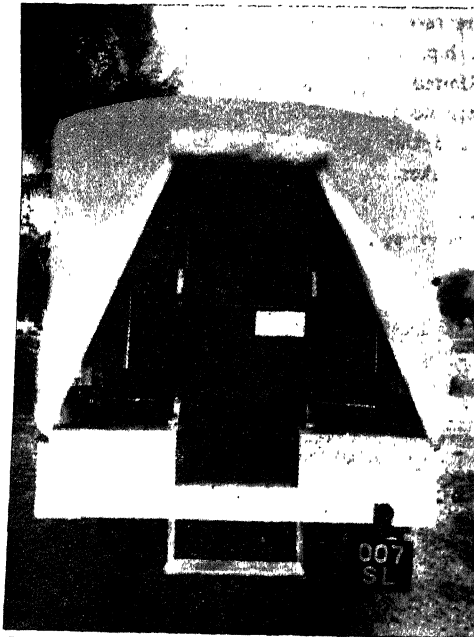




The Indian National Flag is seen fixed in front of the Ambulance

Ambulance you will find the inside view showing the plate with the inscription, "Presented by the Central Indian Association of Malaya on behalf of the Indian Community". In another picture you will find just in front of the driver's seat the Indian National Flag which is fixed in an enamelled plate.

The Ambulance was formerly delivered to the Consul for China, resident in Kuala Lum-



Inside view of the Ambulance showing the inscribed plate

pur and in acknowledging delivery, the Consul has written to this Association as under:—

"I wish to assure you and your community in Malaya that my Government is notified of this valuable contribution and feelings of sympathy towards the unfortunate sufferers in China. I would like to express once more that I am deeply moved by this noble contribution and that is with feelings of the highest appreciation and deepest gratitude that I now acknowledge receipt of the ambulance car from the Indian Community in Malaya."

Yours faithfully,
K. A. NEELAKANDHA Aiyer
Hon. Secretary,

Central Indian Association of Malaya

Indians in Mauritius

As I have told you in my previous communication (Vide *The Modern Review* for June, 1938), the Honourable Seeparsad Sheerbookun and the



Mr. S. Sheerbookun,
Member, Legislative Council, Mauritius



Mr. A. L. Osman,
Member, Legislative Council, Mauritius.

Honourable Abdul Latiff Osman, the newly nominated members of the Council of Government, have been chosen to represent the interest of the small Indian planters at the Council.

They delivered their maiden speeches on Tuesday last while the bill on the Industrial Association was being discussed and although

not trained for public life their performance was so remarkable that the senior elected member—a European—congratulated them for their masterly handling of a bill in which legal technicalities were involved.

K. HAZAREE SINGH

6. 5. 38.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for June, 1938, p. 652:

The author of the article, "Congress Cotton Committee's Report", is Mr. S. A. Palekar and not S. P. Palekar.

The Modern Review for June, 1938, p. 693, lines 12-14:

For "In the course of his article on the art of

criticism Principal P. Seshadri observes" read "In the course of his article on the art of criticism in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University* (Vol. II, No. 2), 1938, Principal P. Sheshadri observes.

A CORRECTION

Dear Sir,

An admiring reader of your "Notes" in *The Modern Review*, may I take the liberty of drawing your notice to an unfortunate oversight that occurs on Page 715, second column, in the current number of the Review.

The lines wrongly quoted from "the Irish

poet" really occur in Byron's 'Childe Harold,' Canto 2, ll. 720-21:

"Hereditary bondsman? Know ye not "
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?"

Yours truly,

D. K. SEN,

Professor of English, Krishnagar College.

3,000 YEARS' OLD HINDU FORMULA WORKS FURTHER MIRACLES :—

- (1) European gentleman with baldness over 25 years grows hair in 5 weeks.
- (2) Indian Lady checks awful falling of hair in a fortnight.

Please write full details of your case (age, health, history of baldness, constipation, etc.) to:

Mrs. KUNTALA RAY,

208, Bowbazar Street, CALCUTTA.

WORLD'S WOMEN TAKE TO AIR

"Poor Man's" Wife Earns Two Crores in Business

Free Flights for Women

By Mrs. CHAMAN LAL

We have a lot to learn from our sisters of the West in their enterprising spirit, talent and commercial ability. One woman in New York has earned nearly two crore rupees (7 million dollars).

Mrs. Max Kramer startled American business men a few days ago by producing a cheque for seven million dollars to purchase the thirty-storey Lincoln Hotel in New York. Her husband, Mr. Kramer, went to America from Russia as a poor boy. He started to build small houses, then larger houses, blocks of flats and finally hotels. When he married in 1926, he gave his wife a present of a million dollars. She had organised a hospital in the war, and now runs a successful gown shop in New York.

Neither minds taking a risk. He has the business brains; she has the artistic genius. He owns and runs the five-storey Hotel Edison and from behind the scenes he will superintend the Lincoln.

The purchase price was actually eleven million dollars, but Mrs. Kramer paid cash over and above the first mortgage of four million dollars held by an insurance company.

WOMEN'S AERO CLUB

Miss Amy Johnson and Miss Pauline Gower are organising an Aero Club for Women, which they hope will be affiliated to the Royal Aero Club. Premises have been offered to them by the Forum Ladies' Club in Belgravia and the two airwomen are now trying to build up a list of all the women who have learnt to fly in Great Britain.

Miss Johnson says:

"We believe there is room for such a club. Many hundreds of women have taken their amateur pilot's licence in the last ten years and, although all have not renewed it, my experience is that, once a woman begins to take an interest in aviation, she never lets it go."

"Pauline and I, two of the handful of women pilots who hold the Air Ministry commercial licence, are anxious to hear from all these hundreds of women, as we have not got a list of their addresses."

The Air Ministry, which has a record of all women who have taken the "A" licence, does not divulge their names and addresses.

GORT—REJECTED PLAN

Miss Ursula Waldron's scheme for the training of women pilots to assist the R.A.F. has been rejected by the Air Ministry.

Miss Waldron is a niece of the Marchioness Townshend. She proposed to have women trained to pilot R.A.F. aircraft so that in time of war they could fly on tasks behind the lines.

Lord Sempill approached the Air Ministry on her behalf. He was told, there are not enough aircraft available for her plan.

AIR RECORDS BY WOMEN

Three Soviet women aviators, Polina Osipenko, Vera Lomaka and Marina Raskova, claim to have established an international record for a women's long distance flight on a circular course.

The women—Osipenko as chief pilot, Lomaka as second pilot and Raskova as navigator—flew 1,160 miles in a single-engined seaplane over a course Sebastopol, Yevpatoria, Ochakov, Sebastopol.

Osipenko afterwards said that her record flights were a fulfilment of a promise she made to Stalin to fly higher, faster, and farther than any other woman in the world.—*Exchange*.

WOMEN'S LEGION

Another plan to enable women to assist the R.A.F. is being prepared by Lady Loch, head of the aviation section of the Women's Legion in London. This section has been given official recognition by the Air Ministry.

WOMAN LIEUTENANT

Eight years ago Polina Osipenko who was working on a farm in Russia, had never seen a plane. Now, a lieutenant in the Soviet air force and holder of three women's altitude records, she is to try for the international flying-boat record.

FREE FLIGHTS FOR WOMEN

An American Aviation Company is giving free flights to "wives," since a survey showed that "36 per cent. of wives do not want their husbands to fly, primarily because they themselves have never flown, and many have never visited an airport." The Company, therefore, invited the wives of men who like to fly to take a free trip with their husbands between San Francisco and Los Angeles.

In Tokyo, there is a Women's Club which gives flight over the city and a light lunch, all for Rupees Two. Will Mrs. Pandit organise a similar Air Club in India?

THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE No. 380

NOTES

Possible Problems for the Constituent Assembly

"Sufficient unto (or for) the day are the evils thereof." So runs the proverb. One may in a similar spirit say, "Sufficient for the day are the problems thereof". But man is a creature who looks before and after. And man the political animal has to look ahead.

Nobody knows when the Constituent Assembly which Congressmen want may be convened. And some may even doubt whether it will ever be summoned at all. But its convention is not an impossibility. It is not impracticable. Whether those members of the British Parliament who have recently, during Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's stay in London, promised to practically support the calling of a Constituent Assembly, will be able to keep their word, may be uncertain; for men and parties in opposition sometimes make promises which they are unable or unwilling to fulfil when in power. But the idea of convening a Constituent Assembly for drawing up India's constitution may materialize without British help and even against British opposition. Whenever it may meet, it will have to consider many serious questions and arrive at conclusions thereupon. Though it is not practicable to draw up a list of these questions just now—nor is it necessary, it may be permissible to mention some of them.

The cleverest and, from the British imperialist point of view, the most effective move connected with British rule in India has been the Communal Decision and the drawing

up of a constitution for India making that its framework and essence. From the Indian nationalist point of view it has been the most sinister strategic move on the part of British imperialism. If Indians are to be and remain a nation, this move must be countered. There should not be any weak yielding in this matter to propitiate communalists. However strong or numerous the propitiators and would-be propitiators of communalists, the fight against it should never be given up. "Never say die."

It is obvious that the whole of India, 'British' and 'Indian', cannot now or in the near future have a unitary government. Nevertheless, the consideration of the question whether 'British' India can have some form of unitary government may not be quite academic. Mr. C. Vijiaraaghavachariar of Salem, the oldest ex-president of the Congress now living, had much to say on this subject. If his paper on it is out of print, it may be republished.

If the question of unitary government for 'British' India be considered a merely academic one, the question of the number and delimitation of the provinces and the further question of the principle or principles on which they are to be constituted or re-constituted are eminently practical ones. The question of forming provinces on a linguistic basis is very much to the fore at present.

Some provinces have been recently constituted on the linguistic basis. There is a demand for more such provinces. The inhabitants of Andhra-desh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Land and Chota Nagpur want separate provinces for

themselves. Bengalis want the Bengali-speaking areas in the immediate vicinity of Bengal, now forming parts of other provinces, to be re-included in Bengal. We do not know whether there is any demand for a separate Maharashtra, a separate Gujarat, or a separate Mahakoshal province. But if the principle of linguistic provinces be, as it has been in some cases, accepted by the Government and the Congress, justice and consistency would demand its observance in other cases, too. Of course, all new provinces should be self-supporting. But as this principle has not been insisted upon in the case of the N.-W. F. Province, Sindh and Orissa, it cannot be insisted upon in the case of every other region whose inhabitants may ask for a separate province for themselves. The question of self-support does not arise in the case of Bengal's desire for the outlying Bengali-speaking areas. For Bengal is self-supporting and a re-constituted Bengal would be also self-supporting. Moreover, Bengal's demand is not for a new province, but only for getting back her own. In the case of some Bengali-speaking areas, Bengal's wish has met with the approval of the All-India Congress Committee.

Of course, the plea for justice and consistency cannot be pushed to the extreme limit. We need not and may not accept the British Government's enumeration of India's languages as correct. Political motives may have led to their number being put at too high a figure. But counted even only scientifically, our languages are so many in number and some of them are spoken in such small areas by such a small number of persons that all these areas cannot be constituted into separate provinces. Therefore, after all the comparatively large areas inhabited by comparatively large distinct linguistic groups, have been formed into separate provinces, there would remain many small linguistic areas and groups which must be included in some big province or other. Such provinces would thus consist of several linguistic areas. Moreover, owing to migration, whether in times past, present or future, there would always be in the midst of the biggest linguistic group of every province small groups of persons speaking languages different from the main language of the province.

There would thus be some multi-lingual provinces, the aggregates of different linguistic areas; and in each of such provinces, one linguistic area and group would be larger than the rest. Again, in each practically mono-lingual province there will be the largest linguistic

group, and in its midst there will be smaller linguistic groups.

The problem which Indian nationalists have to face now and the Constituent Assembly will have to face when it meets, is how these smaller linguistic groups in both multi-lingual and mono-lingual provinces are to be treated.

Theoretically and according to the law, an individual belonging to a small linguistic group in both these kinds of provinces and an individual belonging to the largest group are equal citizens. But what we actually find in some provinces is that persons belonging to the largest group seem to look upon themselves as having a superior grade of citizenship and to look down upon persons of smaller groups as having an inferior grade of citizenship, *if any*; and persons belonging to smaller groups are oppressed by a sense of inferiority.* The biggest linguistic groups in these provinces seem to feel and behave like masters and the smallest or smaller groups appear to feel and behave as if they were completely at the mercy of the former. Such a state of things cannot be conducive to the fostering or conservation of a feeling of national camaraderie and harmonious co-operation between all groups for national ends.

In some of the provinces which are multi-lingual, the areas inhabited by the smaller linguistic groups do not receive as much attention, in the matter of nation-building services for example, as the areas peopled by the biggest groups, who wield the controlling power.

The facts mentioned in the two foregoing paragraphs explain to a great extent the desire for separate linguistic provinces. The Congress "High Command" and other Congress leaders should try to find a remedy for such an unwholesome state of things. And certainly the Constituent Assembly, when and if it is summoned, will have to solve the problems arising out of it.

What has been said above shows that there are opportunities in multi-lingual provinces for autocratic behaviour on the part of the biggest or bigger linguistic groups. There are such opportunities in the Federal Legislature also for the biggest and bigger linguistic groups.

In the Federal Legislature of the United States of America a remedy has been found for any possible exercise of "tyrannical power" by

*What is curious is that in Assam-Province members of the largest group are not treated as equal citizens. They are discriminated against and put to the indignity of having, for various purposes, to secure and produce domicile certificates.

the larger States. It will be understood from the following passage extracted from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, Vol. XXVII, p. 653:

"Much controversy had raged over the conflicting principles of the equal representation of states and of representation on the basis of numbers, the larger states advocating the latter, the smaller states the former principle; and those who made themselves champions of the rights of the states professed to dread the tyrannical power which an assembly representing population might exert. The adoption of a bicameral system made it possible to give due recognition to both principles. One house, the Senate, contains the representatives of the states, every state sending two; the other, the House of Representatives, contains members elected on a basis of population. The two taken together are called Congress and form the national legislature of the United States."

In the House of Representatives the smallest States, namely, Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico, Vermont, and Wyoming, have one Representative each, and New York, the largest state, has 45; but in the Senate the biggest and the smallest states alike have two members each.

In India the Central Legislature and some of the Provincial Legislatures have two chambers; but neither the upper nor the lower chambers are constituted on either of the two principles followed in the United States of America. It may not be possible in our country to strictly follow the two principles in the case of the Central Legislature and of the bicameral provincial legislatures. But they may supply a clue to the solution of the problems indicated in previous paragraphs.

We will mention one other problem which our political leaders must tackle to prevent injustice to some provinces and the resulting discontent. It is well known that much more revenue (whether classed as Central or Provincial does not matter) is raised in some provinces, *e.g.*, Bengal and Bombay, than in others. But the provinces which pay most do not get proportionately large amounts to spend for their own good. The principle that the provinces which yield most revenue should contribute most to the Central Exchequer, is not objected to. But the contributions exacted from them should not be such as to pauperize them. Bengal, which is one of the two most revenue-yielding provinces, has been persistently fleeced for years. It is no extenuation of the Central Government's exacting policy to say that Bengal has got the Permanent Settlement and, therefore, the Bengal Government does not get as much land revenue as some of the other provinces, and that is why it is poor. But the Permanent Settlement was not the act of the Bengal Provincial Govern-

ment. The Government of India was and is responsible for it. If it be true that that Settlement deprives Bengal of some revenue, is that any reason why it should be still further fleeced?

What China Does With Her Students

In China, where there is a real crisis if ever there was one in any country, and a grim real fight for freedom is going on, the far-sighted Chinese leaders are using their students in a wise way. This is described by Pearl S. Buck in her article in the May number of *Asia*. She has resided in China and taught Chinese students, and knows the country. Says she:

"What is really happening as a result of the Japanese invasion is that China is moving westward into the interior. Some may call this retreat, but to do so is to miss the importance of the movement. For it is of the utmost significance that the great inner provinces of China—the original China in the first place—hitherto almost untouched by modern times and maintaining their medieval civilization, unknowing of and unknown to the world, are suddenly being repopulated by the modern Chinese."

How is that being done?

"Universities are being taken wholesale into this heart of old China. As much as two years ago Nankai University began putting up buildings in Chungking and Yunnanfu, in preparation for the very thing which has happened. When the Japanese bombed Nankai University they thought they had destroyed it. They were mistaken. Nankai University was already not there. It was safe, thousands of miles inland. Other great universities have followed its example.

And the Ministry of Education itself, in spite of the tremendous military costs to the government for defense, is proceeding steadily with its work. The Central Military Academy is already established in new buildings in Chungking; the provisional schools for students from the war zone, started in Sian, are marching further westward to the country bordering Tibet, carrying on a "moving university" as they go. Thus encouraged, the great movement west has begun and from all of the outer provinces students, men and women, are making their way inward by any means they can, by desultory boats and bomb-threatened trains, by newly-built bus roads, and thousands of them, in great bands, are on foot. It is one of the most astonishing and exciting things that has ever happened in history, this tremendous trek inland of the modern Chinese intellectuals into the ancient heart of their own country, which they have never known before."

Why and how is such a thing happening? Is it accidental? No. Pearl S. Buck writes:

"For the national government of China is pursuing in the midst of its distress an extraordinarily sane and farsighted policy. Unlike the western nations, who hurried their young educated men into war and praised them when they died, the government of China is commanding her students to go on with their education and not waste their lives in foolish warfare.

Let the Japanese bomb and kill the ignorant, if some must die. Let them even seize territory and plunder,

and one can imagine with what enthusiasm he guided those aspirants for knowledge.

Now it is already eighteen years since Turayev departed from this world.

The introduction to his work, *The Classical East*, says :

"On July 23, 1920 death snatched Turayev from the ranks of the living and left to life the memory of this great personality, to science his numerous works and the school created by him. To this school, the ranks of which after the death of B. T. continued to thin out, has been entrusted the responsible task of preserving and introducing into scientific usage the literary bequest of this teacher. His students, both in Petersburg and Moscow, have carefully looked after the works which B. T. left in the press. In Petersburg soon after his death there were withdrawn from publication several studies devoted to the memorials of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, and to the great papyrus of the collection of Prakhov in the Reports of the Russian Academy, of the History of Material Culture."

Then Struve goes on to give the following just statement about Turayev :

"Carrying out his colossal task, B. T. displayed enormous erudition in the almost boundless literature about the ancient East, yet this literature did not dominate his thinking; he decided all problems on the basis of study of the sources themselves. A broad acquaintance with almost all the languages of the cultures studied by him gave B. T. the opportunity of making manifold use of the countless epigraphic memorials presented to science by the inexhaustible soil of the East." In dealing with this material B. T. displayed with identical mastery the deep analysis of the philologist and the broad synthesis of the historian."

"Together with epigraphic material he made use with equal success of material evidence. In his deductions B. T. was always exceedingly cautious, and, drawing out from the sources all they had to give, he never had recourse to artificial and hazardous interpretations for the sake of a larger attainment, he never obtruded upon the source his own cogitation. All these merits of the work of B. T. his remarkable objectivity and many-sidedness, enormous erudition, universal knowledge of all the materials accessible to him, epigraphic as well as objective, and the carefulness of his deductions on the basis of this material, make *The Classical East* the cornerstone of the most remote labours devoted to this period of universal history."

This is a just appraisal to which one would still wish to add something about the most attractive personality of Turayev. It is characteristic to observe the fact that no one was surprised that in him lived both a religiousness of his own and a great respect for the religions which he studied. One would not wish to forget that Turayev, being himself not of strong health, was always remarkably responsive in allotting time to those who came to him.

As with many scholars, Turayev did not live in ease, but these difficulties were swamped in an ocean of scientific enthusiasm. Indeed, the enthusiasm for knowledge kept Turayev

on the unquestionably lofty pathway of the investigator—his path of life, all perplexities remained in him, not disturbing in him the basic meaning of forward movement. He worked unusually assiduously and always progressively. Likewise he did not belong to that order of scholars, who, in order to avoid responsibilities, chose for themselves a completely limited problem, within the limits of which they risk no criticism.

Turayev, on the contrary was not afraid of responsible tasks, summing up his investigations in well-ground deductions. The larger problems fascinated him, as a result of which partial investigations flowed together remarkably harmoniously in his basic structures. Nothing obscured his horizon and at the same time the paths of his research were firmly enclosed. Now-a-days, when there is particularly required a realization of basic synthesis, the memory of such great scholars as Turayev must be preserved as a guiding example for many.

The recently departed Vladimirtsev had the same aspirations. Coeval with them is our great and esteemed Rostovtsev, an outstanding figure among scholars. Vladimirtsev's numerous works (like *The Life of Chingiz-Khan*, *The Social Structure of Mongol Life*, etc.) are new, well-founded and attractive to read. These three circumstances are rarely encountered in combination. It occurs so many times to all readers to regret the fact that very needful treatises are set forth in such clumsy language that their meaning is obscured by artificial accumulations of words. But the books of Vladimirtsev and Rostovtsev are manifested as parts of their enormous knowledge of the Orient. Moreover as true scholars, they identically understand and respond both to the oldest and the newest.

Being deeply acquainted with objective evidence, Rostovtsev is also a just appraiser of contemporary art. Archaeologist, historian, judge of art, he is always renewing his book learning with excavations and with travels. His word sounds clearly, both about the most ancient periods of history and about our own times. He absorbs everything. He is now justly recognized as an authority in America and in all the European countries. His books may be seen in university libraries and in the most unexpected book-collections, and everywhere they show signs of frequent reading. The world has need of such scholars! They are needed by us, by his countrymen, and by the whole world. I rejoice that the works of Rostovtsev are pub-

If Women's power was only organized and mobilised, it would transform the world. And this power, which came to the forefront during the Civil Disobedience movement, had been recognized by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi, "a mere man."—A. P.

The appointment of some women as constables in Cawnpore cannot be called an "encroachment". They were appointed by the U. P. ministry of whom all but one are men. As there have been women warders in jails for a long time, so there ought to be women police to deal with women transgressors of the law, whether technical or real.

In many countries of the world, there have been successful women rulers—for instance, Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria in England. In India, Queen Ahalya Bai is an illustrious example both in saintly character and great administrative ability and the capacity to rule. The Maharani of Travancore has done her work admirably during the minority of her son, the Maharaja of Travancore. So it cannot be said that a woman as governor of a province will be necessarily a failure. But it cannot at all be admitted that disunion, jealousy, greed for power, desire for self-aggrandisement, and communalism are male monopolies.

Higher Education in Soviet Russia

The number of students in the combined universities and high schools of Britain, Germany, Italy, France and Japan is just over 400,000.

The number in the Soviet Union is 550,000.

This remarkable contrast was made by Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, in a speech on the 19th May last at the first "All-Union" conference of teachers and students in universities and high schools.

Molotov made another particularly telling reference. Unemployment among university graduates, research workers, scientists and scholars of all kinds were heavy in capitalist countries, he said, but:

"Try to find an unemployed scientist or specialist in our country. If anyone can find an unemployed scholar in this country we will give him a premium." (Laughter).

There were about 100,000 specialists now graduating every year from Soviet high schools and universities, but still there was a big shortage in many branches of work.

Such a thing as "unemployment among the learned professions," simply sounds absurd," he said.

He said the number of students in the universities and high schools of other countries was:

Britain, 51,000; Germany, 74,000; Italy, 73,000; France, 74,000; Japan, 146,000.

It is very properly pointed out here that the present higher educational system offers an amazing contrast with that of Tsarist Russia. In the old Russia there were 90 higher educational institutions and 125,000 students; today there are 700 institutions and 500,000 students. And the students today are not the children of the rich and middle classes, as in old Russia, but, all children who have the ability and the inclination to profit by higher education.

Away in the remote regions of Kazakhstan,

Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and other areas, where the population under Tsarism was practically 100 per cent illiterate, great schools and universities now flourish.

So this conference has something to talk about.—*Reuter.*

All education in Russia, up to the highest, is paid for out of State funds and benefits the children of the masses who avail themselves of it up to the highest. And the highest education does not cause unemployment in Russia. No high education in any country can cause unemployment if it is in harmony with the economic structure of the society of the country and with the structure of its government.

No Racism and Communalism in China

"Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Confucianism and Judaism live in harmony in China. There is no feeling of bitterness or enmity among the different races or religions," observed Mr. M. I. Shah Kuo-Chen, Director of the Chinese Missions in Al-Azhar University, speaking at the Calcutta University Institute Library Hall on the 17th July last on education and religion in China.

Mr. Shah referred to General Omar Pei-Tsong Shah, a great Chinese Muslim military leader, who was fighting in the battle-fields of China under the command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, and he thought that India could learn the lesson of religious amity from the Chinese.

Referring to education in China, Mr. Shah said, "China has adopted the American system in education. It was not centralised, but provincial. Since the Republican Government had introduced the new system in 1911, the percentage of literacy has reached 25. The system includes primary, secondary and higher education spread over a period of 16 years. China, the speaker continued, could boast of technical and commercial education. There was mass education for adults."

Referring to the Sino-Japanese war, Mr. Shah said that China had never tried to attack any people. China's army defended the people from any aggression. Japan's continental policy was to conquer the whole of Asia.

In Memory of the French Revolution

Subjection is subjection, whether it be to republican France or to imperial Britain. French subjects are not necessarily freer than British subjects.

CHANDERNAGORE, July 15.

To observe the anniversary of the French Revolution, citizens, youths, students and workers of Chandernagore assembled last night in the Library Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Srish Chandra Ghosh. Mr. Kali Ghosh of Chandernagore Socialist Party described the social, economic and political condition of Europe and France about the time of the Revolution, and showed how it destroyed Feudalism and gave rise to modern Capitalism. With the Revolution dawned the day of democracy and the republic, he said, and its advocates taught people that "Man is born free". He deplored that the French Indian

citizens were denied republican rights and privileges; and demanded, on this solemn occasion, such rights and privileges for the French Indian subjects from the French Government.

Mr. Satyendra Nath Ghosh, ex-Mayor of Chander-nagore, said that it was a cruel irony that the French Indian people were commemorating the day of the Revolution for republicanism when they did not enjoy a whit of republican rights and privileges. In course of his speech the ex-Mayor described how the labour movement in Pondicherry was being crushed ruthlessly, and what a panic had been created there, due to which no lawyer dares come forward to defend a labour leader's case. He called upon citizens, youths, students and workers to get united and prepared to face and to struggle against the hard circumstances coming.

Mr. Tinkori Mukherjee of the Socialist Party, in paying homage to the memory of the Day, contrasted the revolutionary French Capitalists of 1789, who took the leadership of the French Revolution, to the inert Indian Capitalists, who are perpetually compromising with the Imperialist exploiters, instead of trying to bring about a thorough change in the social and political condition of India.

The President, in his concluding speech, observed that the meeting was commemorating the Day when the Bastille—the prison for politicals, was bombarded, and when the National Assembly, voicing the will of the people, was recognised by the King and the ruling classes. He paid homage to the memory.

What Is Implied In Making Hindustani India's Lingua Franca

Both those who are in favour of making Hindustani the lingua franca of India and those who are opposed to it should know what is implied in such a step. Some of its implications are mentioned below.

Unless and until a common script is agreed upon and adopted by the advocates of the Nagari script and the advocates of the Arabic or Persian script, it is evident that all who would use Hindustani in the letters, articles, pamphlets, books, etc., written or printed by them must know both the scripts. If any one writes in Nagari to a person who uses and knows only the Arabic script, the latter must go to a person who knows Nagari to get it read. That would be troublesome and cause delay in correspondence. But if both the senders and receivers of written communications know both scripts, exchange of news and views would be easier and quicker. As the adoption of Hindustani as the lingua franca is meant to promote intercourse between all religious communities, provinces and linguistic groups, that object cannot be fully gained unless all Indians (and it is implied that they are all to be literate—at least in Hindustani) know and can use both the scripts.

In the case of printed Hindustani literature of all kinds—newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets

and books—either both scripts must be used in parallel columns or opposite pages to suit the convenience of the knowers and users of either script, or all readers of such literature must know both the scripts, so that they may be able to read and profit by the perusal of what is printed in Nagari as well as of what is printed in Arabic. Otherwise, those who know and use Nagari will get the benefit of only what is printed in Nagari and those who know and use the Persian or Arabic script will get the benefit of only that which is printed in that script.

So it is implied in the adoption of Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) as the lingua franca of India that all over India people must be able to read and write both scripts—unless and until, of course, as said before, a common script is devised and is accepted by all. And in addition they must know the script of their own mother-tongue, if it is different from Nagari and Persian.

As regards the language to be used, in Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking areas the language of ordinary conversation contains both Sanskritic words and words taken from Arabic and Persian. Such words in current use are understood by all—though educated Musalmans and Lalas use a comparatively larger Persian vocabulary and educated Brahmans and other Hindus (except perhaps Lalas) use a comparatively larger Sanskrit vocabulary. So much for the language used in ordinary conversation.

As regards the language used in political discussions and speeches, my experience is (and, of course, I speak not as one who knows much of Hindustani but knows only a little) that I can grasp the substance of discussions and speeches in Hindi but cannot understand what is said in Urdu. I say this with special reference to the language used by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and with reference to the language used by the late Dr. Ansari in his speeches at the last Karachi session of the Congress and by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the course of the Unity Talks at Allahabad some years ago.

So my conclusion is that, except for purposes of ordinary conversation, if one wants to understand and speak both Hindi and Urdu as used in political discussions and speeches, he must master both Sanskritized and Arabicized-Persianized vocabularies to a considerable extent, though the grammatical framework of both the dialects may be the same. There may, of course, come a time when both the dialects may be fused into one language.

We now come to the language of printed literature.

Ordinarily the language used in Urdu text-books for schools is somewhat different in vocabulary from the language used in Hindi text-books for schools. But it is possible to write text-books having the same vocabulary to be printed either in Nagari and Persian script or both. Such text-books have been written.

But when we come to higher text-books for colleges and universities, written in Hindi or Urdu and printed in either script, we find that there is greater divergence. Hindi text-books written for the Benares University or for the Kashi Vidyapith and printed in Nagari characters, will not pass muster in the Osmania University of Hyderabad if printed in Persian characters, nor can the Urdu text-books of the Osmania University be used in the Benares University and the Kashi Vidyapith if printed in Nagari. The reason is, in conveying modern knowledge to Indian adult educated readers in all subjects—philosophy, history, economics, physical sciences, social sciences, archaeology, mathematics, political science, . . . —we have to use many words which are not to be found in any modern Indian language *as used in ordinary conversation or even in ordinary works of fiction*. These have either to be taken or coined from some classical language. Now writers in Hindi naturally prefer to go to Sanskrit for the purpose and writers in Urdu as naturally resort to Arabic and Persian. As Sanskrit is not less rich in words and roots than any other language in the world, as it is an Indian language, and as words taken or coined from it harmonize perfectly not only with northern Indian modern tongues but also with such southern tongues as Tamil, there is no reason why Hindi writers should have recourse to any other language than Sanskrit for new words. And it would not at least be expedient or politic to try to persuade writers of Urdu to go to Sanskrit for new words.

What has been said above with reference to higher educational text-books is true also of all serious literature for adult general readers.

So one who wishes to read higher literature in both Hindi and Urdu—and one must be able to do so if one wishes to have the full advantage of the Hindustani *lingua franca*—must have some amount of knowledge of both Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian vocabularies. If, in addition, he wishes to be the producer of such literature in both Hindi and Urdu, he must have sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic

and Persian to be able to cull and coin words from them for his own use.

Objection to Sanskritized and Persianized Hindustani

In the United Provinces and Bihar persons interested in the progress of Hindustani literature, and elsewhere in India also persons similarly interested sometimes say that Hindustani should not be unnecessarily Sanskritized or Persianized. They are right. But if it be meant that, so far as modern Indian languages are concerned, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic have the same standing as 'source-tongues' to draw from, they are wrong. Sanskrit is an Indian language and is genetically connected with all the main north India and middle India languages, and even south Indian languages like Tamil have a large Sanskritic vocabulary. Therefore, it is far more natural to draw from Sanskrit than from any non-Indian tongue. And, there is an advantage in having recourse to Sanskrit. If any modern Indian language enriches itself thereby, the wealth can be easily shared by other modern Indian tongues. That is one of the reasons why Bengali books have been translated in considerable numbers into other Indian languages—it being comparatively easy to translate from a Sanskritic language. The late Pandit Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, a Maharashtrian Brahman by lineage, whose mother-tongue was Bengali but who mastered Marathi, the mother-tongue of his ancestors, imported into his Bengali writings many Sanskritic words used in Marathi but not in Bengali.

Some Congress Working Committee Resolutions

WARDHAGANJ, July 24.

The Working Committee passed the following resolutions:—

1. The Working Committee congratulates the people of Mansa, Vala, Ramdurg, Jamkhandi and Miraj on the success they have achieved in their brave and non-violent struggle for the vindication of their economic and political rights.

2. The Working Committee express their sympathy for the people of the Nilgiri State in Orissa on the non-violent struggle they have been carrying on against the regulations banning meetings and processions, and the formation of associations within the State.

3. The Working Committee resolves that State Congress Committees do function as heretofore under the jurisdiction of their respective Provincial Congress Committees for the time being.

7. Resolved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be authorised to go into the Bihari-Bengali controversy relating to questions of (1) domicile, (2) public services, (3) education and (4) trade and commerce, and settle it

finally. Pending settlement of this controversy, the Working Committee appeal to all concerned, particularly to the press in Bihar and Bengal, to desist from any further agitation in this behalf, and help in creating a proper atmosphere for just and harmonious solution of the whole problem.

We are entirely against the importation of any abusive language, personalities, insinuations, and provincial and racial or other bitterness into the Bihari-Bengali or any other controversy or agitation. But facts bearing on the controversy should be made known to the public in a sober, truthful and dispassionate manner. It was almost or more than a year ago that Babu Rajendra Prasad was entrusted with the work of going into and settling the Bihari-Bengali controversy. It is much to be regretted that illness has prevented him from taking up that duty as yet. It is to be hoped he will soon recover sufficiently to be able to tackle the problem.

The Working Committee did well to appeal to the press to desist from agitation in this behalf. They would have done better if they had also appealed to the Bihari Ministers and their government and officials to desist from enforcing anti-Bengali discriminatory acts, until Babu Rajendra Prasad published his decision. It would be a bad bargain if Bengalis were to be obliged not to speak and write in self-defence, but Bihari officialdom were to be free to act against the interests of Bengalis.

Separation of Chota Nagpur and Re-constitution of Linguistic Bengal

It is not our intention to discuss here the questions of the separation of Chota Nagpur and of the reconstitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis. We only wish to point out that they are distinct questions. That the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar-Province—whatever they may be—should be given back to Bengal, has been recommended by the All-India Congress Committee. But on the question of the separation of Chota Nagpur, no Congress Committee has yet pronounced any opinion.

India's Medicinal Plants

The *Hindustan Times* of the 29th June last published an editorial article on "Our Medicinal Herbs" which has perhaps received as little attention as our notes on the subject in more than one previous issue received. Our Delhi contemporary wrote :

Orders to reduce the imports of medicinal herbs by 30,000,000 marks (£2,500,000) this year, says Reuter, have been issued by officials of the Four-year Plan in Germany. "Every German citizen must be familiar with the curative

powers given him by the medicinal herbs of the Fatherland," is the slogan invented at a recent meeting of homoeopaths in Beyreuth. School children are to be trained to recognize and gather herbs, and model gardens containing every variety of medicinal herb, will be established in various parts of the Reich."

What will Germany gain by this step?

This new German drive is intended to benefit the country in two ways. At present Germany imports £6,000,000 worth of herbs every year, and the cutting down of this huge import will mean saving so much foreign exchange. What is perhaps of greater importance is the new interest that is being created among the youth in medicinal herbs, which is bound to have substantial effects on the progress of medical research.

India imports from foreign countries large quantities of medicines some of which are prepared from medicinal plants which those countries take from India. These medicines can be manufactured in India and sold here and abroad, to the economic advantage of our country. Substitutes for other foreign medicines prepared abroad from foreign plants and exported to India can be found if all our medicinal plants were subjected to scientific research and manufacture of medicines undertaken on the basis of such research. That would go to create wealth in and for India as well as make for the progress of medical research.

There is a monumental work on Indian Medicinal Plants by Lieutenant-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu, both deceased, which has been revised, enlarged and brought up to date by three specialists, two European and one Indian. This work is eminently fitted to help medical researchers and manufacturers of medicines. But we are afraid even our big pharmaceutical works do not take advantage of it.

There is much talk of state encouragement of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. But we should be agreeably surprised if we received definite information that even the biggest Ayurvedic and Unani colleges had been using the above-mentioned work, or that even Congress ministries and the more progressive Indian States had requested their Education, Industries and Public Health Departments to procure copies of the work.

Mango Graft On Citron Tree

At the recent mango show in Allahabad, held under the auspices of the Fruit-growers' Association, at which more than 90 kinds of mangoes were exhibited, a new kind of fruit was shown. It was the result of a mango graft on a citron tree. It was produced in the Government Garden at Saharanpur, U. P., under the

supervision of the Assistant Director of Agriculture. The fruit looks like a mango, but with a rough and thick rind. The stone within is small. The pulp is sour, tasting and smelling



Fruit of mango graft on citron tree

neither like a mango nor like a citron fruit. If the sourness of the pulp can be improved off, which is not impossible, there will be an additional fruit for frugivorous persons.

Patents for Plants in U. S. A.

In India plant breeding is not much practised, and therefore we do not bear much of new kinds of plants, fruits and flowers. But in America plant breeders produce many varieties of them. So a Plant Patent Act has had to be passed there. The "World in Brief" news service informs us that

In 1930, the U. S. Congress passed an act permitting the granting of plant patents. In 1937, fifty-five plant patents were granted and in the years since the law first went into effect the United States Patent Office has granted 267 patents on new kinds of plants. Fourteen of these went to one man, Mr. Ralph H. McKee of New York City—all of them for new varieties of poplar trees. These new varieties, developed after the growing of over 16,000 seedlings, Mr. McKee claims, grow faster, are more resistant to disease and produce a longer fiber from which stronger paper can be made than from the ordinary poplars.

Up to the time the United States plant patent law was passed, American plant breeders who created new varieties of plants had no way of preventing others from stealing their discoveries. The effect of the plant patent law was to change this, since it permits the inventor or discoverer of a new variety of plant to obtain the same legal protection as the inventor of a new machine. To come under the protection of the patent law the plant must be reproduced asexually; such as by cutting, grafting, cuttings, layerings, division, or some other form of vegetative reproduction other than by seeds. Tuber propagated plants are also excluded from patent applications

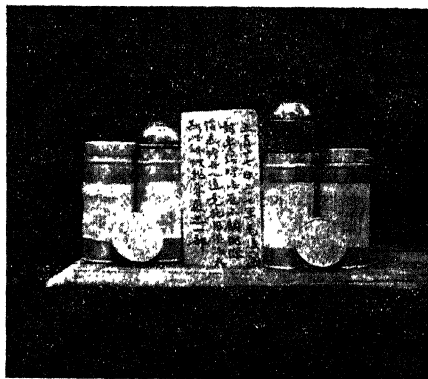
Aluminum-Coated Steel

Manufacturers of high-tensile steel goods will be interested to learn that

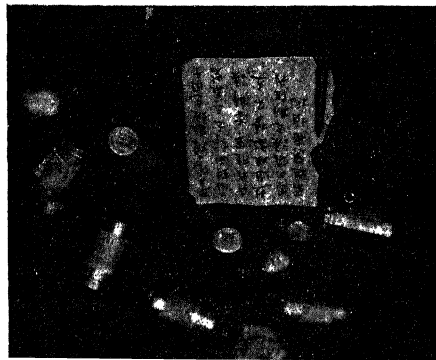
Columbia University (U. S. A.) recently announced the successful commercial application of a process for coating steel with aluminum developed by Professor C. G. Fink, head of Columbia's division of electrochemistry. The new aluminum-coated steel is more resistant to corrosion and acids than either tin plate or galvanized iron and can withstand much higher temperatures. In both sheet and wire form, Dr. Fink found, it can be brought to the white heat of 1,800 degrees Fahrenheit and maintained at that temperature for 1,000 hours. This is impossible with either tin plate or galvanized iron for the melting-point of tin is 450 degrees and that of zinc is 784 degrees Fahrenheit. The new product combines the high corrosive resistance of aluminum with the great tensile strength of steel and offers unlimited possibilities in bridge construction, airplanes, automobiles, buildings, railroads, house furnishings and industrial machinery.—*World in Brief.*

Poison Gas Seized in China

Telegraphic news was received in India some time ago that the Japanese intended to



Receptacles of poison gas seized by the Chinese troops



Receptacles of poison gas seized by the Chinese troops

use poison gas in their warfare in China. Whether they have actually done so as yet is

not known. But that they have brought some quantities of it to China seems to be proved by receptacles of it seized by Chinese troops along the Lunghai railway lines. We print here two of their photographs received from Hankow. Those who know Chinese or Japanese will be able to read what is written on the photographs.

International P. E. N. Congress in India in 1940

We are glad to learn from Srimati Sophia Wadia, founder of the P. E. N. India Centre, that it has been arranged to hold the 1940 session of the International P. E. N. Congress in India.

Just before the P. E. N. International Congress which was held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at the end of June last, Mr. Hermon Ould, the P. E. N. International Secretary, wrote to her by air mail inquiring if the India Centre would like to invite the International Congress to meet in India in 1940. He had to know at once. So, feeling sure that the members of the managing committee would wish to embrace this fine opportunity to promote the cause of world cultural fellowship and universal brotherhood, as well as that of the freedom of literary creation and expression, she cabled the invitation with her characteristic hopefulness and courage. Mr. Ould cabled back accepting the invitation.

The Dewan of Mysore, who showed interest in the work of the P. E. N. India Centre when Srimati Sophia Wadia visited Bangalore last year, has been so kind as to invite the International P. E. N. Congress to hold the 1940 session in Mysore State. The dates have not yet been settled. There is plenty of time to do that and make plans for the success of the sessions in consultation with the Dewan of Mysore and members of the Indian P. E. N. Centre.

International Peace Conference Resolution on Bombing of Open Towns

PARIS, July 24.

The International Peace Conference, attended by delegates from thirty countries, passed a resolution with regard to the bombing of open towns demanding that the supply of anti-aircraft armaments should be unhindered and that financial aid should be given to the countries which are victims of aggression. It also asked that an embargo should be placed on petroleum and metals for the aggressors and that the Spanish and Chinese, threatened by bombing, should be evacuated.

The conference decided to organise petitions against bombing to all countries, and entrusted the bureau of universal peace to organise commissions to visit the bombed cities.

At the Peace Conference Pandit Nehru's speech was frequently interrupted by applause and acclaimed at the end by the delegates standing.

Speaking on the bombing of open towns, Pandit Nehru said that most terrible responsibility rested on those who looked indifferently at such crimes.

"What must we think of Governments who do not know how to resist aggressors and allowed the nationalists to receive all the necessary war material but insisted on the Pyrenean frontier being closed against Republican Spain? Aid for victims of aggression should be organised on a world-wide basis. I appeal to the conference to take concrete action. If peace and democracy perish, we perish too, but if they live on, so shall we."—*Reuter*.

Congress Working Committee on the Development of Industries

At its sitting on the 25th of July last the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the development of industries in the provinces, authorising the Congress President to convene a conference of Ministers of Industry at an early date and call for report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the need and possibilities of new ones as preliminary to the appointment of the Expert Committee to explore possibilities of an All-India industrial plan.

Perhaps the non-Congress Ministers of Industry also will be invited to take part in this conference.

In this connection we invite the attention of the public to the articles on industrial topics in this issue of *The Modern Review* by distinguished scientists and industrialists.

Congress Working Committee on Some New Linguistic Provinces Demanded

At the same sitting of the Congress Working Committee it passed a resolution

assuring the people of Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala that a constitution of separate province on linguistic basis would be undertaken as part of the future scheme of the Government of India as soon as the Congress has power to do so and calling upon them meanwhile to desist from further agitation in this behalf.—(U. P.)

Perhaps this is an abridged version of the resolution actually passed. Its Bengali translation as given in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* says that the Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee has confirmed the resolution in favour of linguistic provinces passed by the Madras Legislature and the resolution in favour of a separate Karnataka province passed by the Bombay Legislature, and that the Working Committee also fully supports these resolutions. There is no mention here of a previous resolution of a Congress Committee in favour of the restora-

tion to Bengal of the Bengali-speaking areas in the province of Bihar.

The aforesaid Bengali translation of the resolution concludes with the following appeal: "In order that the attention of the [Working?] Committee may not be diverted from its main duty [of winning Purna Swaraj?], for that reason the inhabitants of those regions are being appealed to to refrain from any agitation in this connection." (Free re-translation.)

The appeal to cease to agitate has been made, strictly speaking, to the inhabitants of Andhra, Kerala, and Karnataka, who alone sent deputations to Wardha and who have gained their point. Lawyers in the Working Committee will, we hope, excuse the pettifogging interpretation of the appeal that it does not apply to Tamils, Chota-Nagpuris, and Bengalis, who did not send any deputation and have not got any assurance in consequence!

Much can be said in favour of this appeal, if it has been really made.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the teaching of Hindustani in schools as a compulsory subject is not at present necessary to enable the Congress Working Committee to perform its main duty. Moreover, the agitation resulting from the attempt to make the teaching of Hindustani compulsory *has certainly been diverting the attention of the Congress from its main task*. But the attempt goes on.

The resolution does not take any notice of the desire expressed in Tamil land and in Chota-Nagpur for the constitution of those regions into separate provinces. Perhaps their inhabitants have not yet been sufficiently persistent in their demands and sufficiently obstreperous. If babies do not cry, they do not get milk.

As for the re-constitution of Bengal on a linguistic basis, Bengalis have been asking for it ever since Bengal was re-partitioned more than a quarter of a century ago. They have been crying in the wilderness. Including the President the Congress Working Committee has two Bengali members. As far as we are aware, they are not opposed to the re-constitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis. But perhaps because they are Bengalis, feelings of delicacy prevented them from pressing Bengal's case on the attention of the Committee. And perhaps, too, there has been such persistent preaching in Bengal against a "mendicant" policy, that Bengali Congresswalas have ceased to pray to and petition not only the British and Brown Bureaucracy but even the Congress High Command, too! We have read in the papers that deputations went to Wardha from

Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala to place their case before the Congress Working Committee. But we have not read of any Bengal deputation going there. In our opinion Bengalis, like the other provincial and regional citizens concerned, should place their case before the Congress as well as before the British bureaucracy in all possible ways. Some prominent Andhra and Karnataka Congressmen had recently expressed themselves in favour of sending deputations to England. That is an orthodox Congress precedent for others to do likewise.

The Federation Issue

The following *United Press* message appeared in the morning papers of the 25th July last:

"The United Press" is in a position to announce that President Bose had heart-to-heart talks informally last night with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad about the Federation issue, with special reference to the recent press controversy over it. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was also present. It is gathered that these talks served to clear up all misunderstandings which have unfortunately centred round this issue of late.

It is learnt that there is no possibility of the Federation issue being discussed during this session of the Working Committee, as it is felt that nothing has happened since the Haripura session of the Congress to deserve special notice from it now. All suggestions about the slightest weakening of the Congress attitude towards the Federal scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act are discounted as "sheer bunkum" in authoritative Congress circles.

This ought to put a stop to all *open* agitation by any Congresswalas in favour of working the Government scheme of federation after some changes have been made in it. But we are not sure whether all secret manoeuvres in that direction will be given up by all Congresswalas. For we do not have (nor desire to have) any access to either Congress "authoritative" or Congress "unauthoritative" circles. Those who want full freedom and independence for the whole of India should not be thrown off the scent by any clever move on the part of any section of the Congress. By the by, a clear statement on the part of the Congress Working Committee as to whether it approves the resolution passed by the Madras and two other provincial legislatures in favour of working an amended federation scheme, would have been appreciated.

Pace the Congress bosses, it has been held that Mr. Satyamurti's propaganda in England and India in favour of working an amended federation scheme, if not also the impression produced on the minds of Sir Frederick Whyte

and other not undiscerning Englishmen by the public and private talks of some Indian nationalists in England, are happenings since the Haripura Congress which did deserve serious special notice.

With the Congress, we have long humbly believed in the goal of freedom and complete independence. Only, we do not rule out the practicability of reaching it *via* the working of an amended federation scheme. The tactics of De Valera and of the British Dominions' statesmen are not to be despised.

Congress Reply to Muslim League

An *Associated Press* message, dated Wardha the 25th July last, states that it is understood that the Congress Working Committee's reply to Mr. Jinnah categorically answers points raised in the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

With regard to the claims put forward by the Muslim League that the Congress should recognise the All-India Muslim League as the sole and only representative Muslim organization which can speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India, the Working Committee points out that, consistently with its ideals of nationalism, it cannot agree to concede this claim.

Secondly, the Muslim League demanded that in the Committee to be appointed for settling the details of an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League no other Muslim representatives, such as Nationalist Muslims, should be included.

The Working Committee, it is understood, maintains that it cannot agree to this demand, and its hands should be left free to select such representatives of any community as it thinks necessary and proper in any future negotiations.

The Committee, in conclusion, is understood to have expressed the hope that the Muslim League will consider these terms and try to adjust its demands in such a manner as to make it possible for both the parties to continue the useful work which they had started.—(A. P.)

This is a clear indication that the Congress is willing to resume the "unity talks." But what good will it do?

Sympathy with Arabs—And With Jews

Instead of quiet being gradually restored in Palestine, the situation has been worsening. This is greatly to be regretted. Our heart goes out in sympathy to that unhappy country. But we cannot truthfully say that we sympathize with the Arabs alone of that country. We sympathize with the Jews also. Our eminent countryman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when in London, is reported to have expressed sympathy with the Arabs. We hope he express-

ed sympathy with the Jews also. We cannot take sides in a case like this.

It is true no doubt that Britain in pursuance of her imperial policy played false with the Arabs. But that is no reason why we should deny our sympathy, whatever its value, to the Jews. The author of *Twisting the Lion's Tail* writes:

"It is well known that in the Peninsular War, when Wellington wanted the help of a Spanish general, he went down on his knees before him in order to entreat him to give it. When the English wanted Arab help during the Great War, they bought over the Arabs to their side with gold, promising them at the same time that after the War was over they would be given the opportunity to create a great Arab empire in Asia. But a little later, when they wanted Jewish money to prosecute the war, they promised the Jews that they would be allowed to make Palestine their National Home—thus nullifying the promise that they had given to the Arabs."

The same author writes that "the Jews will always remember her (England) as the originator of the romantic Zionist ideal which has brought them so much joy—and so much sorrow!"

Palestine was for centuries the motherland of the Jews. It had ceased to be so for centuries—they had lived scattered all over the world, though a small number of them had always been in their ancestral homeland. Almost everywhere the Jews had been and are a persecuted people (India being an exception). In such circumstances, is it any wonder that they seized England's offer of a National Home to them? Undoubtedly England made the offer to promote her own imperialist policy. But that ought not to deprive the Jews of anybody's sympathy. And whatever land they have occupied in Palestine they have purchased with good money, not forcibly or fraudulently dispossessing the Arabs. Moreover, as Professor Gilbert Murray, the great humanitarian, says in *Liberalism and Civilization*, the Jews' "presence in Palestine has increased their (the Arabs') wages and improved the value of their estates."

The Arabs have got the whole of Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon to dwell in, multiply in and rule. If England had kept her promise to give the Arabs an opportunity "to create a great Arab empire in Asia" perhaps that empire would not have included more countries than these. But supposing that opportunity would have enabled the Arabs to annex some non-Arab country or countries, would that have been just? Could any Indian democrat who hates British imperialism have justified and liked Arab imperialism? Palestine is comparatively a small country and of that the Jews can and

do occupy only a small part. Are they not to have even a portion of a small country to call their home? We should always bear in mind that if Zionism has brought them some joy, it has brought them much more sorrow, too.

So it is not quite clear that on grounds of justice the Arabs alone are entitled to our sympathy.

As generally or very often a nation sympathizes with another nation from self-regarding motives, let us see whether, considerations of justice apart, India can gain more by sympathizing with the Arabs than by sympathizing with the Jews. Neither the Arabs nor the Jews can give any direct help to Indians in their fight for freedom. It would be a delusion to fancy that Pro-Arabianism would incline the Indian Musalmans to join forces with non-Musalmans in India's struggle for liberty. What has the Congress gained by participating in the Khilafatist agitation? Indirectly, the Jews can be more useful allies than the Arabs. The Jews are a progressive people with a modern outlook. There are great scientists and other thought leaders among them. As great financiers and financial magnates they have or control many newspapers and thus can, if they choose, influence public opinion in many countries in favour of India.

It may be that Britain will lord it over Palestine. That is to be unequivocally condemned. But if she does it, she will lord it over both Arabs and Jews, now favouring one community now the other, as she does in India. So both the Arabs and the Jews would come to have a common grievance—as intelligent Hindus and Musalmans have in India.

(The Language of Universities Under Congress Rule)

If in the near or distant future India has Indian rule, it is at least very probable, if not quite certain, that that rule will be Congress rule. And Congress has declared that Hindustani is or will be (it does not matter which) India's lingua franca. That means that it will be India's state language, of which it is necessary to understand the implications.

At present English is the state language of India. In 'British' India in all the officially recognized universities and in the Mysore University, it is the medium of instruction and examination. We are not here discussing the disadvantages of such a foreign medium. We are merely stating the fact. Whatever the disadvantages of a foreign medium, it being the

same in all provinces, men who have received education through it can, if they want to, establish cultural interchange and fellowship among themselves through it.

Under Congress rule, when Hindustani becomes the state language, debates in the Central Legislature will be conducted in Hindustani and in the provincial legislatures in Hindustani or in the provincial mother-tongues. That has been made plain. But what language will take the place of English in the universities and colleges of the different provinces? What will be the cultural medium in these institutions, as English is at present? One answer may be that in every province the principal vernacular or vernaculars will be the cultural medium. But if that be the correct answer, cultural interchange and fellowship among the educated people of the provinces will not be as easy as now. Making Hindustani merely the administrative, legislative and political lingua franca will not lead to sufficient cultural interchange and fellowship among the intellectuals. If Hindustani be made the cultural medium in all universities and colleges as English is at present, assuming that that would be practicable, then cultural interchange and fellowship would be easy.

If Hindustani became not only the legislative, administrative and political lingua franca of India, but the cultural medium also throughout India, then the Hindustani language and literature would receive a double filip. (We do not raise here the question whether there would be two scripts and two forms of the language, which has been discussed in a previous note).

It should be understood here that this raising of the status of Hindustani would be tantamount to lowering the status of the provincial languages and the prospects of their development. No language, no literature, can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture. Therefore, if Hindustani be made the medium of the higher and highest education and culture, votaries of provincial languages and literatures like Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, etc., need not try to further develop them by trying to convey the highest knowledge through them in the form of works of great merit, and all should bend their energies to the improvement and enrichment of Hindustani.

In this note we have tried to state according to our lights what should and would be the logical outcome of the Congress decision about Hindustani.

What is Causing Decreasing Birth-rate?

That Germany and Italy, and Russia, too, have been trying to have more and more babies has been explained by saying that they want more cannon fodder. But that is not the only explanation. Labour is wealth. The larger the number of actual or possible workers in a country the greater can its prosperity be. In India there are economists who are preaching the use of contraceptives as a remedy for poverty. That is an easy nostrum to prescribe. If there be less babies, there would be less mouths to fill, but there would be less actual and possible workers, too. Why cannot these economists concentrate their attention on the economic development of the country so that there may be more work, more actual workers, less unemployment, greater income, and a higher standard of living, with *natural* decrease in the birth-rate in consequence.

The result, to a great extent, of the use of contraceptives may be understood from what has happened and is apprehended to happen in England in future, as stated in *Twisting the Lion's Tail*:

In the 'eighties of the last century the British birth-rate was 34 per 1,000 of the population, but last year it was 14.8, which means that the output of babies has been less than halved in fifty years. Then again, 100 women of the present generation give birth to 75 women for the next. And if this decline continues at its present rate the population of England and Wales will be reduced in six generations to 7,000,000 according to Professor Carl Saunders, and to 5,000,000 according to Dr. Enid Charles.

In a predominantly illiterate and poverty-stricken country like India, the cult of contraception, if followed, can be followed only by the educated and intellectual classes. That would result in the comparative decrease of these classes and the comparative increase of the lower orders of the people. That would not be good for the country.

Sir Akbar Hydari's Speech at Dacca Convocation

Sir Akbar Hydari delivered a very able and statesmanlike speech at the Convocation of the Dacca University. He paid a handsome compliment to Dacca, past and present, and to Dacca University, mentioning its unitary and residential character and laying stress on its being a teaching institution, where research also is carried on. He emphasized the need for a solution of the communal problem, and said:

There is one problem which alike in its gravity and in its importance claims our primary attention, I mean the problem of the differences that appear to exist

between the two principal communities of India. I for one refuse to believe that those differences are not capable of a lasting solution such as would, on the basis of a common nationalism and of national endeavour in the service of a common patrimony, lead to mutual respect and understanding.... Religion enters every detail of our daily life, nor does it follow necessarily that in so entering it should serve to take away from us the qualities of sympathy and toleration which the teachings of every religion inculcate...the strongest of our collective passions are group hatred and group rivalry, and whatever the cause or causes which lead to such hatred and rivalry between the two Indian communities—whether political, economic or cultural—the fact that such hatred and rivalry are based upon religion makes them the least appreciable and perhaps the most tragic of all. Yet here in this University and in Universities like it which have all the blessings of the atmosphere which surrounds a house of learning, we can learn and show to ourselves and to others the value and the inherent virtues of toleration and sympathy, and the baneful effects and the vice of hatred and jealousy. I know that you in Dacca have done much to learn these lessons and to exemplify them...a spirit such as yours is widely needed if we are to be true to our motherland and to ourselves.

He also dwelt on the importance of what he called the "decommunalizing" our histories. This is a subject on which Professor Bhuvan Mohan Sen of Gauhati sent us an article some months ago, which is printed elsewhere in this issue.

After describing the kind of reconstruction of education, with a vocational bias, which he considered necessary, and on the desirability of an Indian Encyclopædia, he concluded his address by drawing attention to the prayer and ideal contained in that beautiful and inspiring poem of Rabindranath Tagore which begins,

"Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high."

Dacca Vice-Chancellor's Speech

On the occasion of the Convocation of the Dacca University, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, its Vice-Chancellor, delivered an important address. A considerable portion of it was devoted to a description of two big schemes of expansion contemplated by the University, *viz.*, the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture and of a Faculty of Medicine.

He entered a firm protest against much of the hostile criticism to which universities in India are subjected. Said he:

"Severe criticism mostly hostile, and various speculation about its radical reform fill the air. Indeed, it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that Indian Universities have fallen on evil days and evil tongues. Every evil from which the country is suffering is laid at the door of the University, the unemployment problem, the acute economic distress, the physical weakness of

boys and girls, backwardness in trade and industry, absence of a proper national spirit, lack of reverence for one's own society and country, the wayward conduct of youth and the irreligious outlook of the present generation, are all supposed to be due to the defective system of University education, while Government ascribe to the same cause the growth of anarchical crimes and revolutionary movements in the country."

By way of comment on such criticism the learned Vice-Chancellor observed with truth :

"What is needed today in India, above everything else, is a band of men with the most disciplined intellect and character, and equipped with the basic knowledge in sciences and humanities, on which all real progress will necessarily depend. We need today leaders of thought and action as much as or even perhaps more than we do mere engineers, mechanics, industrial magnates and technicians of all descriptions. And whence can we reasonably expect these leaders to come from except from the universities? The problems that surround us today are grave and menacing, but they have to be solved if this country has to be saved. The new products of the University ought to be fully equipped for the task if they have imbibed the true ideals of University education and utilised their time and opportunities during their residence in the University. Indeed with the highest ideals of humanity and backed by a strength of will, and grim resolve, they can hope to achieve success where others have failed."

Sir Akbar Hydari Subjected to Criticism

After what Sir Akbar Hydari had said against communalism, declaring among other things, "let us undertake, for example, never to belong to any institution that represents such purely sectional or communal endeavour," it was inevitable that his words will be contrasted with what treatment is meted out to Hindus in the Hyderabad State of which he is the President of the Executive Council. A specimen of such criticism of Sir Akbar is extracted below from *The Subodh Patrika* of Bombay, organ of the non-communal Prarthana Samaj :

Sir Akbar Hydari in his convocation address to the graduates of the Dacca University showed his deep concern for what one witnesses all around today. And that was communalism, and be deeply regretted on the same. He stressed the fact that India was the land where the Mahommedans and the Hindus had lived as brothers for generations together and their cultures had commingled as their monuments studded all over the country went to show. His earnest hope that this spirit should disappear from the land we highly commend. But may we be permitted to ask, and will he tell us why and how what was only confined so long to British India is now rearing its head in a State in which he holds such a high position today? A former Nizam, let us remind him, had told Lord Minto when the latter consulted him about communal representation and the communal question, that there was no such thing in Hyderabad and it was no good to drive in a wedge between the two communities by resort to communal representation.

Taking a leaf out of that book, will Sir Akbar Hydari impress upon his master to follow the advice of his father in his dealings with the Hindu subjects of the State? Will Sir Akbar ask the Muslim League of India to foreswear communal representation? Or does he think it enough to mourn over the lot in an address here and an address there, and for the rest to continue as before?

President Savarkar on Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill

Mr. Vinayak Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has issued a statement on the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill which has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly. The statement begins :

I feel it my duty to voice forth the opinion of the Hindu public in general as evinced in a number of resolutions passed at their meetings and institutions throughout the country and enter a strong protest against the bill titled 'Moslem Dissolution of Marriage Bill' and introduced in the Central Legislature by Mr. Kazimi. The bill is detrimental to the interests of the nation in general and Hindu Society in particular.

He proceeds to show in how many ways it is detrimental to Hindu society :

Firstly, it is an unwarranted encroachment by a non-Hindu member on the personal law of the Hindus. Secondly, although the bill professes to enable Moslem women to secure a divorce and thus liberate them from the shackles which hold them bound to a nuptial tie against their free will according to the present Mahommedan Law and practice, still, inconsistently enough, it seeks to chain them down to share the bed and board of a Moslem husband whom they may hate and wish to divorce by imposing on them new fetters under Clause 5 despite the Mahommedan religious and legal injunctions to the contrary.

The clause lays down that "the conversion of the married Moslem woman to a faith other than Islam shall not by itself operate to dissolve her marriage." But according to the Mahommedan Law and Shariyat in force till now, the conversion of a Moslem woman to any other religion secured for her an automatic dissolution of marriage with her Moslem husband.

He next explains how the Bill affects kidnapped Hindu women.

Now, it is a matter of common knowledge which has been substantiated in hundreds of cases in courts of justice that organised and stray attempts on the part of the Moslem fanatics have been continuously going on to kidnap, capture or abduct unguarded Hindu women, to make them embrace Islam per force and hustle them through a sort of marriage with Moslems, the records of which could easily be fabricated in a fanatical Kazis register. Whenever some of these women were either rescued or escaped and were reconverted to Hinduism they were up to this time automatically free from the enforced Moslem marriage as according to the Moslem Law a woman's conversion to any non-Moslem religion amounted by itself to a dissolution of her marriage with her former Moslem husband. But if under this bill the Hindus are made to lose this valuable right which they have secured through court decisions these unfortunate Hindu women who fall victims to Mahommedan fanaticism

cannot be freed from the clutches of even such forced marriage with Moslems even though they are rescued or escaped and got reconverted to Hinduism of their own free will. That will clearly show that this bill is not so much a genuine attempt to liberate Moslem women from the tie of marriage with Moslem husbands they hate as it is a deliberate attack against the rescue work of the Hindu Sanatanist and the Suddhi Movement.

The Bill affects the interests of the Indian Christian and other non-Muslim communities also.

For the same reasons Christians and other non-Moslem communities other than Hindu will also suffer as Moslem women embracing any such non-Moslem faith of free will, will be unable to shake off their chains of a former Moslem wedlock under this new bill.

In conclusion the anti-national character of the Bill is exposed.

The bill is also anti-national, for clause 6 runs as follows:—

"Subject to the provisions etc., a suit for the dissolution of the marriage by a married Moslem woman shall be filed in the proper court provided that the presiding officer of that court is a Moslem". And again "appeals from the decision of the trying courts shall lie to the High Court and shall be heard and decided by a Moslem judge of that court".

Now this innovation is bound to be detrimental to the unity and cohesion of the national State, as the attempt amounts to nothing short of introducing the communal virus even in the judicial administration of the State. Are we to have as many courts as there are creeds and religions in the land?—each competent only to try the cases of those to whose creed or religion the trying judge belongs? The distrust that the bill shows towards non-Moslem judges amounts to a covert condemnation against that class who have ever been known to deal evenhanded justice without any distinction of creed or religion.

For these and other objections against this bill it is the duty of every nationalist member in general and Hindus and Christians in particular to oppose it as it stands. Even in the interest of civil liberty alone the bill ought also to be condemned by every member who is a free-thinker and follows no religious persuasions.

"Round Table Conference" In India on Federation?

The *Hindusthan Standard* has published the following message from its Poona correspondent:

POONA, July 26.

One more Round Table Conference (and this time in India) seems to be the outcome, according to the London correspondent of "Kesaree", of recent political discussions in London on the Federation issue.

Writes the "Kesaree" correspondent: "I am in a position to reveal exclusively that the Government of India will call a Round Table Conference in India. This time it will be predominated by Congress delegation."

The correspondent further understands that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's recent London visit was undertaken on an invitation of a British peer interested in Indian politics.

Afghanistan Dry Fruits Trade

The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution at Wardha on the Afghanistan dry fruits trade:

"The Working Committee appreciate the action of the Afghan Government in abolishing the monopolistic arrangements made by them for controlling export trade in dry fruit, which is detrimental to the interests of Indian merchants in Afghanistan and India. The Committee welcome the restoration of status quo in this behalf, which will help to improve the friendly feelings between the people of India and Afghanistan."

"Prescripts for Ailing Democracy"

Under this caption *The Living Age* for July, 1938, publishes three articles from three British newspapers. They are in effect answers to the question, Does Britain need a dictator?

Mr. A. J. Cronin writes in the *Sunday Chronicle*:

I am convinced that Roosevelt will fail completely because he listens to everybody, just as I am assured that Hitler succeeded because he listened to no one. Nevertheless, the fact remains that America has been prepared to submit to a man who has been called the 'awful demagogue.'

I am no war monger. Two years ago I was as much a pacifist as the rest, but I came to realize that it was no use lying down like a lamb when the European sheep fold was full of wolves. Thanks to the appalling fiasco of our late foreign policy I am now firmly convinced that our only hope of a European peace is a Britain both strong and prepared.

Equally, I still believe in the principles of democracy, but I am positive that the time has come when such democratic principles should be mobilized and enforced by a more active and powerful unit than our parliamentary system.

I am not crying for a pocket Caesar. I am merely enumerating the benefits to be achieved through unimpaired, rapid and direct action by a man of age, experience, integrity and good-will. Have we such a man? That is a question which the future will decide.

That is practically a vote for dictatorship. The Right Honorable L. S. Amery, M.P., writes in the *Sunday Times*:

It is a commonplace of scientific organization, long since recognized in all the fighting services, that the planning of policy for the future can only be effectively carried out if those responsible for it are free from the day-by-day tasks of administration. The failure to recognize this principle—the general staff principle—is the real weakness of our present Cabinet system, and makes it incapable of dealing effectively with any serious situation where clear thinking on difficult and complex issues, definite decisions (not formulae of agreement), and swift, resolute and consistent action are required.

It was Mr. Lloyd George's great achievement in the War that he faced this inherent weakness of the departmental Cabinet system, and boldly set up a War Cabinet of half a dozen Ministers without departments, leaving the departmental Ministers outside the Cabinet as such, and only called in when their own particular subjects were under discussion.

I believe there is no measure that Mr. Chamberlain, with his courage and power of decision, could undertake that would more facilitate his own almost superhuman task, and make the nation feel that its problems were being faced in a really bold and big spirit, than the application, in some form or other, of that principle of Cabinet reform which Mr. Lloyd George introduced with such marked success in the War.

This is practically asking for a small oligarchy.

Sir Norman Angell writes in *Reynolds News*, desiring a "will to co-operate" among the "democratic" powers against the Fascist powers. Says he :

Imagine that you had a United States composed of Russia, China, France, the British Empire, their armies, navies, air forces, industrial and agricultural resources making a unit. Compared with the material and human resources of such a Power, how would the Fascist combination appear when we recall that it would be composed of a Japan already feeling the pinch of exhaustion in its Chinese entanglement, of an Italy already in economic straits and feeling the pinch of a still unconquered Ethiopia and an extremely unpopular Spanish war; and a Germany already short even of elementary foodstuffs?

If Russia is in a position to concentrate her whole power upon Germany—is freed, that is, of serious danger from Japan—then, for the reasons indicated, Germany is placed in a militarily hazardous situation, which she will not lightly provoke.

The way, therefore, to offset the power of Germany for aggression is to aid China in her resistance to Japan (a resistance which, despite setbacks, seems certain in the long run now to be successful), which could be done by the extension of credit to China for the purchase of motor trucks, tractors, machinery, cement—an operation incidentally relieving unemployment at home.

The way to defend Czechoslovakia is to see that the Spanish Government gets the materials for its defense, so that the strategic position of France is not worsened and that of the totalitarian States not improved.

The security, not alone of peace, but of democracy, is indivisible. To defend it in China, or in Spain, or in France, is to defend it here. To be indifferent to its fate there is, in the end, to betray it here.

Protest Against Proposed Co-operative Legislation in Bengal

A closely-reasoned and weighty manifesto signed by a number of public men, legislators and co-operative workers, has been issued as a protest against the way in which the new Co-operative Bill, which was published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, early in July, 1938, is attempted to be rushed through the present session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The manifesto runs thus :

1. During the last two years and more the general public had off and on been informed that it was proposed to amend the laws relating to co-operative societies in Bengal. The forecasts of changes that had from time to time been announced by responsible authorities in the Province produced in the public mind a vague

impression that what was really aimed at was the concentration of more and more power in the hands of the Registrar and the department. The new bill which has been published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th July 1938 fully confirms this apprehension.

2. Co-operative Societies in Bengal are now governed by the Indian Co-operative Societies Act, 1912. Taking advantage of the fact that under the Montagu Reforms Co-operation became a Transferred Subject, some of the provinces such as Bombay, Madras, Bihar, etc., enacted Provincial Co-operative Acts. It is now the turn of Bengal to have a Provincial Co-operative Act of its own.

3. When co-operative legislation was introduced in India, Government declared that it was their intention that co-operative organisation should, in its essence, be a popular movement; that no efforts be spared to strengthen among the general public the feeling that it was to be based upon self-reliance and freedom from outside control and dictation; and that Government should not allow co-operation in the country to develop into an official concern managed by the State. It is extremely unfortunate that provincial authorities have completely departed from the principle that the Government of India laid down at the outset for guidance. The trend of provincial co-operative legislation has been more and more to officialise all co-operative organisation. This has, of course, evoked protests both from independent co-operative workers and the general public but instead of any check to this most unsalutary tendency, co-operative societies are being subjected more and more to comprehensive and minute administrative control, involving interference in the details of internal administration and the day-to-day work of the societies, in contravention of the fundamental principles of co-operation.

4. The Statement of Objects and Reasons and the Notes on some of the more important among its clauses, appended to the Bill, make an elaborate attempt to justify the new provisions. These contain a scathing condemnation of non-official workers of co-operative societies in Bengal and it is suggested that as the powers that the present Act gives to the Registrar and his officers are very inadequate, more extensive powers of control and intervention are needed to check the present abuses.

5. The position is rather the other way. For an examination of the provisions of the existing Act shows that the Act, in fact, invests the Registrar and his officers with sufficient power to control and check the abuses that have gradually developed round co-operative societies. The Registrar, in accordance with the terms of the Act, is constituted the very foundation of the movement. "It is left entirely to his discretion to register or to refuse to register a society (cf. section 9), and the by-laws and every amendment of them require his approval (cf. sections 9 and 11). Thus on him rests the responsibility of seeing that a society starts under conditions as favourable as he can make them. In order to ensure that wise rules are carefully observed he is given unlimited power of inspection and audit (cf. sections 17 and 35). He controls the power of a society to make loans to, and receive deposits from a non-member (cf. sections 29 and 30) and has a voice in the investment and disposal of its funds (vide section 32(1) d and 34). Finally, he has full discretion, subject to the right of appeal to the Local Government or such Revenue Authority as it may nominate, to order the dissolution of a society (cf. section 39) and to appoint a liquidator to wind it up." (*Vide Calver's Law and Principles of Co-operation*). All this shows how extensive are the

powers with which the Registrar and his staff have been invested which make the Registrar an unmitigated autocrat.

6. As a result of the experience gained in the working of co-operative societies for now over thirty years, there should be on the one hand, a gradual relaxation of the unrestricted and dictatorial powers that the Registrar and his staff exercise over co-operative societies. On the other, steps should be taken for imparting proper co-operative education and training for introducing a sound and efficient system of audit, independent of the control of the Registrar and his department, along with a proper system of appointment of officers and staff of the department and co-operative societies and the abandonment of the use of co-operative officers for political objects and purposes of election—that is, for purposes and objects other than those for which they are employed and paid from public funds, etc. etc. Such a course can alone engender a sense of real responsibility in bodies intended to be autonomous and self-reliant. For those societies which still fail to discharge their responsibilities in a proper manner the provisions of the present Act, together with such help that the law courts provide, give sufficient power to bring any offender to book.

7. The framers of the Bill seem to imagine that they will succeed in reforming the co-operative societies and their members and officers, paid and honorary, by the use of the penal sections of the Bill, by instilling into their minds fear of fine and other methods of punishment proposed to be inflicted for their failure to carry out the provisions of the Act and of even the rules thereunder; by endowing the Registrar and his staff with more extensive summary powers than they are entitled to exercise at present and by excluding in many co-operative matters the jurisdiction of the courts. Efforts in such directions elsewhere have in the past invariably failed and people even with a modicum of commonsense and of knowledge of history will safely predict that any scheme of reform of co-operative societies by methods of regimentation and dictation is foredoomed to failure.

8. We desire to point out that the policy and administration of the Co-operative Department have thrice during the last three years been subjected to very severe criticism in the Legislature. The Chief Minister gave practically an assurance of a proper enquiry, but we do not know that anything has so far been done in fulfilment of the Chief Minister's assurance. Not only this, some of the officers against whom allegations of a grave nature were made have either been promoted or steps have been taken to follow a policy of whitewash, drift and suppression. Further, no steps have so far been taken to give effect to some of the insistent demands for reform, such as the introduction of an independent and sound system of audit, etc., already referred to above.

9. The fact that notwithstanding the extensive powers that the Registrar already possesses, the Co-operative Department has allowed the societies to deteriorate unmistakably shows that the fault lies more with the former than with the societies. Even a superficial analysis of the causes of determination will show that in every important matter the Registrar and his department had adequate power to deal fully with the situation. Not only have essential remedies suggested from the time of the Maglagaan Committee, by various Commissions, Committees, and Conferences been ignored, but they have failed to take timely action in regard to the abuses that have developed even after certain instances have been brought to the notice of the Department and of responsible authorities.

10. That the situation has become very onerous

is made clear by the important speech that the Hon. Finance Minister delivered at Jamalpur a few days ago. This was the first time when a responsible authority of the position of the Finance Minister considered it his duty to take the public into his confidence in the matter. No less serious is the fact, as we have already pointed out, that in matters of fundamental principle, the present Ministry in Bengal proposes to depart from the accepted standpoint of the co-operative movement, in complete contravention of the policy laid down by the original promoters of the co-operative movement in India. We consider it our duty to urge, in this circumstance, that no steps should be spared by the public to oppose by all constitutional means the Bill by the help of which the Ministry of Co-operation in Bengal proposes to carry out its reactionary policy.

11. We would like to emphasise that any amateurish treatment of a matter like the co-operative movement might have serious consequences. It is essential, particularly, in view of the grave allegations that have been made with reference to the administration of co-operative societies to have a thorough and sifting enquiry, as has been the case in some of the other provinces, before the handy short-cut method of legislation is resorted to. There can be no justification for the drastic, anti-co-operative and reactionary legislation as contemplated in the Bill, and we regret that as in the case of the recent educational projects and excursions of the Ministry, here also a measure which the previous Ministry had in its files but was unable to place on the statute book has been ransacked as a panacea for evils, the roots of which lie deeper than is attempted to be shown. We would conclude with a fervent appeal to people interested in the co-operative movement to study and expose the serious blemishes of the Bill and make their views known to representatives on the legislature, in clear and distinct terms. Our legislators will also, we hope, insist on a critical and detailed examination of the implications of the measure, before entertaining the interested propaganda that is being conducted for some time past in behalf of the proposed legislation.

We are in complete accord with the views set forth in the manifesto quoted above. The new Bill sets entirely at naught the fundamental principles underlying co-operative organization by placing it entirely under official surveillance and the dictatorial control of the Registrar and his staff and attempts to exclude the jurisdiction of the courts in many vital matters. The authorities have not only ignored the very serious allegations that have repeatedly been made in the Legislature and the press against the way co-operative societies are being worked by the Co-operative Department but no proper and systematic effort appears so far to have been made to introduce the essential reforms needed for the rehabilitation of the movement. We are firmly of opinion in this circumstance that before such a reactionary measure is placed before the Legislature, it should be thoroughly recast and brought in line with the accepted co-operative principles. It should also be duly circulated for eliciting opinion thereon. Besides a proper enquiry should also

be made into the working of the movement by independent and impartial public men acquainted with the principles and working of the co-operative movement.

A Gwalior Army Chief on the Defence Problem

Col. S. R. Bhosle, O.B.E., A.D.C., Inspector-General, Gwalior Army and Officiating Army Minister, in a message to the Cadets of the Bhonsla Military School observes:

'The problem of national defence is not a simple one; it is already extremely intricate, and its solution tends to become more and more difficult as new weapons of destruction continue to come into play. Tremendous mechanisation of land forces now going on all round us and the ruthless necessity of being fully equipped in all branches and above all, on a size adequate for every possible contingency, cannot be created in a short time. It requires the persistent application over a long period of time, of stupendous amount of energy, brain and money, while for the present, we have not even the mental background necessary for this titanic effort. It is a great pity indeed; but it would be national suicide if we gave ourselves up to despair and did nothing.

'Modern warfare is not a series of heroic duels in which muscle, more than mind, appears to constitute the best argument. It is out and out a struggle of brain backed up on both sides by most diabolical inventions of modern science. You have to remember this, and to equip yourselves accordingly. As a supplement to your vocational training, you should interest yourselves in such studies as military geography and great military campaigns of history. Talking of political developments, I think, I must sound a note of warning, namely, that the army should keep aloof from active politics. That is not its line, and it is definitely not in the interest of the country it intends to serve, that the army should at any time be divided into different contending political groups. This does not rule out patriotism. What is actually necessary is the sense to distinguish between patriotism and political controversy. The mettle of patriotic fever is to be tested against an aggressor and not in political party squabbles.'

—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's Programme in Europe

PARIS, July 18.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Khaira Professor in the University of Calcutta, passed through Paris on his way to Ghent to attend the International Phonetics Conference taking place this week.

Suniti Babu has a crowded programme. Besides reading his paper at the Ghent Conference, he is expected to speak at a series of Conferences in Denmark and the Scandinavian countries on anthropology, Phonetics and Orientalism. He may also lecture on the Creole languages, which, as he explained, are nothing else but white men's languages in the mouth of coloured men.

Suniti Babu is also visiting Soviet Russia in the middle of August. Asked whether his purpose in visiting Russia was merely touristic, Suniti Babu said he was in contact with several Russian professors and it was

possible that he would give lectures there also.

Suniti Babu said that he was carrying with him nearly 200 slides depicting Indian paintings and sculptures as well as Negro art.

Asked whether he intended to study, while in the U. S. S. R., the problem of its languages and specially, in view of the fact that the question has a bearing on the language problem in India, how the problem is being handled in the more backward republics in Central Asia, etc., the language and culture of whose native populations were completely crushed by the Russia of the Czars, Suniti Babu said he was very much interested in the problem. The process of Russification of the conquered people was an integral part of Czarist policy, and it was his intention to find out for himself how far and in what way that policy had been reversed by the Soviet regime. There was always, summed up Suniti Babu, a chance of linguistic imperialism in cases where there emerged in multi-language states a supreme national or state language.

—*The Hindustan Standard*.

As Dr. Chatterji is a savant and a teacher, his countrymen may expect him to tell them on his return, to what extent in the disturbed state of Europe teachers and students have given themselves up to flag-waving and shouting of slogans.

Reaction Against Stalin's New Policy

Recent declarations made by Stalin in connexion with his new policy have not gone without giving rise to some reaction against it. The *Evening Post* of America, quoting from one of such declarations, opines that

"four years of bunk have been wiped away. Stalin reveals that the Communists have been sharpening the knife against our system . . . To talk of a united front for democracy with men plotting a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat is to talk nonsense. There can be no united front for democracy with enemies of democracy."

Referring to Stalin's "International Proletariat", the paper remarks that

"there can be but one interpretation. American workers must, according to Stalin, be prepared to fight for Soviet Russia when he wants them. Their loyalty must be to 'the world proletariat' and to Russia, not to their own country."

The paper welcomes this declaration for the reason that it would clear the air completely. Those who have so long approved communist activities in the United States and have felt that Soviet Russia was, after all, friendly to democracy, would now be disillusioned.

X.

Communism in Disfavour

Communism in American labour movements has of late been hardly hit. The progress of American Unionism or Trade Unionism has given a hard blow to communism. Different

American labour unions have of late challenged communism and is trying to get rid of its influence. At a recent convention the Union of Mine Workers of America re-affirmed its original resolution of excluding from its fold those who were members of the communist party. The trade union movement in America has been forced to face the question of what is to be done with the communists in its rank. The communists are now facing opposition not only from without, but also from within, i.e., both from the rank and file, as well as leaders.

Another instance of communism being in disfavour is found in a recent decree passed by the Swiss canton of Vaud outlawing communism and prohibiting associations and organisations being affiliated directly or indirectly with the Communist International, whose activity is contrary to public order. The above decree on being put to vote received a large majority.

X.

Bengal Finance Minister on the Co-operative Movement in Bengal

In the course of his presidential address at the Dacca Division Co-operative Conference, held at Jamalpur on the 2nd July last, Mr. N. R. Sarker, the Bengal Finance Minister, is reported to have made some very important observations. We make the following excerpts from the report of his speech, of which a copy has been supplied to us :

"The co-operative movement in our country left much to be desired and the chief reason was that the movement had come to be regarded by the public as part of a Government machinery and wanting in any living touch, with the result that while members of the societies had readily availed themselves of the facilities of credit afforded by societies, they had not evinced the same eagerness to fulfil the obligations that a loan involved."

"People of this country had never taken kindly to the co-operative movement and those in charge of it had failed to take note of the fact that the co-operative movement was not like a pill that could be thrust down the throat of a patient. It was on the contrary a refreshing draught that should be willingly and voluntarily taken, and that was how it could succeed."

"There were two aspects of the problem to be considered. Firstly, the co-operative societies were burdened with heavy, unrealised and unrealisable overdues which, owing to drop in prices of agricultural produce and other reasons, the agriculturists were not able to meet; secondly, inability of the societies for the last few years owing to this accumulation of overdues to advance money to the cultivators for their short-term requirements."

"To resuscitate these societies it was necessary to carefully analyse the financial position of the members. Fortunately this task has been done in the case of all primary societies involving the 4½ lakh members. This information would furnish the figure which was likely to be recovered by the societies and the central banks would

have to that extent to write off their dues from the societies. It might be necessary to arrange in certain cases payment by instalments. If however, in spite of these returns and in spite of the reserve fund the central banks were unable to repay fully the depositors, Mr. Sarker did not see what other course there could be for the depositors except to forgo a portion of their deposits. It was no doubt a pity, particularly because the deposits represented the hard-earned money of the middle classes, of helpless widows and of small institutions. It pained him when he thought of the incidence of this loss."

"The central banks also would do better to show in their balance sheets the actual assets in the shape of what they were likely to recover from the societies rather than to show a fictitious amount representing their accumulated debts. Such a course, he thought, was likely to reassure the public."

"The idea had gained currency that if only arrangements could be made for composing the debts of the agriculturist and for provision of cheap loans in future, all his problems would be solved. This was, however, an entirely erroneous impression, and Mr. Sarker emphasised that it was absolutely essential that debtors should be educated not to extravagantly spend money obtained from the societies. They would have to be taught to make the fullest productive use of such credit facilities as might be made available. In fact, the success of the co-operative movement would in the main depend on the ability and willingness of the agriculturists to make a productive and intelligent use of credit and not merely on the extent and amount of credit that might be provided for."

The Finance Minister is to be congratulated on the frankness with which he gave expression to some of the oft-repeated criticisms against the way the co-operative movement is being run in this province. Possibly owing to the handicap of his official position, he refrained from discussing the louder complaints that have repeatedly been made with reference to the department—the defalcations, the communal bias in administration, the defective system of audit, etc., etc. During his last Budget speech Mr. Sarker had spoken of the intended reorganization of the Department and of the movement. The public has had a foretaste of it in the clumsy and unabashed manner in which certain appointments and promotions have been recently made, and also in the *communiqué* white-washing the officials specially mentioned in the Edgley Tribunal's report. Mr. Sarker must have known by now that the *malaise* from which the movement suffers requires a thorough, independent and expert investigation. We made the suggestion long ago and make it again.

Congress Working Committee's Resolution on C. P. Ministerial Crisis

The Working Committee passed the following resolution on the C. P. ministerial crisis:

Wardha, July 26.

"After having heard the Parliamentary Subcommittee and given anxious consideration to the circumstances that have happened since the agreement

arrived at Pachmarhi between the Ministers in the presence of the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees concerned, and after having had several interviews with Dr. Khare, the Working Committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion that by a series of acts committed by Dr. Khare culminating in his resignation of his charge and demanding the resignation of his colleagues of their charge, Dr. Khare was guilty of grave errors of judgment, which have exposed the Congress in the C. P. to ridicule and brought down its prestige. He was also guilty of gross indiscipline in that he acted in spite of the warnings against any precipitate action. His resignation was the direct cause for the exercise, for the first time, since office acceptance by the Congress, by a Governor of his special powers, whereby Dr. Khare's three colleagues were dismissed.

"The Working Committee note with satisfaction that these three Congress Ministers showed their loyalty to the Congress by declining without instructions from the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to tender their resignations, which was demanded by the Governor. Dr. Khare is further guilty of indiscipline in accepting the invitation of the Governor to form a new Ministry and contrary to practice, which he was aware in actually forming new Ministry and taking the oath of allegiance without reference to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee, specially when he knew that the meetings of these bodies were imminent. By all these acts of his, Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organization. He should be so considered till by his services, as a Congressman, he has shown himself well-balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging the duties that may be undertaken by him.

"The Working Committee have also come to the reluctant conclusion that the Governor of the C. P. has shown by the ugly haste, with which he has turned night into day and forced the crisis, that has overtaken the province that he was eager to weaken and discredit the Congress in so far as it lay in him to do so. The Working Committee hold that knowing as he must have what was going on among the members of the Cabinet and the instructions of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, he ought not to have with unseemly haste accepted the resignation of the three Ministers and demanded the resignation of the other three, dismissed them on their refusal to resign and immediately called upon Dr. Khare to form a new Ministry and swore in available members of the new Ministry without waiting for the meeting of the Working Committee, which was imminent."—A. P.

This resolution of the Congress Working Committee practically prevented Dr. Khare from ascertaining and letting the public know whether he still enjoyed the confidence of the majority of the Congress group of the members of the C. P. and Berar Assembly. No wonder, therefore, that he protested against the Working Committee's resolution and issued a statement defending what he had done. Mr. M. S. Aney, the Berar nationalist leader also expressed the opinion that Dr. Khare ought not to have been practically prevented from standing for the ministry again.

As subsequent public meetings have shown, Dr. Khare has a considerable number of supporters among Congressmen and other politically-

minded persons in Nagpur and elsewhere in the province.

This is a very brief statement of facts. As regards Dr. Khare's fitness to hold the office of premier of his province, our view is that either on account of his own lack of ability or owing to his colleagues in his cabinet not co-operating with him, it is perhaps for the best that he has "gone out of the picture"—temporarily, we hope.

That Dr. Khare had admitted his error of judgment should have toned down the language in which he has been condemned—if not also diminished the severity of the action taken against him.

Regarding that part of the Working Committee's resolution which relates to the Governor's action, we are not aware that he acted unconstitutionally. It would have been better if he had waited a little before dismissing the three ministers who had refused to resign and asking Dr. Khare to form a new Cabinet. Nothing would have been lost by some delay in the formation of a new Cabinet. In our opinion the Congress Working Committee would have done better if they had refrained from imputing to the Governor the motive "to weaken and discredit the Congress". They were not men of our profession engaged in writing incisive paragraphs for the delectation of readers, but grave elders seriously engaged in shaping the destiny of the nation. There is no harm in being charitable even towards the agents of imperialists, who may be merely guilty of error of judgment like others. Moreover, it should be noted that the cabinet formed by Dr. Khare at the Governor's request consisted of Congressmen. Perhaps such personnel of the Cabinet did not discredit the Congress.

New C. P. & Berar Cabinet Formed

At a meeting of the C. P. and Berar Congress legislative party held on the 27th July last, at which President Subhas Chandra Bose took the chair, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla was elected leader of the Central Provinces Congress party by a majority of votes.

"When Dr. Khare's name was proposed, the President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, drew the attention of the mover to the Congress Working Committee's resolution and said that he would put the motion to vote, if the mover wanted it, despite the Working Committee's resolution yesterday on Dr. Khare. Thereupon the mover withdrew his motion."

What President Bose said was quite judicious and considerate.

It is understood the C. P. and Berar cabinet is to consist of the following members:

- (1) Pandit Ravi Sankar Sukla, Prime Minister.
- (2) Pandit Dwarka Prosad Misra (Jubbulpore).
- (3) Mr. D. K. Mehta (Seoni).
- (4) Mr. S. V. Gokhale (Amraoti).
- (5) Mr. M. P. Kolhe (Yeotmal).
- (6) Mr. C. J. Bhoruka (Commerce Constituency Nagpur).

The Kind of Autonomy Our Provinces Have

Though the expression "provincial autonomy" is used by British bureaucratic imperialists to denote the kind of British-made constitution given to our provinces and though it has come into vogue even among Indian nationalists, there is no real provincial autonomy. There are various limitations on the powers of the ministers as regards finance, legislation, the superior services, etc.; the legislatures also do not possess the powers possessed by Dominion legislatures—not to speak of those of the British Parliament; and there are various safeguards, and special powers and responsibilities of the Governor. Hence the provinces do not possess real autonomy.

This so-called "autonomy" is still further restricted, so far as each Congress-majority province is concerned, by the kind of power and control exercised by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress.

"Democratic Responsible Government" in the Provinces

Democratic responsible government in a province means, among other things, that the ministers are chosen by the leader of the majority party in the provincial legislature and that they are responsible to the legislature, consisting of the elected representatives of the people. They go out of office if they lose the confidence of the majority of these representatives, not otherwise.

Now, in the Congress provinces, the personnel of the cabinets does not depend solely, or perhaps even mainly, on the wishes of the majority party of the legislature. The personnel has to receive the approval of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee, and, if need be, of the Working Committee, and in

some cases, of Mahatma Gandhi. Sometimes, some member of the Parliamentary Sub-committee may find out and choose a particular minister for a province, as in the case of the now famous Mr. Shareef, ex-minister of C. P., who was found for Dr. Khare by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Mr. Shareef was not even a Congressman before his selection by the Maulana.

In the recent C. P. ministerial crisis, the Parliamentary Sub-committee, and the Working Committee (including the Congress President) could not arrive at a final settlement without the help of the Mahatma. That is how it can be put mildly. The rest is silence. It is a fortunate circumstance that at all crises Mahatma Gandhi, though technically out of the Congress, is available and ready to act as the *deus ex machina*.

It may perhaps, therefore, be said without unfairness, that Congress provinces do not possess real *provincial* autonomy. The ministers no doubt, owe responsibility of a sort to the legislatures, but they are responsible also to the Parliamentary Sub-committee, the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and finally, if the worst comes to the worst, to Mahatma Gandhi. A provincial ministry may not have been proved to have lost the confidence of the provincial legislature, but if it has lost the confidence of the Congress bodies and person named above, it may have to go out of office. And it should be noted that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and Mahatma Gandhi, who can make and unmake the cabinet of a province, are not responsible to the legislature of that province.

Therefore the kind of provincial government which we have may be what we are now fit for, but it is not exactly what is really meant by provincial autonomy or by democratic responsible government.

A contributor to *The Asiatic Review* for July, whose political views we do not share, writes in the course of an article, entitled "Dictatorship By Proxy In India":

"We see forming in India a new kind of political institution unheard of in past history—namely, dictatorship by proxy. Such a dictatorship does not need military strength behind it, but uses great popularity and support from the general masses of the people under the avowed creed of non-violence, and uses the democratic institution of an elected Parliament as an instrument to carry out its policy. Even so, the Cabinet is no more than a servant, acting on the commands of its master, who is

constitutionally not responsible to any one. It will be interesting to watch how this kind of dictatorship by proxy will work."—*The Asiatic Review* for July, 1938, p. 567.

Our intention in writing this note is to point out, among other things, that we shall deserve and have real democratic responsible government when the electors, their chosen representatives in the legislatures, and the ministers responsible to the legislatures alone in theory will cease to be intellectual minors in politics and cease also to be treated as such.

In the meantime it is all right that a person of Gandhiji's character and calibre is at the helm, though working through a sort of Fascist organization.

Health Co-operatives

Bulletin No. 25 of Visva-bharati, on "Health Co-operatives," by Rathindranath Tagore, is a very useful and timely publication. All who in any province or state in India are engaged in the work of reclamation, reconstruction and uplift of villages will get many hints and suggestions from it. It fittingly opens with the following passage as motto taken from the Report on British Health Services prepared by P. E. P. (Political and Economic Planning:)

"A purely salvage role is untenable for the health services; they must find out how to prevent ill-health and organize the necessary measures.

"Social and economic conditions determine health problems, and many of the greatest opportunities for improving the national health lie outside the specifically health services, in such fields as housing and town and country planning, education, distribution, transport, industrial design, labour management, social and economic research and public relations.

"The facts are, as they have always been, that an enormous amount of illness and a large percentage of all deaths are directly traceable to poverty."

A map of the Birbhum district showing the co-operative health societies founded by Visva-bharati forms the frontispiece. The paragraphs mentioned below will give some idea of the contents of the bulletin:

An Experiment, Medical Relief in Villages, Condition of Health in the district of Birbhum, Efforts of Visva-bharati to improve the Health conditions of villages in the neighbourhood of Sriniketan, the Problem, the Field to be covered by a Health organization, Territory covered by each society, Need of a Central organization—the Health Union, Training School for village Doctors, Constitution and Working of Health Co-operatives, Capital Expenditure for Building and Equipment,

Specimen of an annual budget for a Health Unit, Spade Work, Health Co-operatives actually at work, Bored-Hole Latrines.

There are appendices relating to stock of medicines and medical appliances required, model bye-laws for health co-operatives, and so forth. There are illustrations showing construction of drains, clearing of jungles, and distributing centres.

Last Resolutions Passed By Congress Working Committee

The Working Committee held a short sitting today and passed the following resolution on Sikar:—

WARDHAGANJ, July 27.

Having heard an account of the settlement of the Jaipur-Sikar dispute from Seth Jammalal Bajaj, the Committee congratulates the people on having listened to his counsel and shown a true spirit of bravery in having decided to give up the idea of armed resistance and adopt the method of non-violence, resulting in the prevention of bloodshed which was imminent. The Working Committee regrets the needless loss of life that had resulted during the recent firing in Sikar on July 4 and expresses its condolence.

The Working Committee then passed the following resolution:—

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

"The Working Committee received a deputation of medical practitioners other than Allopaths. The Committee is of the opinion that innumerable persons in towns and villages in India are receiving the benefit of treatment under other systems, like Ayurveda, Unani and Homeopathy and they should receive recognition and encouragement from Congress Governments. The Committee is further of the opinion that while measures may be adopted to ensure the efficiency of such practitioners, nothing should be done to penalize any particular system. As regards objections to particular proposals in the Bill pending before the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the matter is referred to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

Linguistic Fast Broken

MADRAS, July 27.

Mr. "Stalin" Jagadisan, who was stated to have been fasting as a protest against the introduction of Hindustani in schools wires from Peralam today stating that he has broken his fast as desired by his friends and parents.—A. P.

We are glad the gentleman has broken his fast.

Bengal Tenancy Bill Going Back to Bengal Legislature

It is understood that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal will refer back the Bengal Tenancy Amend-

ment Bill adopted by the two Houses of Legislatures at their last session for the modification of two of its clauses by the Assembly.

The first modification is in regard to the clause 75A of the Amending Bill which seeks to suspend all provisions relating to enhancement of rent including Section 52 of the Bengal Tenancy Act for a period of 10 years with effect from 27th day of August, 1937.

The proposed modification in the clause will be for the deletion of the sentence in reference to Section 52 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The effect of the modification will be that the Section 52 of the existing Act will remain unaltered. The Section 52 refers to alteration of rent in respect of alteration in area.

The other modification that will be asked for is in regard to the mandatory provision in the Bill that it will come into force on such date not later than 31st May, 1938. It is understood that this will be amended in a way as to make the Act operative on the date it is published in the "Calcutta Gazette."

Floods in Various Parts of India

Many districts in Assam, Bengal and Bihar have been inundated, causing great distress to the people. We deeply sympathize with the sufferers. It is greatly to be regretted that nowhere in India have great engineering works been undertaken to prevent or minimize the ravages of floods.

Peasants and Factory Workers

The mere appearance of peasants and factory workers, and their dress and dwellings show that there is much room for improvement in their lot. If sober reasoning cannot secure such improvement, strikes inevitably follow.

Consulting Engineers in India

Our esteemed contributor Mr. J. M. Datta writes to us:—

"Writing on the progress of Engineering in India during the last twenty-five years Mr. W. C. Ash, B.Sc., M. Inst. C.E., Inst. M.E., F.N.I., has adopted the opinion of Dr. A. Jardine, and says:

"The State Railways to a large extent, and the Company Lines almost entirely," place the final responsibility for their bridge designs on consultants abroad, this feature being particularly noticeable in regard to the steel work

itself, which in all cases is designed out of India. The same remark applies to most other public bodies in India.

"The already firmly established connection with these consultants, extending back as it does for half a century or more, is the chief reason for the persistence of the present system of referring automatically abroad all important matters in regard to bridge design. As affecting the development in India of a tradition in this vital aspect of bridge engineering, it is unfortunate that no change appears to be seriously contemplated. One of the immediate effects of this *a priori* reservation of the largest portion of India's consultative work is to render it unattractive to any Consulting Engineer of standing in his profession to establish himself in practice in the country. From the nucleus of such a consultative organisation once established, development would rapidly take place, and a body of Engineers skilled specially in the art of bridge design would soon become available.

"Suitable talent undoubtedly exists in India, and with the removal of the present handicap it could easily keep pace with the rapid expansion in all other departments of bridge engineering."

"We would like our all-India legislators to put pressure on the 'too wooden, too bureaucratic, and too ante-deluvian' and reactionary Government of India to have this system of consultants abroad modified and finally abolished at an early date. Let India be self-sufficient in the matter of directing brains. Our public bodies, now that they are under Indian control and influence, should note this aspect of India's dependence, and try to make India self-sufficient."

Mr. P. R. Das's Article In This Issue

We have to state for the information of our readers, particularly those in Bihar, that we received a request from Mr. P. R. Das not to publish his article "until Babu Rajendra Prasad has made his decision." We regret his request reached us too late to enable us to exclude his article from this number.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

By M. N. SAHA, D.Sc., F. R. S.

[For some time past, I have been advocating "large-scale industrialization" as the only solution of India's problem of poverty, and unemployment, but I have found in the course of conversation with several esteemed friends that my views have been misunderstood in some quarters. Some are of the opinion that "large-scale industrialization" will lead to pure and simple mammonism; others think that, instead of solving the problem of unemployment, it will throw more people out of employment. I have also discovered that very few people have a correct idea of what "large-scale industrialization" means. Add to this the opinion held widely that the amount of "industrialization" which has been already achieved has to some extent spoil the spiritual life of India, supposed to be preserved in her millions of village homes. I have, therefore, welcomed the invitation of the Editor of *The Modern Review* to restate my views on the subject.]

WHEN Mahatma Gandhi visited London during the last Round Table Conference, he had amongst others, a very interesting visitor. This was no other than the celebrated Charlie Chaplin, the cinema star. It was a unique meeting between two men of unique types; one a great political seer whose voice is obeyed implicitly by large sections of one-fifth of the human race, and respected by a great part of the rest,—the other, an apparently light-hearted man who, by his performances, has provided innocent mirth and amusement for millions.¹

But the conversation was not light-hearted. Charlie asked the Mahatma: "I understand that you are against the use of all kinds of machinery; you want your people to go back to the villages, lead a simple life and produce their simple necessities of life by manual labour and simple kind of machinery. May I know, why you are preaching such a philosophy of life, which appears to me very retrograde?"² The Mahatma, who, it is stated, had never heard the name of Charlie Chaplin, was apparently surprised at this question and gave his usual arguments. He explained to Charlie Chaplin that 90% of India's millions live in abject poverty and want, and the introduction of

machines, particularly for the manufacture of textiles, have rendered many artisan classes idle. If the machines could be abolished, the ancient crafts of India, like spinning, weaving, and others, could be revived in the village homes; this would not only give employment to idle millions, but also bring some income and relief to them. He made some further remarks about the ethical value of hand-spinning and manual work in general. To this Charlie made the following significant remark: "I understand that in your country, the rulers do not care much for people who are living in poverty, and whose poverty is due to the fact that they have lost their occupations on account of the growth of the factory system. But suppose you had a Government which organized industrial work on modern lines, and also saw to it that every individual got proper work, and got also proper food, clothing, housing and was also assured of all the amenities of modern life, would you be still against machinery? Would you still advocate a return to primitive methods of production and distribution?"

I believe that, to this question, Mahatma Gandhi did not give any satisfactory answer at the time. I do not know if he could think out subsequently any suitable answer. I have put this question to many Congress leaders, some of whom have now taken upon themselves the task of government, but have received no satisfactory answer. The activities of the Congress leaders, of those who are in office and also of those who are out of it, and their pronouncements lead one to the suspicion that *they themselves have no clear-cut Philosophy of Action for National Reconstruction*. We find that in the same breath, they are talking of rural development by the introduction of the spinning wheel, and the handloom, by the abolition of zemindars and middlemen and also of grid electrification of the country, whereby the rural population is expected to get cheap electrical power out of the energy of running water. They do not probably realize that grid electrification is a highly mechanized and complex scheme, the successful installation and working of which involve co-operation of industrialists, economists and technical men and huge outlay of capital. The pronouncements of many of these leaders, who are now running governments, appear to me to be like the performance of a well-known liberal politician who went to

¹ Charlie Chaplin, unlike other cinema stars, is known to be possessed of shrewd business instincts.

² I am quoting from memory from the account of Charlie Chaplin's visit to the Mahatma, but I believe that I have not mis-stated anything.

Benares during the last War, and persuaded the Benares University to pass a resolution to the effect that "the Benares Hindu University will undertake the manufacture of aniline dyes." We know that the resolutions of a debating society do not create an industry nor do the optimistic pronouncements of those new to their office. Further, though the newspapers are full of flamboyant pronouncements, both from Congress as well as non-Congress provinces, there have been, to our knowledge, no serious practical move, to give effect to these. A clear-cut *Philosophy of Action* for National Reconstruction, which is very much needed at the present time, seems to be entirely absent.

If the reforms are to bear fruit, it is necessary that a clear-cut Program of National Reconstruction be decided upon by the High Command. Mere resolutions will not do, but actual steps should be taken to give effect to them. It is well-known that many of these programs cannot be given effect to unless power at the centre passes to the Nation. But I believe that a good deal of preparatory work can be done by the provincial governments, even with the limited powers they possess.

To return now to Charlie Chaplin's inconvenient question to the Mahatma. I personally believe that neither measures of rural uplift, nor introduction and encouragement of cottage industries, nor abolition of zemindars or money-lenders will make any substantial improvement in the lot of the rural population. The reasons for this have been given in my Presidential Address to the National Institute. These may be quoted here with some change:

"Everybody knows that India is an agricultural country. According to the Census Report of 1931, 66% of the Indian population is engaged in agriculture, i.e., are peasants, i.e., they have to spend their life in raising food. Of the remaining 34%, only 11% are city-dwellers, i.e., engaged in industries and other professions. The remaining 23% are either village artisans, merchants, landlords, or belong to other professions mainly dependent on a rural economy.

"Everyone will admit that the distribution of the population according to professions reveals a very unhealthy state of affairs. In no other countries of the world, excepting such backward ones as China, is there such a large proportion of peasants. And do these peasants enjoy a good living? A few huts, mostly without doors and windows, a few mats and rags, a few half-starved animals, hunger, debt, and frequent diseases,—this is all they have to enjoy!

"There is a widespread desire for improving the lot of the peasants and to raise the general standard of living. But how can this be achieved? Not by an exodus of the townsmen to the villages, as advocated by certain persons distracted by middle class unemployment, for that will merely increase the pressure on the over-congested rural area and multiply misery. Greater efficiency in agricultural methods, which is certainly

desirable, may give us more and cheaper food, and other necessities of life obtained from agriculture (like cotton), but it can never touch even the fringe of the problem of poverty and unemployment. For greater efficiency amounts to the fact that the same production in agriculture can be effected by half the present number. At present the proportion of food raisers is 66%. They produce food materials and other products by the most primitive methods. If improved scientific methods are adopted, larger amounts, more than sufficient for the whole nation, can be produced by 30% of the population. This will render about 36% of the peasant population unemployed. This, added to the already existing middle class unemployment, will make matter worse.

"If we analyse the widespread public sentiment for better living, what do we find? Everybody of course wants his food supply to be insured, but this is the least part of his demands. He wants to be better clothed and better housed; wants to get a better education for himself and his family, more rest from work, freedom from drudgery and greater enjoyment of life. Analysing this sentiment, we find that if these needs are to be satisfied, the quantity of industrial products has to be increased ten to twenty times its present level: all these works have to be organized, and a large proportion of the village population is to be diverted from the task of food-raising to industrial work. In fact, the only way to improve the villages is by drafting more villagers into cities, and by creating a larger number of cities based on industrial work."

The above gives the argument for "large-scale industrialization" in a nutshell. But what is exactly meant by "large-scale industrialization" and how to achieve it?

The word 'Industry' taken in the widest sense means "organized production of commodities required for civilized human life." Such commodities include food, clothing and housing materials, medicine and chemicals, materials used for transport, offensive and defensive armaments, articles of everyday use, as well as articles of luxury. The needs of mankind have varied according to the age man has lived in and the stage of culture he has reached. Probably, for the primitive man, there was no other occupation except food-gathering and defence. When man began to form communities, settle in villages and towns, his wants multiplied. He required clothing and housing, and offensive and defensive arms to protect his property. With the advance of civilization, his needs are becoming complex, and more variegated. The needs of the twentieth century man are not the same as those of the eighteenth century man, in any country of the world, except backward ones.

Probably no educated man now believes in the theory widely prevalent in different forms in all countries about a century ago that there was once a golden age, when the different human societies lived in idyllic happiness free from want, disease and fight. On the contrary, a scientific study of the remains of

vanished peoples has made us familiar with a different picture of bygone days. It appears that the ancient, and even pre-historic human communities were not free from diseases, pestilence, and fights; nay, life was far less pleasant compared with the present times. But throughout the chequered history of mankind emerges the idea of "progress": that man has advanced to culture stage by stage, by organized and collective efforts, and by the invention of new technique for industrial production, which has made his life in this world more pleasant, and has assured him increasing insurance against hunger and extremes of climate, and against disease. History has also shown us that unless a community believes in the idea of "Progress," it stagnates, and has no chance of preserving its independence and individuality against other progressive nations, and sooner or later vanishes from history. The epochs of culture are classified by the scientific man according to the technique used for industrial production. Thus we have the different epochs of Old Stone Age, when undressed chips of flint were used by man for defence and offence, for preparation of food and other requirements. These epochs were succeeded by the New Stone Age, when man began to use tools made of polished stone (axes, daggers, needles and knives, maces, etc.). Then came the Chalcolithic or the Copper Age. Copper was the first metal used by man—in this age all tools were made of copper. The ancient Sumerians and Egyptians, and probably the people belonging to the oldest strata of the Indus Valley Civilization used only tools of copper. The Copper Age was succeeded by the Bronze Age—when tools were made of bronze, which is much superior to copper in point of hardness and durability and strength. The Homeric Greeks, the later Indus Valley people, all used bronze armaments and bronze tools. The Bronze Age was succeeded by the present Iron Age about 1200 B.C. But these new phases in technique have not been simultaneously current in all parts of the world: the Iron Age came much later to the new world; in fact when the Spaniards came to America, they found two highly civilized communities organized in great Empires, the Aztecs in Mexico, and the Incas in Peru. But these people had only copper tools, and no wheeled vehicles and no domesticated animals excepting a degenerate species of camels.

The Bronze Age was succeeded by the Iron Age about 1200 B.C., and this age according to some is still continuing. All our tools are now made of iron and steel, though of course the

modern technique for industrial production is so much more complex and advanced than during the primitive Iron Age culture, that it deserves a new name altogether.

A careful reading of history shows that human communities using inferior tools and technique have always been conquered and enslaved by those using superior ones.

The Old Stone Age man vanished in the struggle with New Stone Age man, who in turn disappeared before men using copper tools. These again had to yield to men using iron tools. The tragic history of the Aztecs in Mexico illustrates this lesson within historical times. When a handful of Spaniards mounted on horseback and armed with guns and swords invaded Mexico, the Aztecs, warlike and well-led as they were, could not stand before the Spaniards, because they were armed only with copper swords, daggers and lances. The Copper Age men of the new world were completely subdued by a handful of Iron Age men possessed of superior technique, tools, and organization. *The grand moral lesson of history is that, if a human community fails to take advantage of the newest technique for industrial production, it has no chance of maintaining its independence or individuality in the struggle with communities armed with superior technique.*

THE NEW TECHNIQUE FOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

The technique used by the most advanced countries of the world at the present time is so complex that it is very wrong to classify it as the continuation of the primitive Iron Age culture. It constitutes entirely a new phase in culture, distinguished not only by a new system of industrial production, but also by a new philosophy of human life. This new age has been variously called the neo-technique age in contradistinction to the paleotechnique age which has passed off and the change is sometimes termed as the Third Revolution (Gordon Childe) of which the Industrial Revolution of the last century was only the precursor. But it is better to call the present one as the age of science, because human activity in the present age springs from the conviction, that by the application of science we can attain to a much better standard of living and in general to a much better world. The idea of progress which is the driving force in the modern age was absent even a century ago, when religious pedantry in every country was painting a dismal future, e.g., a collapse of the world or some catastrophe which would engulf human society.

To have a comprehensive idea of the New Age, we should look at the kind of life pursued in a country like U. S. A., England or Germany and the present system of industrial production in these countries and contrast it with the course of human life and industry in the same countries two centuries ago. We may ignore for the present the social and political upheavals caused by the transition from the one age to the other. About two centuries ago, industrial workers in these countries (including agriculturists) were organized mostly in guilds according to their professions, *e. g.*, farmers, serfs, weavers, potters, masons, blacksmiths, fishermen, etc. The profession usually descended from the father to the son, and the secrets of the profession, if any, were confined to families. Work was individual or, at most, was a family organization. On the whole, every country, almost every locality was self-sufficient, in the production of the indispensable necessities of life like food, clothing and housing materials, and imported only such goods as were not available locally. There was a certain amount of organization in such professions as those of merchants, who carried on the foreign trade, or in the profession of the miner, who produced the metals or chemicals necessary for human life. People's wants were few, they did not travel much, and the ideas of hygiene were quite as bad as in any backward oriental country of today.

Those who may sneer that we are only talking of the materialistic side of human life may be reminded that the sages of our country laid more stress on the safeguarding of industrial production than the Westerners. In India, the professional guilds crystallized into rigid castes, for which a divine sanction was found by the invention of myths, and those who had the audacity to change their profession were threatened not only with a hypothetical hell-fire but also with this-worldly punishment. In other countries, though a very small percentage of persons actually changed their profession, there was no moral sanction against their doing so.

The discoveries in science dating from the 18th century changed the whole aspect of industrial production and the course of human life in the West. It is unnecessary to discuss the effect on the method of production, and generally on human life, of the steam-engine, the electrical engines, and the different kinds of oil-engines. Now every commodity for human life, textiles, housing materials, medicines and chemicals, armaments, etc., etc., are produced

in factories run by powerful machines, and the products are far better, cheaper and abundant than those produced by the paleotechnic methods. Even the ordinary man can now afford luxuries which were available a century ago only to princes. The railway, the steamship, the motor car have rendered long distance travel not only feasible, but pleasant. This has facilitated mixing of different people on an unprecedented scale, and has rendered the transport of goods between the furthest corners of the world possible. In countries like England, village-life is almost disappearing, the whole country is fast becoming suburbs of big cities, and cities, roads, houses are rapidly changing. Whether we like it or not, the new system has come to stay.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

But the new system has also imposed greater burdens on the nations. The needs of the modern man are so great, that far more work is necessary to produce them. In the western countries which have taken to the neo-technic methods, calculation shows that nearly 1800 units of work are required per head in the year for producing all the necessities of life. But if production of work depended mainly upon human and animal power, as in the paleotechnic countries, then we could not get more than 90 units. The modern neo-technic man therefore requires 20 times more power than the paleotechnic man. In the advanced countries, this power is provided by harnessing the forces of nature—by the use of coal, oil, and water-power. To use figurative language—the Westerner has, by the harnessing of the forces of nature, got 20 slaves constantly working for him, while countries still accustomed to older methods have to depend upon human and animal labour, which, on the average, is merely equal to the labour of one slave.

The full utilization of the power resources of the country, and organization of work for industrial production has put a great strain on all modern governments. Though utilization of power resources and factory work was started by private individuals, it has now become, more or less, the function of governments.

Let us take the case of a country like England, and examine how she controls her power resources, and organizes work.

Production of electricity in England is completely controlled by the state through the grid system, which is managed by the electricity commissioners appointed by the government. Liquid fuel is necessary for motor cars, engines

of ships, etc. For these England has to depend at present on foreign supplies, which, though at present under British control, may be cut off during the next great war. The British Government has therefore subsidized companies for the production of liquid fuel from coal, at heavy loss to the treasury.

England's only power resource is coal. She has no water-power worth mentioning, no oil. If the coal supply fails, England would lose her pre-eminent position as an industrial country. Hence the Government has to devise strong and effective measures against the wastage of coal, by the creation of fuel control and research boards. In fact, coal has now become largely a "manufactured good," and every caloric of energy, available from it, is utilized.

The "Power Industry" is the key to the present system of industrial production, but even other industries cannot stand competition, in the face of constant improvement due to scientific research, but for state protection. But the best kind of protection is "Efficiency" and this is safeguarded by the state by the organization of the National Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. The object of this body is scientific study of the existing methods of production, and application of the latest scientific knowledge to the betterment of the method and the creation of new industries. In addition to this, every big company has its own research workers.

The above picture of neo-technic methods of production, though incomplete, will probably give the reader some idea of the terrible efficiency of this method compared with the older paleotechnic methods, to which some of our leaders want us to revert. The paleotechnic man has no more chance of surviving the onslaught of the neo-technic man, than had the Aztecs the chance of withstanding the Spaniards. England, Germany, the U. S. A., France, and other Western countries are at an advantageous position, because the neo-technical methods were perfected by the pioneers in these countries. The State has therefore shared the responsibility with those companies which have been the first to take advantage of scientific discoveries and create a new industry, or convert an old one to neo-technic mechanism. But not so in the case of Russia or Japan. About 1868, Japan became convinced that if she were to **work** her way up as a great nation, she must discard her paleotechnic methods in favour of neo-technic ones. The object was accomplished by the zeal, industry and far-

sightedness of her leaders, backed by a strong, centralized national government. But Japan has been able to preserve to some extent her ancient life by the remodelling of her small, cottage industries. This has been done by instituting a cheap supply of electrical power, which enables the Japanese worker to work in his cottage with up-to-date machinery; and further by the organization of research, supply of raw materials, and marketing of finished products he is assured of an adequate return for his labour. The Japanese weaver, for example, does not work with the handloom or the charkha, but he uses the Toyada loom, which is driven by electricity. His industrial output is 10 or 12 times larger than that of the Indian workman. It is estimated that more than half of Japan's industrial production comes from cottages.

Today, before our very eyes, Russia has been passing by a supreme effort from the paleotechnic to the neo-technic method of production. The main cause of collapse of Czarist Russia was the failure, on the part of her leaders, to organize the country according to the **new** method of production. It depended, for all the necessities of modern life, upon foreign capital and foreign experts.

Countries which have been slow to organize themselves according to the new method of production, and adjust their social and political life accordingly—China, Abyssinia,—amongst others is not their current history a good illustration of the great moral lesson of human history or which so much insistence has been laid in this article!

The task before India is, therefore, to organize her industrial life according to the neo-technical method of production. Unlike certain other countries, India taken as a whole (not in parts) is one of the three countries (others being Russia and the U. S. A.) which possess all the resources in power, minerals, and agricultural land which can enable her to pass to the neo-technical method of industrial production. Unless this is done, India can never solve her problems of poverty and unemployment, and can never be assured of a bright future. Sir M. Visweswarayya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, has already pointed out to a certain extent in *His Economic Planning* how this revolution can be achieved. But all human actions spring from conviction, and if we continue to look back with wistful eyes to the supposed charms of older methods of living, we can never decide upon the line of action which alone can lead to the fulfilment of our national desires.

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL TODAY : A PROBLEM

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THE problem of society and the individual has come to have a far larger significance today than at any previous period of history. The reason is that, as the result of certain factors of modern life, society has developed, particularly in the post-war period, into a rigorous and all-pervasive organization instead of a voluntary and limited one: it has come more and more to take the place of the state itself.

Ever since the time of the Greek thinkers in the West, the whole conception had rested on 'a rigid dualism of the sphere of public concern, which was conceived of as unified in the state or the original polis, and the private sphere of individuals, in which they were thought of as essentially independent, entering only into contractual relations with one another.'

The idea of the state had been emphatically that of political organisation, as distinguished from social and functional organisation. Even a few decades ago, the state used to be described as an agency for social control having as its object the regulation of 'the outstanding external relationship of men in society'², and used to be clearly distinguished from the terms—association and community. Such a view is now generally thought of as erroneous, for as a matter of practical experience it is being increasingly felt that states are no longer confining themselves merely to the external relationships of men in society, they are coming more and more to regulate and control almost all phases of the economic and social life of society. This orientation of the state towards the economic, social, and moral aspects of life makes it imperative to consider society, not as anything contrasting from the state, but merely as a content of the state. Indeed, we have tended back to that primitive type of social organization, where the tribal custom and tradition were so overpowering that they left little or no scope for individual initiative and concern. Only the part of that ancient custom and tradition is now being played by the dictates of the bureaucratic hierarchy of Government.

II

But while the divergence between society and the state is thus rapidly vanishing, by the

state taking up the role of society itself, the distinction between the individual and society remains as ever. The primitive type of social organization, to which we just made a reference, was based on its fundamental characteristic of a communal ethos, which made the members of a tribe so absorbed in the group that they formed what anthropologists have called a tribal self. That communal ethos modern civilization and government have consistently tended to destroy, and in its place they have created an individualistic society, which regards human beings as being the best judges of their own interests, it being assumed that they have interests and business which are completely their own. Two forces of the modern world helped to deepen the root of this conception of individualism. One was the enhancement of the idea of supreme worth of the individual, which came from the rise of religions like Hinduism in the east and Christianity in the west, laying their emphasis upon the capacity of the individual to attain the highest goal of liberation. The other was the emergence of the modern economic system, dominated by exchange and married to the system of private profits. In Hobbes this concept of individualism found a zealous devotee who gave it a systematic shape and philosophic content, characteristically preaching that

'social and political relations are merely the means by which the individual obtains more efficiently what he desired before he entered into those relations';³

that although men did enter a class of social relations, yet their essential nature was not affected by them.

It is needless to say that as a thorough-going and consistent philosophy of social life, this concept of the individual could not go very far. Nevertheless, it achieved quite a remarkable success in the domain of practical life, particularly in legislation and in economics. Even in practical affairs, one can say that the effort towards the entelechy of individuals and communities constitutes the main theme of world history.

'After the semi-conscious liberty of the Greek city-states had been realised, the fight went on for religious liberty, later for constitutional liberty as a guarantee against arbitrary power, later for self-determination of groups

1. A. D. Lindsay in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*.
2. R. MacIver: *Modern State*.

3. A. D. Lindsay in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*.

rooted in the same cultural tradition, and later for racial emancipation of peoples exploited by imperialism. In the same light may be viewed the recent fight for economic freedom. Socialism can be viewed as a veritable child of Liberalism. When a considerable amount of political, religious, cultural, and national freedom had been acquired, it was quite natural that the self-realisation of the individual should not stop at the economic barrier. It was keenly felt that the liberty of the spirit would be undermined if the elementary liberty of the stomach was not realised.¹

III

And this raises the fundamental problem. We are faced today by a state of affairs wherein the state has extended its horizon of activity so far as to take within its purview not only the purely political and economic aspects of life but also the so-called social and moral aspects of the life of individuals, and yet the emphasis of individualism upon the necessity of leaving the individual free to develop his personality by himself has continued. This has produced an inescapable antinomy, a conflict, between the society and the individual. In this conflict, one thing seems to be certain, that the claims of society will and must remain paramount. It is true that society is but a total complex of human relationships and cannot exist apart from human beings, who play their part in all its concrete manifestations and who also will the nature and the ultimate ends to which that concrete manifestation is to be directed. But once the ultimate ends of action have been thus broadly decided, the action of the individuals is commanded and controlled by society; regulatory norms are set up and enforced to maintain an orderly process to secure what the ruling section in society considers to be in harmony with the ultimate value system of the community.

It must, therefore, be taken for granted that, particularly in the modern world when life is becoming highly complex and varied and therefore demands detailed and all-round direction, the dominance of society over the individual is an inevitable development. But the problem that arises then is to reconcile the position of the individual with these claims of society.

IV

Of this problem, two solutions are being suggested at present, one by the Fascists and the other by the Communists.

The Fascist solution is comparatively simpler, but also more crude and unacceptable. Recognising that the claims of society today have become nearly as extensive in form as

they were in the more primitive stage of social organization, the Fascist suggests that as a natural corollary of this development in the position of society the individual must also find his level according to what it was in that simple organization. The individual has no place outside society, and he can find his perfection in society only if he merges himself into it so well that he becomes a veritable part of the social personality and the social self. Mussolini once defined the chief characteristics of the Fascist doctrine to consist in '*riconciliazione*, the reconciliation of the individual with the state, *inserzione*, his fitting into the life of the state, and *unificazione*, the unification of the state and the individual.'

The position of the individual, thus, in the Fascist ideology is sought to be reduced to that of unquestioning obedience and subordination to the state. The Fascist has a tendency to hide his real meaning behind euphemistic terms. He calls his solution as the cultivation of 'community life' amongst individuals. But it is difficult to see how the Fascist states represent any more intense community life than, for instance, Liberal states do, although they do certainly seem to have a better commotive power, at least in the early days of the establishment of the Fascist regime. On the contrary, their structure is based upon anarchistic individualism—a whole world of human beings dominated and governed by the personal whims of one individuality at the top that regards itself as the mystic repository of the community will. The Fascist oath reads as follows:

'In the name of God and Italy, I swear to execute, without discussion, the orders of the Duce and to serve with all my strength, and if necessary with my blood, the cause of the Fascist revolution.'

It gives no leeway at all for dissent. The same is largely true of the much-praised community spirit of the Far East, which expresses itself in practice inevitably by sacrificing the individual to society.

V

The Communist solution is a little more involved, although it is more plausible, at least in theory. Proceeding from the hypothesis that all history is a conflict between the oppressing and the oppressed classes and that state is primarily an instrument of oppression, Marx suggested that this state of affairs could be brought to an end by means of the union of the working classes, and after an overthrow, by revolution, of the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But he emphasised that the dictatorship of the

4. Oscar Tazi in *Social Philosophy*, January 1938.

proletariat, however necessary in order to bring to an end the exploitation of the workers, would not by itself constitute a solution of the problem of class-conflict or of the relationship between society and the individual. It must, if it is to be a real solution at all, look forward to a conscious organisation of the classless society, which would be based upon the ideas of common good and in which people would have become habitually accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, so that they will voluntarily work according to their abilities and the needs of society as a whole and there will be no need for compulsion. In this new society, mass mind will have become so well-educated that there will be left no room for governmental operations in the sense in which we understand them today, and the state itself will wither away. This society would be permanent and unshakable in the sense that when once such a society has been established the possibility of all future conflicts of a serious nature will have been altogether removed.

Yet this reasoning has one great deficiency. It is certainly conceivable, as Marx insistently argued, that once the mental diseases and oppressions that result from poverty and class struggle are forgotten things, most of the reasons for coercion will have vanished. But Marx made the great mistake of tracing all human desires and ideas solely and irrevocably to economic causes, to the exclusion of all other ideological and psychological factors. He forgot that so long as men or women remain, whatever the economic structure of society, there must remain possibilities of quarrel and efforts at oppression, unless we could directly change or materially modify human nature and thought itself. Not all violence arises from economic causes; there is also, for example, sex. No material reform, therefore, can alone bring about a thorough-going and lasting change in human mentality; in order to produce such a change, the reform must be positively spiritual.

VI

Herein comes the need for a philosophy of life which puts its emphasis upon an impersonal attitude. Such a philosophy, for instance is enshrined in Hindu thought in the Gita. The Gita ideal of conduct differs from all other systems that are basically spiritual in that while the aim of other systems has been to transcend the sphere of action and duties and to rise to a

stage in which one could give up all one's activities, mental and physical, the ideal of the Gita has been characteristically an ideal of work, and of work with a mind that is dissociated from attachment, so that it tends to make all actions non-moral and, by cutting away the bonds that connect an action with its performer, incapable of causing any disturbance either to the doer himself or to the body-politic. This is the path that has been described by Swami Vivekananda as that of 'the understanding of necessity.'

But even after all this has been granted, the problem has not been wholly solved. For our lesson from world history is that wherever this impersonal attitude has been either practised or sought to be practised on a mass scale, there becomes prevalent, in the course of time, a sort of a passive outlook towards life. A pre-eminent example of this is supplied by the case of India, where emphasis on the understanding of necessity has produced a fatalistic loss of enthusiasm and commotion; and after all, the need of commotive power is as great in a society in order to carry it to a higher plane or even to keep it efficiently into existence as of anything else. The growing power of the Fascist countries in Europe today may be explained in terms of the greater feeling of commotive power and solidarity of Fascism, which even though often generated by admittedly unwholesome means is nevertheless a recognized fact.

VII

So, in the end, far from answering the question we have simply re-stated it: is it or is it not possible to evolve a social structure in which the individual may properly and permanently fit in? To stress society overmuch in contrast with the individual would clearly result in a distortion of human nature, and yet an ignorance of the possibility of continued commotive power in society must ultimately create intolerable conditions which might degrade the best qualities of man. Looked at from this point of view, perhaps, society and the individual, even though clearly antinomous in their emphasis, are not quite antagonistic in their implications. In many respects, indeed, they seem to be closely connected and even of complementary value. The world needs today a scheme of organization which could institutionalise this intimate connection between these two factors.

EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL UNITY

By DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

"Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the State;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great."—Macaulay

THAT communal discord, sectarian dissension and caste discrimination are symptoms of an unhealthy condition, and have not yet become matters of ancient history is all too obvious. There is no 'we-spirit,' no feeling of oneness, no sinking of differences for a common cause and no passion of patriotism big enough to consume petty prejudices. Now, if this is true, it is pertinent to ask: Has Indian education in the last hundred years tried to meet this situation? When all the world has been using education as a means of bringing about ends nationally considered desirable, what has India been doing? Can it be said that Indian Education struggled to create and cultivate a common devotion to a common motherland, or that it attempted to minimize the differences and emphasize the similarities? If not, have the schools of the land been made to solve one of the most desperate of India's problems—the making of Indian citizens?

A leading Anglo-Indian daily recently remarked:

"Idealists who speak of Indian Nationhood, of the Indian Nation and of Indian Nationalism overlook the fact that except in the geographical sense there is no India. The word 'India' indicates a land in which live (lives) a large aggregate of races and nations."

This striking of the lame man with his own crutches, however merciless it may seem, draws pointed attention to his long-standing deformity and possibly to the need for immediate treatment. At a time when various schemes, educational and political, are being put forward and aims and methods are being subjected to unsparing scrutiny, it may not be inopportune to consider how worthier citizens can be prepared by our schools and colleges and how education in India can be made to help in bringing about national unity.

LIGHT FROM OTHER LANDS

The problem confronting India—that of making its citizens feel that they are first and foremost Indians, not members of particular

sects and castes and classes,—is not unprecedented: several other countries have had to face a similar situation. Their experience may afford India invaluable guidance and encouragement.

Keeping in the mental background India's handicaps, it is comforting to notice that national unity has been achieved by the United States in spite of racial heterogeneity. The Swiss are a nation, though they have no language peculiar to themselves and are divided into French-speaking, German-speaking and Italian-speaking districts. Religious disunity has not been an obstacle to national unification in England. One of the most potent of factors making for consciousness of nationality is common tradition. Says Ramsay Muir in his *Nationalism and Internationalism* (p. 48):

"Heroic achievements, agonies heroically endured, these are the sublime food by which the spirit of nationhood is nourished; from these are born the sacred and imperishable traditions that make the soul of nations."

The essence of nationality is a sentiment. According to Pillsbury (*Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 20):

"National characteristics are not discovered directly but only through responses of the individual, and through the responses that betray his emotional and intellectual activities. Ask him if you want to know to what nationality he belongs and you will have a better criterion than his racial descent or physical measurement. Nationality is first of all a psychological and sociological problem; only indirectly can it be determined by anthropometry or even by history."

Germany was no more than a congeries of separate and often warring states, yet out of it all, Germany has evolved into one indestructible nation. All that Italy had to start with was geographical unity, and yet in less than two generations, she has become an indissoluble national entity. The potency of an ideal cannot be ignored. In view of these facts, it is clear that the edicts of fate can be set aside and nationality can be nursed into existence, even where most of the elements of unity are lacking in the beginning. The nation must be an ideal before it can become an actuality, and the

ideal must be an ideal before it can become an actuality, and the ideal must be preached everywhere. This is the lesson taught by history, and is perhaps best illustrated in the case of Italy. Italian poets sang of their land. Italy as ideal was pictured and chanted until Italian hearts throbbed responsive to Italy as Motherland. Then came Mazzini the idealist, who wrote his words of fire, Garibaldi, the warrior, who drew his sword and battled, and Cavour, the statesman, who built the Italian polity. Significant also is the oath, quoted by Professor Rose in his *Rise of Nationality in Modern History* (pp. 81-82), which Young Italy imposed at initiation—a means to which nation-builders have had occasional recourse:

"In the name of God and of Italy, in the name of all the Martyrs of the holy Italian cause who have fallen beneath foreign and domestic tyranny... by the love I bear to the country that gave my mother birth and will be the home of my children... by the blush which rises to my brow when I stand before the citizens of other lands, to know that I have no rights of citizen-ship, no country and no national flag: by the memory of our former greatness, and the sense of our degradation: by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons dead on the scaffold, in prison or in exile, by the suffering of the millions—I swear to dedicate myself wholly and for ever to strive to constitute Italy one free, independent, republican nation."

Italy came from the world of ideas into the world of facts—Italy was born.

The United States of America should have been India's comrade in misery, also having had to weld together into a modern nation many races, religions, cultures, nationalities and language groups. But she early realized the need for Americanizing the immigrant, and creating a unified national consciousness. Accordingly she planned a programme for absorbing the foreign-born, and her schools co-operated heartily in producing thorough-bred patriots. The united front presented during the Great War is proof positive of the success of their endeavours along this line.

Britain's problem was comparatively easy, but even there one sees the working out of a definite national purpose. England needed patriotic sons, valiant heroes and dependable representatives to help her with her commerce, administration and colonial expansion, and so her outstanding schools set out to give an education which stressed courage, character, love of country and loyalty to the king. It is unnecessary further to expand in illustration of the responsibility felt by the school everywhere and at all times for providing the kind of training that would produce the desired type of a citizen.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

The moral that might be drawn is that India is not beyond redemption, and that education, among other agencies, should be used definitely as a unifying factor, promoting cohesion, bridging gulfs, rousing national consciousness and stimulating a healthy patriotism. To realize this worthy objective, a comprehensive programme, a many-sided attack, is necessary.

The first requisite is *information*. Knowledge of India's past, her social and cultural development, with its distinctive features and chief merits, is indispensable. This should enable the pupils to derive their inspiration for the future from a known and real past. It would also foster a legitimate pride in their country and teach them dignity and self-respect. They should also know the defects and pitfalls of that culture so that they may form a balanced judgment of its real value, and discover how to lay the foundations for desirable progress.

Far greater emphasis should be laid on a study of India's present condition—social, economic and administrative. For this courses in Civics or Citizenship should be made compulsory and dealt with in a live, practical manner. The unparalleled phenomenon of the birth of a new nation, inhabiting a sub-continent and including divergent elements of eastern and western religions and cultures, should be dealt with in such a way as to challenge the attention and curiosity of our young people and give them a glimpse of the tremendous opportunities for service which lie before them. They should have a helpful understanding of India's terrible problem—poverty, ignorance, disease, communal rivalries and the like. There is much to learn in this matter from the work of the British Association for Education in Citizenship.

Lest they should become narrow in their outlook and in order to bring to the solution of India's vast and pressing problems the experience of the rest of the world—not merely of one solitary country, Britain, as now—the pupils should be given a bird's-eye view of some of the outstanding tendencies and movements in the world of today. Nationalism should thus be assisted by a wider vision, a richer background and a larger enthusiasm.

Indian education has managed to leave the realm of ideals, attitudes and aspirations severely alone. These must be harnessed to a worthy end—peace and good-will amongst the peoples of India. Mere intellectual apprehension is not enough. The emotions must be touched. History

must be taught in every school in a new way. The common past must be dwelt upon. Not only should the blood and thunder view of greatness be dropped and homicidal geniuses be forced to abdicate their positions of importance in school histories, but a new spirit should be infused. To ensure the right approach and the desired quality the books will have to be approved by qualified Committees. The example of most Western countries suggests that the historians who write for boys and girls should be patriots pulsating with love and pride in the splendid history of their country's past. The varied contributions of the different communities to India's complex culture should be brought home in a sympathetic manner. The lives of great men, of every province and of every religion, should be taught in all the schools so that appreciation and understanding may take the place of hatred and contempt, and so that parochialism may make room for an all-India consciousness. Men who have risen to national fame through service, sacrifice and commendable achievement should be held up as ideals, as well as the successes secured when people have worked together for a common goal. If history serves only to create fear, jealousy and sense of shame and cannot be used to bring the various groups together to toil for their country's welfare in joyous and proud comradeship, the sooner it is ejected from the school curriculum the better.

Finally, it must be remembered that 'an ounce of experience is better than a pound of precept.' If this is true, opportunities should be provided for children to give expression to their love for their motherland, to engage in activities which train the good citizen and to realize the thrill which comes from effort to serve those in need. The experience of citizenship here and now is the best possible preparation for future citizenship. If the pupil's devotion to his country is not to be thwarted and choked, and if the sluices are to be opened for the natural flow of his enthusiasm, care has to be taken to see that he has the same outlets as are available to children abroad. The singing of national songs, the veneration of portraits of national heroes, the celebration of the birthdays and anniversaries of the poets and prophets, sages and seers, scientists and statesmen, the institution of prize contests for the composing of national songs, the writing of national biographies and the planning of suitable programmes to commemorate national events and festivals, are a few of the many ways employed in the West which might with advantage be adopted in India. The

national flag plays a prominent part abroad in most schools and in every country, and therefore the formal approval and use of a flag in India by all the parties concerned is well worth hastening, especially so on the eve of the further unification of the country. The wider adoption of a common language, the celebration of an 'India Day' on lines similar to the 'Empire Day' and the arranging of periodical national Exhibitions—industrial and agricultural—are also worth recommending. All these serve not only the immediate end, but also the remoter purpose of informing the intelligence and developing among pupils a sentiment favourable to national unity and understanding.

Another important lesson which we may learn from English and American schools is their recognition of the value of the more purely social activities as a means of training citizens. Virtues do not grow in a vacuum; they need the stimuli of a concrete setting. Unselfish service, co-operation, toleration and true democracy are ideals which are forced to function only in actual social situations. The curriculum being burdened with examinable subjects, it is necessary to depend on such extra-curricular activities as School Councils, Assemblies, Scouting, Games, Debates, Excursions, to provide the training so invaluable to modern youth. Not only do these activities develop the devices and mechanics of government, but they also supply facilities for teaching the rights and responsibilities, the skills and qualities of good citizenship and the habitual enjoyment and appreciation of the company of representatives of other groups and parties. Civic conscience and civic intelligence need careful cultivation. In such matters deliberate and detailed planning will have to take the place of happy blundering. Good things rarely happen: they must be caused to happen.

JUSTIFICATION

This advocacy of a nationalizing education should need no explanation when it is remembered that in a country like India with its innumerable languages, its variety of religious and its heterogeneous inhabitants, nationalism is nothing short of *internationalism*. The national idealist is confronted with a task not altogether dissimilar to that of amalgamating into a working unit the different peoples of the Continent of Europe. What might ordinarily seem excessive, narrow and dangerous abroad is in India's present condition the least that can be recommended. No son of the soil and no well-wisher of India can look with indifference on

the Indian situation or desire its perpetuation. No amount of emphasis therefore on unifying factors and integrating experiences can reasonably be considered unbalanced. As Shakespeare puts it:

"Diseases, desparate grown,
By desparate appliance are relieved.
Or not at all."

Apart from that, it must not be forgotten that if we educate good state-citizens, we are also educating good world-citizens, and that without the former the latter is unthinkable. This view is supported by Professor Rose who

"The cosmopolitan who sneers at his country and raves about humanity is like a man who disdains the use of stairs and seeks to leap to the first floor. Such efforts have always failed.... Because narrow-minded people can't see beyond their town or country, you do not abolish the organization of the town or country. You retain the organization and seek to widen their outlook. The true line of advance is not to sneer at nationalism and decry patriotism, but to utilize those elemental forces by imparting to them a true aim instead of the false aim which has deluged Europe with blood."

It may be added that without a healthy national consciousness no contribution that can be recognized as distinctive and worthwhile is conceivable. One humanity, parting into many peoples, enables it by their competition and their manifold energies to unfold all those hidden powers which are capable of common development, and to fulfil its destiny more abundantly. To quote the sublime conception of nationality expressed by no less a nationalist than Mazzini himself:

"Every people has its special mission which co-operates towards the fulfilment of the general mission of humanity: that mission constitutes its nationality."

CONCLUSION

To summarise:

Schools and colleges which do not strive to widen outlook, broaden loyalties and elevate thought must be regarded as rendering a positive national disservice. If the citizens of future India are to live and work as one nation, if they are to strive to increase communal concord and understanding, if they are to lend a helping hand to those less privileged than themselves, if they are to be worthy of the tasks awaiting them, a sense of national unity and a sentiment of patriotism have to be stimulated and strengthened. The efforts made in western countries along these lines deserve to be imitated in India—not to develop a narrow nationalism but a benign and inevitably broad-based internationalism.

This paper is a plea for engineering in the realm of the emotions, for the displacement of drift by definite direction and for the assertion of the superiority of intelligence over instinct. The task is not easy—that of producing in our schools and colleges Indians who can rise above their creed and community—in fact, very difficult. But it is difficult problems which statesmen—educational, political—make it their business to solve. Living in an age when mental and mechanical miracles are matters of everyday observation, how dare we doubt its possibility?

THE PRICE OF THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

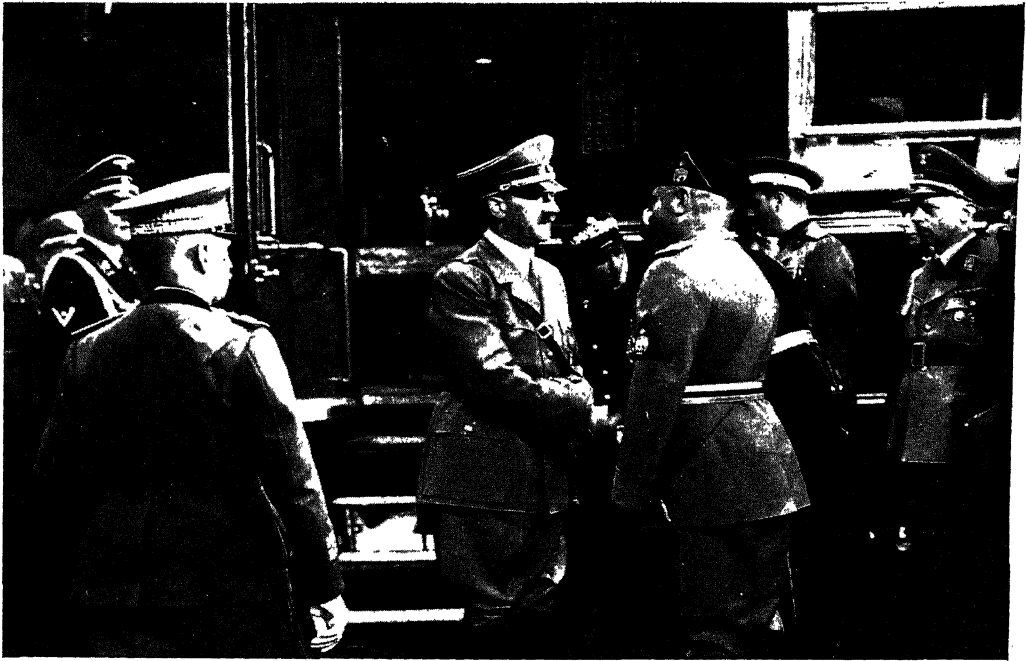
By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Is there anyone so unpopular as is the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain? There is scarcely a friend to praise him. Only a voice applauds from Italy, the voice of Signor Mussolini. Signor Mussolini claims him and ranges him on the side of the Dictators, translates his attitude into one of support of General Franco, making England appear a double-dealer like Italy who intervenes in Spain and is at the same time a member of the Non-Intervention Committee. The British Government, says the *Gazetta Del Popolo*, apropos of the Anglo-Italian

Agreement, has "pledged itself to give free scope to the victory of Franco". And to all this fulsome praise and traducing, if it is traducing, Mr. Neville Chamberlain makes never a disclaimer. In fact he goes out of his way to play Italy's game.

It is not enough for Mr. Chamberlain to turn a blind eye to Italian intervention. When such acts of intervention are thrust under his blind eye, he must condone them with an allusion to other people's intervention. When he is invited to protest against the merciless bombing of

HITLER'S VISIT TO ITALY



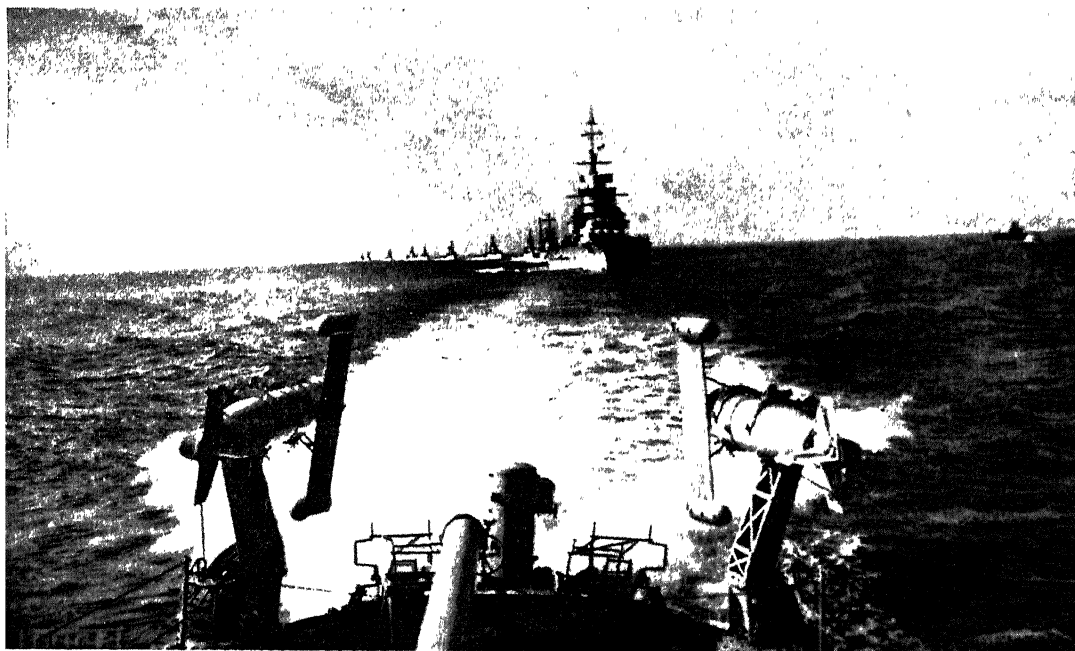
Benito Mussolini welcoming Adolf Hitler at the new railway station, Rome



Herr Hitler laying the wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier
in the Victor Emmanuel Monument, Rome



Illumination of the Via del Trionfo on the occasion of Herr Hitler's visit to Rome



Naval review at Naples on the occasion of Herr Hitler's visit to Italy

defenceless citizens in Alicante, he rises to reply that he has not sufficient information to judge what were "the military objectives" on that occasion. And when he said this the Consuls of eighteen nations had already sent a message of sympathy and protest to the Civil Governor of Alicante.

This answer of Mr. Chamberlain's as regards Alicante is worth noting. It is typical of a favourite technique of his, the technique of creating prejudice. Thus, when he is asked if he will do nothing to protect British seamen trading in Spanish waters, he points irrelevantly to the swollen wages which these men are receiving. And he doesn't stop there! He goes on to remark that there are some ex-convicts fighting as volunteers in Spain in the International Brigade. Do the Opposition ask him to protect them also? Irrelevant and cruel. Surely Mr. Chamberlain is aware that there are also in that International Brigade some of the foremost amongst young English artists and poets. It may be recalled perhaps that in his last novel Mr. Day Lewis, one of the best known modern poets, sends his hero to Spain to fight in the International Brigade. Anyway if Mr. Chamberlain does not know these things, the Conservative *Spectator* does. In the current issue of that weekly, writing in another connection, a reviewer has this to say:

"The volunteers who have fought and fallen in Spain may have been misguided, impetuous, fanatical, but anyone who understands them must concede that they were animated by that kind of idealism to which so many British leaders have appealed with only partial success. The idealism is there, and is prepared for any sacrifice that it counts worth the cost."

But the gibe was irrelevant. Seamen are not combatants. And while Mr. Chamberlain is creating prejudice, diverting attack from the matter in hand and sending us off down other avenues in defence of the people he has disparaged, see what has happened. He has betrayed British interests, has betrayed the general interest, in three vital ways. First of all he has surrendered the old proud boast that wherever you are, provided you are engaged on your lawful occasions, as these seamen were, you are entitled to the protection of the flag. Next in condoning attacks upon trading vessels, attacks upon vessels not carrying contraband (that they were not carrying contraband is attested by the presence on board of Non-Intervention Officers), he has made an amazing admission for a British Prime Minister. He has informed the whole world that in the event of another great war any neutral country which tries to run food to England will only be getting

what she asks for if her vessels are sent to the bottom of the sea. But worst of all, to return to Alicante, in encouraging the idea that a little port, two hundred miles from *any* front, might have "military objectives" and so be a legitimate target for bombing, Mr. Chamberlain has provided a pretext which can be used in future for bombing any and every town.

It is not fashionable these days to be enthusiastic for Mr. Lloyd George. There is a feeling that anyone aged seventy-six ought not to be quite so aggressive. But the fact remains that he is, when he chooses, the most clear-sighted of them all. He has the artist's gift for damning and dismissing a situation in one swift gesture. When in 1931 the Conservatives made use of Sir Herbert Samuel to bring in the Liberals into the National Government, did not Mr. Lloyd George describe Sir Herbert as their quacking decoy duck? The other day, speaking of the squalid misery in Jamaica, he made every one reflect when he deplored the idea of a slummy empire. And now he has impaled Mr. Chamberlain. Why is it that Mr. Chamberlain will not move a finger in protest at the outrages which are going on in Spain? It is because behind Franco is Italy and he has staked his reputation on the Anglo-Italian Agreement. He cannot offend Italy and as a result he has, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, placed himself in a position where *his own personal reputation is in conflict with the interests of the British Empire*.

So that is what it amounts to. It is an awful illustration of how soon a fixed idea can destroy a man's sense of realities. Mr. Chamberlain indeed is fast becoming a pitiable spectacle. You cannot indefinitely wrench a situation to your way of liking. You are sure to leave out some factor and in the end it may prove too much for you. The bombing of British ships is proving just too much for Mr. Chamberlain. He would do nothing to restrain Franco and so offend Signor Mussolini and injure the Anglo-Italian Agreement. But Signor Mussolini was unwilling equally to offend Germany. And it suited the Berlin-Rome axis to bomb British ships and bomb open Spanish towns and generally try out their war wings in Spain. But it has suited them just too long. There are signs that Italy has had enough of the Spanish adventure—but we have had enough of Italy.

This is what Mr. Chamberlain is beginning to realise and this is why he is beginning to falter. This week he has shown on more than one occasion that he is losing his nerve. His attack on Mr. Mander, who had drawn attention to a remarkable statement of British policy which

was sent to the New York *Herald-Tribune* by their London correspondent who claimed to shed "official light on the real British attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Abyssinia...Hitler and Mussolini", was uncontrolled and hysterical. It betrayed the Prime Minister's agitation. (It betrayed more, but of that later.) Then in the debate on Thursday, concerning the bombing of British ships, he made the extraordinary statement, which he withdrew later, that the providing of these ships with anti-aircraft guns was a matter for the owners. And now suddenly on the spur of the moment, no doubt because of the temper of the House, he is recalling the British Agent to France, Sir Robert Hodgson, to consult with him on the matter of this bombing.

Mr. Chamberlain loves the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and when he loves it not—when it is shown up for what it is by these attacks on British shipping—chaos is come again!

Signor Mussolini's mind is not in the least chaotic. He is intent on making use of England and on making use of her in two ways. First of all England's "pacifism" must have no limits. Not only must it allow Signor Mussolini to make war on the Spanish Government, it must cover up his war. It must even allow him to sink British ships if thereby he can finish his war more quickly. Then when the war is finished, and the Anglo-Italian Agreement comes into operation, England must allow Italy credits because Italy's resources have been so depleted by this Spanish war (and also by the war in Abyssinia which England never approved). Italy's plight indeed is growing serious—her silk crops and her corn crops have suffered through the drought—and so she has been trying to persuade England to implement the Anglo-Italian Agreement even before a "settlement" is reached in Spain. As there seemed little likelihood of that, she is re-doubling her efforts to end the Spanish war. That is why these attacks on British ships in Spanish waters have been intensified on the one hand, and why on the other progress has suddenly started to be made in the Non-Intervention Committee!

It is indeed a cynical state of affairs.

At the moment of writing the British Government is awaiting the explanation from General Franco which Sir Robert Hodgson has been asked to obtain. But what is the use of asking Franco to explain? It is not *his* planes which are destroying our ships. He has no planes. The planes belong to Germany and Italy. As the Diplomatic Correspondent in the *Sunday Times* points out, "aeroplanes are not yet built

in Nationalist Spain—at least not in appreciable quantity—nor are aero-engines made there." That the planes are Italian is in fact the boast of Italy. To quote the *Sunday Times* again:

"The Italian Press does not attempt to hide the fact indeed, stresses it—that Italian planes based on Majorca are responsible for the recent sinkings in Spanish harbours....The newspaper *Tribune* yesterday declared that seventeen ships had been sunk in this way between June 4 and June 23 in Valencia, Barcelona, Sagunto and Alicante harbours."

This is the State to whose alliance we cling. This is the State which expects to get credits from us. Not only so. It even has the effrontery to proclaim that before its troops are withdrawn from Spain, it will have to be decided who is to pay for the withdrawal! Evidently we are to share in the cost.

It would be refreshing if General Franco, who calls his Spain Nationalist Spain, suddenly implemented his patriotism and told his German and Italian allies that the Spain they are winning for him will not be worth having. It will be a gaunt and impoverished thing. These bombers from the air, in the words of M. Daladier the French Premier, are attacking civilisation itself "ruining in a few seconds the heritage left by centuries." Does he really like that? Or, in his heart of hearts, does he not think the Spanish Government showed a truer patriotism when it decided not to take part in the new fell policy of bombing open towns? (Although it is just reported that the sorely-trying Spanish Government is now threatening reprisals—and reprisals even against Germany and Italy. To which of course Germany and Italy, Germany with between five and ten thousand technicians in Spain and Italy with thirty thousand troops in Spain, have promptly replied with a threat that they will go to the full limit of war).

I mentioned earlier in this article that the Germans and Italians are trying-out their arms in Italy. To them this agony in Spain, and especially perhaps to Germany, is nothing more than a dress-rehearsal for the coming war. At the beginning of this month a Spanish official commented on this fact to Mr. A. J. Cummings of the *News Chronicle*. He asked:

"What is the use of protesting to Franco? He can do nothing. He has no say in this matter. Surely, the British Government knows that all these bombings are carried out by German and Italian aircraft under direct German and Italian instructions. The German and Italian Governments are experimenting on the Spanish people with various types of machines and bombs and with changing tactical methods. They are also conducting what they call psychological experiments on civilians. Careful reports are sent back regularly not to Franco but to Berlin and Rome."

And he added what is reported to be in the minds of the Spanish Government now (although it can only pull down more ruin on their heads:

"Reprisals by the Spanish Government, therefore, should be made not on Spanish centres of population, but on German and Italian towns."

I think the most important point in the foregoing is the allusion to *psychological experiments on civilians*. What sort of pass have we come to in the West when we contemplate such experiments? When we shake hands with the people who go in for them? The pacifism which stands completely aside is understandable (although a peace-maker is the more honourable role). But our new kind of pacifism shakes hands with the murderer in the presence of the corpse.

Unfortunately there is a great deal of this kind of thinking in the air to day. Peace at any price is the fashion and especially in high quarters. Some people think, for instance, as they see Germany straining every nerve in her preparations for war—virtually mobilising now as she has done in her plan for the conscription of labour announced this week—that the best course is for us to stand aside. This gigantic war machine, they argue, need not be put to use. Herr Hitler is only forging a weapon for blackmail. He knows that if he can make Germany so strong that no one can challenge her, then no one need challenge her. Germany can go ahead and we will look on "while the smaller States of Central Europe are peaceably absorbed into a new continental empire under German hegemony." (You see how the fallacy has crept in. Because these small deserted States could have no hope in standing up to Germany, it follows that their annexation is "peaceable"!)

There is no such state of affairs as peace at any price. A paraphrase of peace at any price is peace at someone's expense. And that means injustice. And injustices are the only kinds of ghosts that never can be laid. They will keep on rising and rising.

But this does not mean that opponents of Mr. Chamberlain's policy of peace at any price are advocating war on the Dictators. They believe that even now, at this eleventh hour, the situation could be saved by a return to the policy of Mr. Eden and Collective Security. Herr Hitler thinks that he will make Germany so strong that no one can resist her. He rightly thinks that that is one way to peace—peace on his conditions. Well then, say those who believe in the League, make the League so strong that no one, not even Germany, can resist the League. This is not such a fantastic idea as the British

Government and the Beaverbrook Press and all those who have done their best to weaken the authority of the League would have us believe. France is with us, Russia is with us, America would be with us if our aims were to be equitable as well as strong. And those smaller States, who have no wish to be "peaceably absorbed" into the German Empire, aggregate, as Mr. Winston Churchill has reminded us, no less than 75,000,000 peoples. What a chance after all is there. The League could be strong enough to show Germany that she cannot be allowed to blackmail any longer. She could also be strong enough to say to these smaller States of Central Europe that some wrongs were created by the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon. These wrongs must be righted. But we will see to it that they are righted in such a way as to cause the minimum of economic and other dislocation.

Who could doubt that if such a return to the League were made, if Great Britain and America threw in the weight of their vast economic resources, peace could be made?

In any event, what is the alternative? War is coming nearer and nearer every day. Perhaps future historians will date this present time as a war period which began in 1931 when Japan attacked Manchuria; continued in the Abyssinian War and in the Spanish War—and ended? One thing also seems to escape Mr. Chamberlain and his circle. If we are finally drawn into war with Germany, after these tedious years of trying to placate and condone and explain away, there will be no heart left in the people. And in war, as Napoleon never lost sight of, the morale is everything. This has been said so often that it has become somewhat musty. But it is noticeable that several people are saying it now, people whose voices cannot be disregarded. Lord Cecil, Mr. Eden, Mr. Winston Churchill—they are all preaching that unity can only have a moral basis. Mr. Churchill believes that there is still a chance to save Europe, but it is the last chance. The choice is between Germany over Europe or Geneva. In a striking review of a compilation of Mr. Churchill's speeches (*Arms and the Covenant*. Harrap. 18s.) the matter is thus concisely put: the Sibylline books are to be proffered to us for a third time, and the fate of Czecho-Slovakia is to decide the fate of the British Empire.

But if the present Government is to decide the fate of the British Empire, then the Empire is doomed. We shall either become a Fascist Power linked up with Germany and Italy, or

we shall drift into war. And we shall have no chance of winning that war because we shall have lost Central Europe to Germany before we come in. It is futile to think that we can keep friends with the Dictators and not become Fascist likewise. Because, unlike a democracy, fascism is always expansionist. Of certain kinds of government you can say we can be friends with them because it is not our business what goes on inside their frontiers. But you cannot say that of German and Italian fascism because they do not stay inside their frontiers. Fascism means economic nationalism but neither Germany nor Italy can be economically self-sufficient; they depend upon outside sources for their raw materials. Of those raw materials they intend to make themselves master, whether it is in Roumania or in Spain. And if we acquiesce in their depredations we shall be thinking like unto them.

Unfortunately there are signs these days of an increasingly Fascist mentality in our society. In industry you see it in the growth of monopoly. In our rulers you see it in their increasing tendency to shut the common people out of their confidence. The Simonite Liberals, for instance, passed a resolution the other day at their Party Conference advocating the setting up of an All-Party Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee "whereby decisions on national safety and external relations might be taken in such a manner that the real and deep unity of the country might be truly reflected." The pious wording of this resolution covers up the very dangerous departure it suggests. Why should a *Committee* take decisions on such vital matters as external relations? In the old days these matters were decided upon in accordance with the mandate received from the electors... As Mr. Henderson Stewart said in opposing the resolution, it would turn Parliament into a body of yes-men.

The Conservative *Spectator* calls attention this week to the tendency to refuse information. The most glaring instance of this of course is in the Anglo-Italian Agreement itself. That Agreement is to come into operation when a "settlement" has been reached in Spain. But what is meant by this the Prime Minister never will explain.

This going over the heads of the common

people, who elected them, is at its most insufferable however in the state of affairs revealed by Mr. Mander—in that fishing enquiry which he made in the House of Commons the other day and to which reference has already been made. He raised the question as to who had authorised a statement of British policy which appeared in the American press. Apart from the merits and demerits of the statement as such (and it is full of such mischievous assertions as that "Czecho-Slovakia cannot survive in its present form" or Russia "cannot be counted upon to move troops into Czecho-Slovakia any more than France can" or again, "any suggestion that Russia might fly 1,000 bombers to Czecho-Slovakia... is ruled out with the comment that Czecho-Slovakia lacks the necessary equipment and ground facilities for such an additional air force") the occasion of its appearance is outrageous. Mr. Chamberlain will neither own it nor disown it with the result, as one critic points out, that the whole world from China to Peru believes he is responsible for it. But the latest news is that it originated at a luncheon party at Lady Astor's. She says that the Prime Minister and the journalists were her guests, but that "nothing in the nature of an official statement was made, although foreign politics were discussed around the table". Why should Lady Astor invite journalists to lunch with the Prime Minister and discuss foreign politics when they are in such a critical state? It is fascism again, arranging public affairs at private meetings. It is an eye-opener and very damaging to the reputation of a democratic Prime Minister. To quote that same critic again:

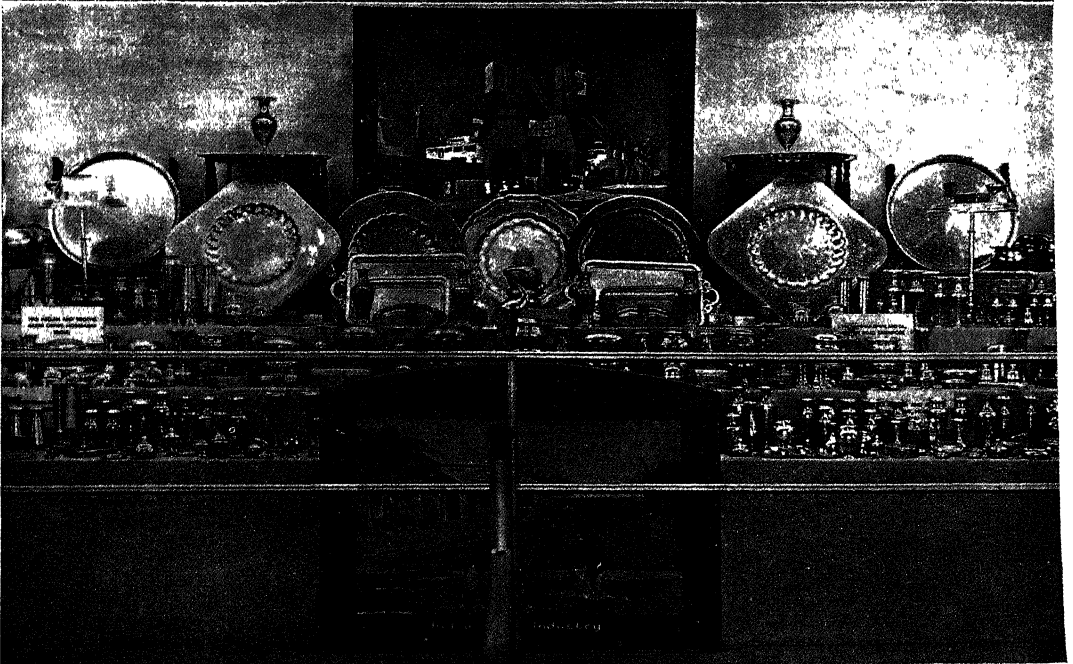
"I cannot imagine any thing more improper than that a complete and elaborate statement of British policy, involving far-reaching decisions, should be given conversationally to a group of foreign and Canadian journalists before it is made known to the British Parliament and the British people."

Sir John Simon hinted the other day that a General Election was only about a year away. It would be a good thing if we could have an Election now to blow some of these cobwebs away—or perhaps blow the Government sky high.

Westminster, London.

June 27, 1938

INDIAN HANDICRAFTS IN BUDAPEST FAIR



TOP : The Central Hall of the Indian Pavilion at the Budapest International Industrial Fair
BOTTOM : Some of the brassware exhibits inside the Indian Pavilion—remarkable specimens of Moradabad and Cawnpore craftsmanship

Giri-Govardhana-Dharana

AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE BHAGAVATA FROM ORISSA

By O. C. GANGOLY

THOUGH illustrated manuscripts of the *Bhāgavat* are by no means rare, a very peculiar interest attaches to a series of full-page illustrations which occur in a manuscript written in Orissan character, now in the collection of an ancient family hailing from Cuttack. In this manuscript the Tenth Chapter of the text, the chapter most popular amongst all sects of the Vaishnavas, is embellished with about seventy-seven full-page illustrations of the size of about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches with a few lines of the text at the bottom of the illustrations enclosed by borders in red, and by four double-page illustrations. As the family Bible, daily read in thousands of homes in different parts of India, the text undoubtedly called for various *éditions du luxe* of which this version from Orissa is a typical example. I am not competent to offer any remarks on the text, but the illustrations provide interesting data as to the existence of a widely spread, common or analogous pictorial tradition which links up the history of the various phases of Indian Art in closely related resemblances and stylistic affinities.

By the courtesy of the owner we are able to cite here three examples of the illustrated pages from this MS., one of which is reproduced in colours.

To take the Colour Plate first, it is an illustration of one of the events in the early Nativity of Krishna, where Kamsa, the Indian Herod, carries off Vasudeva and Devaki—the prospective parent of the enemy of the king of Mathura. They are seen standing on the chariot, well guarded by a row of armed retainers in a heroic procession led by a rider on a galloping red horse, followed by a standard-bearer on an elephant, at the back of which are two lance-bearers whose heights rival those of the riders on the elephant,—a piece of archaism, which is called for, by the demands and exigencies of the composition. The rear of the procession is made up by two riders (with drawn swords) on galloping horses. The other members of the procession are spread over the composition in two sections,—the chorus of musicians on the top of the horse and elephant, and the trio of standard-bearers on the top of the horsemen. They really ought to come in line with the other members of the procession, but are here placed on the top, *not* on the demands

of “transcendental perspective” but out of the necessity of filling up vacant spaces.

This *naïve* treatment and disposition of the figures, as also the primitive palette—confined to Light Red, Pale Blue, Rich Yellow, and Grey Black, lend to the picture an archaic romanticism, which is appropriate to the atmosphere of the legend.

The types of the retainers, their head-dresses, tunics and trousers, as well as the treatment of the horses recall the manner of the Hindu Paintings of Rajaputana. The landscape, on a white background, is treated symbolically by pairs of cypress trees (not indigenous to Orissa) and are borrowed from Mughal pictorial conventions. In this example the only evidence of its local Orissan character is the type of the chariot with *makara* brackets and the tri-foiled arch of the *vimana*.

The two other illustrations, here cited, offer novel treatment of well-known topics.

The *Giri-govardhana-dharana* theme, generally treated in Rajasthani and the Hill Schools, in oblong panels, is here spread out in a horizontal composition which somewhat discounts the intensity of a compact and crowded composition. If we compare the treatment with the well-known Kangra examples in the Ghose and Bharat-kala-Parisad Collections (*Rupam*, No. 41, January 1930, pp. 17, 18), we find that the artist of this MS., was not familiar with these well-known masterpieces and has treated the theme independently, and has not followed traditional patterns though the nervous and schematic treatment of the cows recall similar conventions in Kangra pictures. The most peculiar elements are the conical caps (*Kan-tope*), characteristic of Northern India and frequently occurring in Pahari miniatures.

The third example is of peculiar interest as it illustrates the Prelude to the heroic exploit of the ‘Quelling of the Kaliya-naga’. There are numerous illustrations of the ‘actual fight’ with the Dragon, but our illustration treats of the moment *before* Krishna jumped from the Kadamba tree on the head of the Serpent. The three cowherd-boys on the shores appear to have guessed the resolve of the Hero, and are frantically gesticulating, to dissuade their young companion from the rashness of such a dangerous

venture—an attitude which is echoed and emphasized by the row of cows in the foreground.

The manuscript offers a rich panorama of pictorial presentations of numerous themes from the text, and in many details of treatment, types, and conventions offer contact with pictorial practices of other provinces, attesting an unity and homogeneous character of culture at different

centres of India—which is now cut up and separated by divergence of outlook and provincial peculiarities. India was one, and permeated by one uniform and homogeneous culture—which transcended political boundaries or geographical barriers.

Our manuscript is an interesting evidence of this common link which strung together distant tribes and culture-units.

HOW INDIAN SHIPPING WAS RUINED BY VESTED INTERESTS

By C. A. BUCH, B.A., F.R. ECON. S.

MAHATMA GANDHI, writing in *Young India* of 26th March, 1931 said that the British Shipping in India is built on the ruins of Indian Shipping. While this is a patent fact, attempts have frequently been made by the spokesmen of the British Vested Interests and the Government of India to show:

(1) That there never was any Indian Shipping worth the name, in recent past;

(2) That whatever Indian Shipping did exist, was ousted from the seas, because wood was ousted by steel and sail was ousted by steam.

These vested interests further try to show that the several Indian ventures in the field of shipping during recent years, came to grief because of bad finance and inefficient and inexperienced management.

Very interesting and informative evidence was tendered before the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of a resolution moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar in the Legislative Assembly in 1922, among other purposes "for the encouragement of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine by a system of bounties, subsidies and such other measures". No less than 128 written statements were received by the Committee from all over the country, out of which 72 were tested by oral examination (and severe cross-examination) of their authors. Thirty-eight Indian witnesses out of these 72, including representatives of 15 Indian Commercial Associations were in favour of creating a National Mercantile Marine, owned, controlled, managed and ultimately named by the nationals of the country. Out of the 34 non-Indian witnesses, most of the 19 who were either independent of vested interests or were technical men like Port Officers, Surveyors, etc. were in favour of giving Indians a chance to carry out their

desire, even as a national experiment. The rest of the non-Indians entirely opposed the very idea of a National Mercantile Marine, which they contended was unnecessary, unjustified and impossible. These were mostly European diehard representatives of British Shipping in India, often representing various British Commercial Associations.

Captain Headlam, The Chairman of the Committee informed a witness that he had with him a table of ship-building in India in the 18th and 19th centuries, but the figures were so poor that these can be regarded as negligible. On the other hand notable men like Professors K. T. Shah, P. N. Banerji and others quoted from various historical records to show that Indian ship-building and merchant shipping was in a very prosperous condition right upto the fifties of the 19th century. A fact that requires to be better known by the students of the History of Indian Shipping including that of Indian Marine is that about 1864 all the records relevant to this, were burnt by the India Office. This act of vandalism is mentioned by an Officer of the Marine, Lt. Charles Rathebone Low, in the preface of the first volume of his book (in 2 volumes) *History of Indian Navy*. No wonder then, Capt. Headlam could not find any reliable records of the existence of vast ship-building and mercantile marine activities of the Indians, even upto the latter half of the last century.

Professor Cunningham, an impartial writer, however, avers in his *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* that the ruin of Indian shipping in English waters was directly due to the Navigation Laws of England, which Laws were meant to secure for English shipping the place that it has occupied ever since.

Leaving the history of the old Indian ship-

ping aside, it is enough to view the tragedy of recent attempts to show that the absence of a national mercantile marine in this country is directly due to the ruthless hostility of the British Vested Interests, who have monopolised the Coastal and Overseas trade of the country for over three quarters of a century and more.

The Coastal and Overseas trade of India is estimated at Rs. 540 crores in cargo, stores, etc., with 3 million passengers and 30 million tons of cargo every year. The sphere of Indians in this vast traffic is less than 5%. The fate of several Indian Shipping Companies that have tried to get a footing in this traffic, during recent decades has been uniformly tragic—annihilation—resulting in the loss of anything between 10 to 12 crores of rupees.

TATAS IN THE OVERSEAS TRADE

One of the earliest attempts to start Indian shipping was by the Tatas, who desired to carry piecegoods and yarn to China in their own bottoms. The powerful P. & O. Company, offered competition and the rate per ton which was Rs. 15/- went down to Rs. 1/8/-. When the Tata venture was forced to extinction the rate was restored to Rs. 16/- per ton. The following paragraphs from a booklet issued by Tata & Sons tell their own tale.

"Having been instrumental in destroying the old Indian shipping trade, it has been unceasingly employed ever since its establishment, in raising the rates of freight, and consequently hampering facility of intercourse between India and the further East.

"With scores of liners, English and foreign, plying in these waters, which our petted and much glorified Anglo-Indian Company can afford, and perhaps finds it good policy to tolerate, it is only jealous of a small enterprise like ours, and while it can lovingly take foreigners and possible future enemies of England to its bosom, it discards the poor Indian for whose special benefit it professes to have come to India and from whose pocket it draws the greater part of its subsidy."

RATE WARS

As instanced above, rate war has been one of the most powerful weapons in the otherwise varied armoury of the non-Indian Shipping Companies. The various Coastal ventures that have been annihilated so far, have all had to face a ruthless rate war from their hands. Moulvi Mahamed Nur-ul-Huq Chowdhury of Calcutta told the sad tale of the killing of the Bengal Steam Navigation Company in the following words:

It was a purely Indian venture, but the B. I. and the Asiatic Companies were at that time trading with Rangoon, Akyab, Chittagong and Calcutta. The Bengal Company had two steamers in the same trade. Freight was cut down and the passenger fare was brought down to annas eight

per head! Sometimes passengers went free and received a handkerchief as an extra inducement. Among other misfortunes the Admiralty Court at Rangoon issued an injunction against the Bengal Company's steamers plying in the Bay. The Chairman of the Company deserted the Company and the Company was liquidated after a prolonged struggle for existence. The ships were purchased by the B. I., their most aggressive rival for a sum of Rs. 6 lakhs!

Rao Bahadur V. Govindan mentioned the case of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company which started passenger service between Tuticorin and Colombo and subsequently was killed, when the B. I. once gave clothes free to passengers travelling by their vessels.

Apropos of rate war on Calcutta-Arracan ports, a retired Branch Pilot of Calcutta, in his book *Thirty-five Years on Hooghly* mentions a telegram by the Chittagong Agent of a Company to his principals at Calcutta stating, "B.I. offering fowl free to passengers, may I offer turkey?"

Similar rate wars were waged against each and every Indian Company, everywhere. The Burma-Bombay rice rates went down to Rs. 6/- per ton from Rs. 18/- per ton when Scindia Company started its operation in the Indian trade. The ridiculously low rate of Rs. 20/- from Karachi to Jeddah in 1938 is but recent history, the normal deck passage being Rs. 172/- per passenger. While it is added that out of these Rs. 20/- the shipping company had to pay Rs. 33 in dues and taxes at Kamaran and Jeddah and had to bear Rs. 20/- food charges per passenger, the nature of rate war against Indian shipping becomes as ridiculous as it is vindictive.

REBATES AND REFUSAL OF SPACE

Whilst rate cutting is utilised by British shipping interests for killing a newcomer into their monopolistic preserves, the weapon of rebates is directed against the possibility of any newcomer finding support from the shippers. The institution of Rebates is a very well-known factor in World Shipping. It has been used as a powerful safeguard against recalcitrant shippers, who support a newcomer. It is a highly protective measure in favour of monopolists and thus is an anti-social weapon against principles of Free Trade and *Laissez Faire*. The evil is so deep-rooted and widely practised that even the British Government has not been able to check its spread by legislation. The Royal Commission of 1907 examined this question and the allied question of Shipping Conferences but the majority report held the system irradicable. Deferred Rebate is in various forms like Contract, Preferential Contracts, Agreements, etc.

The hold of the British Vested Interests on Indian shippers is so great, that despite every sympathy that the merchants have for a national

venture, very few can dare to support it in a practical manner. The results are obvious. The existing lines coerce what is called "Loyalty" of the shippers. The newcomer dies a natural death for want of support. The freight rates remain high in favour of the monopolists. This weapon was and is ruthlessly used in Indian shipping business. Despite an attempt by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar to get through a Bill to illegalise Rebate system, the Bill having been killed, the system still persists.

Whilst rebate system provides a weapon against the shippers in general, individual lapses from 'loyalty' are treated with a still more telling weapon of 'refusal of space' to the erring shipper, jeopardising his very existence as a merchant. Babu Jogendra Nath Roy, in giving evidence before the Government Committee referred to above, said:

"Even Indian shippers intending to ship jute by this Company's vessels to Indian consignees, such as mills owned by Indians, are restrained from doing so, by the threat that they will find difficulty in securing space for goods intended for the European Mills and also in shipping from stations where this Company's vessels do not run."

Another witness Babu Nil Krishna Roy told the following tale:

"I have found that if I want to ship by an Indian-owned Shipping Company, the European Companies would not give me space in their steamers for my goods for other ports. So, for the benefit of the other Ports I am compelled to ship by the English-owned Company's steamers. The B. I. has stopped booking my goods because I am the owner of a steamer. They never allowed me any space to book my goods to any other Ports in India. My only fault is that I am the owner of a steamer, which plies between Chittagong and Akyab in competition with the B. I."

"A merchant in Akyab once chartered a ship for rice to Jaffna and other Malabar Ports. For this fault, he was not allowed by the B. I. to ship his goods by their ships for four or five years. Now they have come to an agreement on better terms. The merchant is given special facilities so that he may not compete with the B. I."

Such a story was repeated all over the long coast of India, on the Hooghly and the Brahmaputra, on the Irrawady and the Salween, on the Karnaphully and in the Gulf of Munnar. Rate cutting, forfeiture of rebates, refusal of space and flagrant discrimination against Indian Shipping by allied British Interests like Insurance, etc., as well as petty harassments even by semi-Government authorities, Port Trusts, etc., were all combined against Indian Shipping till it was crushed out of existence.

DISCRIMINATION

An eminent freight broker of Bombay, the late Mr. Jiwandas Pitamber, J. P., said that

"for Colombo, Rangoon, etc., ports, the rates are Rs. 14 or Rs. 15 for certain industries and for the same if they

are required for European-managed concerns, the rate is Rs. 9 or Rs. 12.

This is an instance of flagrant discrimination by British ship-owners against Indian shippers. The policy of discriminating in favour of British shipping is as old as the early seventies of the eighteenth century. Mr. D. P. Khaitan laid before the Committee a table showing that the Customs duties in the Bengal Presidency were so fixed that foreign cotton goods paid 50% less duty if these were imported in British bottoms. This discrimination continued for over a hundred years, securing an immense import trade to British ships. It was further pointed out that the definition of British ships for the purposes of this favourable treatment was so worded as to exclude Indian ships from receiving such favourable treatment.

DISCRIMINATION BY INSURANCE COMPANIES

Babu Jogendra Nath Roy, a shipowner, stated that the British Insurance Companies would not insure goods carried by their vessels at the same rate as goods carried by steamers of the European Companies, even though their steamers were new and in some cases more strongly built. This very invidious and unfair discrimination was put an end to after various protests and through the intervention of Sir Ernest (now Lord) Cable.

Similar discrimination was complained by Mian Mahomed Baksh of the Hedjaz Steam Navigation Company even at the risk of being bullied into silence. The complaint was identical and was proved by production of the rules of the Marine Insurance Agents, Karachi, which read as under, regarding classification of steamers for risks:

"First Class—All those not classed as "Second" or "Third."

"Second Class—All-Indian owned and/or managed and/or chartered steamers other than those specially classed as third class."

Mr. S. N. Haji gave an interesting account of how the steamers of the Scindia Company were discriminated against by the Insurance Companies, in a similar manner, till after protests and recourse to non-tariff Companies, the invidious discrimination was removed.

HARASSMENTS

Mr. S. N. Badoo complained that he could not take their coal for three days from the jetty because the English firms simply make delay so that their customers may get annoyed with them, and they may not be able to load their steamer in time. He further complained that a certain European Auditor could not take up their audit work because pressure was put upon him by his

countrymen against it, and European Banks would not deal with Indian shipping firms like his, which, he added, is a fact, though a revolting fact.

What may be regarded as the climax of anti-Indian feeling was related by Babu Nil Krishna Roy as under:

"I had ordered a launch from the Eastern Bengal Service, Ltd., for a marriage ceremony and she was aground near the channel at Joffsher behind a steamer. Although she whistled 3 or 4 times for help, nobody gave any sort of help and at the request of the passengers and after great difficulty they agreed to the Master dragging the launch. The result was, the Serang of the boat was dismissed from service, because he was helping an Indian launch out of a difficulty."

NAUTICAL TRAINING

The inauguration of I.M.M.T.S. "Dufferin" was due to the hard fight put up by the Indian Members of the Legislatures pursuant to the recommendation in this regard of the Mercantile Marine Committee. While on the one hand the scholastic qualifications required for the entrants make it possible for middle class families to send in their sons for training, the sons of seafaring classes are precluded from taking advantage of this training. The intellectual standard required is of the High School cadre and as the seafaring classes do not take to high schools, the bar is efficiently prohibitive. With a coastline of 4500 miles, India is studded with thousands of villages exclusively populated with seafaring communities, whose sons take to sea life as naturally as duck takes to water. If vernaculars were to be made the medium of instruction, these class sea-men will prove a great success from the very beginning.

A vernacular school was opened at Masulipatnam, not for boys but adult fishermen, and naturally failed. No school for sea can thrive unless the pupils are 'caught young and treated rough'. A vernacular instructor, who had been a Captain on the high seas was engaged and then dropped. The result was that the school was closed down 'for want of boys'.

The story of the downfall of Indian Shipping can be concluded with what appears a very callously strange episode in the South-west Coast of India. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, that bore the wrath of the powerful British monopolist between Tuticorin and Colombo was declared to have come into existence for "Political Motives". The closing of this venture was followed by riots in Tuticorin which were traced to the promoters of this Shipping Company, some of whom were condemned to jail! Of course the promoters disclaimed all political motives attributed to

them. It is a novel idea that for political motives, a few merchants should start a passenger Shipping Company!

British Navigation Laws to protect British shipping against outsiders including India, discriminating Customs Tariff by Fort William at Calcutta, against all non-British incoming bottoms, including Indian bottoms, active help to British ventures by the East India Company's Government, rang the death-knell of Indian Shipping in the recent past.

When the British Shipping thrived on carriage of stores, mail subventions, coal carrying contract and other subsidising preferences, the precursors of Lee Concession passages by British steamers only, they consistently succeeded in crushing out all attempts by Indians to built up a Mercantile Marine by rate wars, rebates, refusal of space, discriminatory acts of the most flagrant type and innumerable petty harassments on all sides.

The results were always the same. Gradual collapse, followed by liquidation. A score of companies thus went down to Davy Jones's locker, the capital loss to India being estimated from ten to twelve crores of rupees!

On the other hand a company like the Bengal Steam had to sell their fleet to the British rivals for cheap returns. This was a variation to total annihilation. Such offers were rarely rejected though often made. Raja Shri Nath Roy's venture did not feel the full brunt of the British compact until they refused to sell out their company outright to the Britisher. The story is told with simple naivette by Babu Jogendra Nath Roy:

"The Hon'ble Mr. Mackenzie of Messrs. Macneill & Co., threatened us in so many words, that unless we sold or made over the management of this company's business to them they were determined to crush our company."

But these Bengalis were made of sterner stuff.

The picture today is tersely eloquent. India's Coastal and Overseas trade is worth Rs. 540 crores annually out of which even 5% is not by Indian bottoms. Thirty million tons of cargo and three million passengers yield crores of freight and passage earnings to enrich the already bloated coffers of non-national shipping. Truly the word *ICHABOD** is written on the portals of the seaways of India, by gory hands of the ruthless foreigner. The words of Mahatma Gandhi never rang truer than when he said, "The Indian Shipping had to perish, so that British Shipping might flourish".

* The glory has departed from here.

CRITICISM OF MARQUESS OF ZETLAND'S SPEECH ON FEDERATION

By K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.). *Barrister-at-Law.*
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THE Marquess of Zetland has at long last blessed the Federal constitution in a speech at the Bombay Dinner held in London on the 27th May last! Lord Lothian and Lord Samuel a few months ago did the same. They went a step further and pleaded strenuously that as the Act was not rigid, but flexible and elastic, the Indians would do well to accept the Act, so that with the process of the suns the constitution may expand. Little did their Lordships think that this conclusion, which their Lordships came to, was unwarranted by the sections in the Act, as also by the declarations of Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State, in the House of Commons. A passing glance over section 6, clause (5) read in conjunction with the second schedule would confirm one in the belief that not only is the Act rigid, but it is cast-iron. Furthermore, even the Instrument of Instructions issued, and to be issued to the Governor-General and the Governors, will have to be approved of by the Parliament—a procedure not adopted in any of the Dominions. I would like to make a present of the protected provisions of the second schedule to their Lordships to convince them that the special plea that the constitution is not rigid, is legally unfounded.

When the Governor-General's various powers are analysed they fall under six categories:

- (1) Powers and functions relating to the Reserved Departments.
- (2) Powers and functions to be exercised in his discretion.
- (3) Powers and functions to be exercised in his individual judgment.
- (4) Powers and functions to be exercised on the advice of his Ministers.
- (5) Extraordinary powers of legislation, supervision over Provincial Legislatures, etc., and functions relating to excluded areas.
- (6) Powers and functions as representative of the Crown relating to the States.

The two offices of the Crown representative and the Governor-General have been combined in one person, namely, the Governor-General. Armed with these powers the Governor-General will arrogate to himself

such a position as has never been enjoyed by the Governor-General in the Dominions or the Kings in England since the days of the Stuart Kings. If, notwithstanding the vigorous protest registered by the whole Indian nation against the proposed Federation, the Secretary of State is still convinced that the Federal scheme, as outlined in the Government of India Act, 1935, is something which is for the real good of the country, he must be treating his Indian critics, in fact the whole Indian nation, as a band of foolish petulant boys completely ignorant of what is good for them. We, Indians, however, refuse to accept the fact that reason had deserted us, or that we have not passed beyond the stage of political babyhood. We are still unconvinced, despite the special pleas advanced by his Lordship, that the Federal scheme will be productive of any real good to India.

If we direct our attention to the analysis of the provisions of the Federal structure we will be struck at once by the fact that the Governor-General has been vested with such enormous powers as to be able to overshadow the whole Indian Constitution and reduce his Ministers to mere puppets, who will have to carry out his behests, register his decrees, or get out of office. It really strikes one as painful that when dyarchy was found unworkable in the Provinces, it should have been introduced in the Centre giving the Governor-General powers over the Army, defence and foreign relations, not to speak of ecclesiastical affairs and tribal areas. He will be advised on the reserved side not by Ministers responsible to the Legislature, but by Counsellors responsible to the Governor-General. Thus the Governor-General and the Counsellor will play the role of irremovable executive having enormous powers and no responsibility towards the Indian Legislature, turning now and then for life, light and guidance to White Hall. Is it the contention of the British Government that an Indian Minister is still unfit to administer the reserved side of the Government? Does it require any special training to run that side,

if so, may the Indians in all humility ask the Secretary of State where such coaching classes can be found and who will be the teachers there?

Why should not the Army and the Navy be thrown open to the Indians, who cannot be deemed to be lacking in warlike qualities? The martial traditions of the Rajputs, Sikhs, Mahrattas, Pathans, and Bengalees should not be forgotten. Why should the children of the soil suffer from hunger and misery unable to find two coarse meals a day, while the English boys should be fed on butter and cream in the shape of fat salaries in the Army? Is there anything unreasonable in our demands that we want to be the protectors of our own hearth and home and defenders of our country? If today the British people, on account of international complications, have to take away the British elements in the Army and Navy to defend their own country, are we simply to sit with folded arms in our rooms praying to Lord Almighty against foreign aggression? The most abject dependence upon British Army can hardly be over-estimated, and it is time that the whole matter should be overhauled and there should be a preponderant introduction of Indian element into the Army and Navy (if not immediate and thorough Indianisation) which would make a vast curtailment of the military expenditure, while at the same time providing food for the starving young men of our country.

The Governor-General has also extraordinary powers of legislation, supervision over Provincial Legislatures, etc., powers to be exercised in his individual judgment and discretion.

If in these circumstances, even if strong Congressmen are selected on the Federal Ministry, is there any doubt that they will be like Samsons shorn of their locks, and as soon as they get the ministerial portfolios they will have to hiss and get extinguished, or if they refuse to be extinguished they will be dismissed by the Governor-General? A cursory glance at the Government of India Act, 1935, will convince any one that the Federal Ministers will have a very narrow field of operation and, therefore, no self-respecting man will choose to be a Minister when virtually he will have little power and far less responsibility, while the Governor-General will play the part of super-Minister.

The noble Marquess says that the Parliament will not alter the constitution before Federation has been accepted and, therefore, he pleads that the Act should be

accepted. This is a most queer way of looking at things. If the Indians are convinced that by accepting the Federal scheme, the future progress and the advance of the country are doomed, why should they put their seal of approval upon the Act? It is just like telling an undesirable man to get into water, which is reputed to be full of sharks, assuring him that he will be lifted out of the water, if and when attacked by them. Just as no man with a modicum of common sense in him would listen to his adviser, however aged he might be, so the Indians will not listen to the Secretary of State.

So much of sophistry and special pleading are apparent upon the speech of the Marquess that even a most commonplace brain can detect the specious line of reasoning. He says that the acceptance of the Federal scheme will bring about unity of the Indian people. But at what cost and with what future and will it ever do so under the present scheme? If one's attention is turned to section 6, clause (5) and to the second schedule to the Act, it will be manifest that no future progress can be made in any direction, unless and until the Princes choose to consent, and if they do not, the Secretary of State himself stated in the House of Commons, that it will be open to the Princes to walk out of the Federation. It is therefore crystal clear that the Princes will be the arbiters of India's future progress. The British Parliament has put legal fetters upon its legislative competence, though it is a well-known proposition of constitutional law that no Parliament can bind its successors. But in view of the declaration of Sir Samuel Hoare and the wording of section 6, clause (5) and the second schedule to the Act, it is abundantly clear that the Indian Provinces will have two masters to please, if the Federal scheme is introduced—(1) the Federated Indian Rulers and (2) the British Parliament. The future progress of India is therefore mortgaged primarily with the Indian Rulers.

It is they and they alone who will reap a rich harvest by accepting the Federation. They will send 33 per cent to the Lower House and 40 per cent to the Upper House of the Federal Assembly, while their population is only 23 per cent—men who will not be elected by the States' people, but who will on the other hand be the nominees of the Princes looking to them for inspiration and guidance, while the people in the States will be totally unrepresented. Can any scheme more prejudicial to the interest of the States' people be imagined? The noble Marquess in his speech stated that

the Indian Princes may send representatives of the people, but even in that case it is open to the objection that so long as there is nothing in black and white in the constitution the Princes may simply ignore what the Secretary of State wishes them to do. Let us suppose that the Princes choose to send half the number by nomination and half by election. Will it satisfy the States' people, or the people in British India? Certainly not. There must be undiluted democracy in the Indian States and thorough elimination of the principle of nomination.

Today, while the Indian Princes are clamouring for establishing their claims for internal sovereignty, the States' people are without any democratic institution worth the name. The Princes have got their rights guaranteed and the orders of the Rulers are final, over-riding the most elementary rights of personal freedom, not to speak of the complete control over the administration of the States. There has been some attempt, on the part of some States to introduce a semblance of democratic institution, but no tinkering will do. The people must feel that they are the masters in their own house able to have their say, and most effective say, on all affairs within the State and the Princes must be content to play the part of constitutional rulers. The States' people must also have the inalienable birthright of human beings, of which they cannot be deprived, except in due process of law. Dr. Keith in his book on the Government of British Empire at p. 554 says :

"To make the experiment safe it was desirable to create a conservative central legislature and this could best be accomplished by granting more than numerically proportionate representations to the States. It was assumed that their representatives in the legislature would solidly support the wishes of the Crown."

I am not drawing upon my own imagination. To quote the exact wordings of Col. Wedgwood, M.P., who in the House of Commons on the 19th February 1935, spoke about the Bill as it then was:

"It is undignified to go on pretending that by this constitution we are providing something for the benefit of India....What we are proposing is obviously worse at the centre than the present situation. If the Bill goes through its present stage there is no chance of any further step towards freedom, towards Dominion Status and towards a democratic franchise."

Mr. Cocks, M.P., in his speech in the House of Commons on the 19th February 1935, stated :

"It did not give responsible Government. In the centre we do not think that there is any democratic Gov-

ernment at all. Labour party would prefer a Federation of the British India which leaves the Princes out."

In the face of these opinions from responsible men can it be said that we Indians are most unreasonable in asserting that the Federation is unworkable and should not be thrust upon us. In my opinion if the following proposals be accepted then and then alone can the Federal scheme be worked. It would usher in a period of peace and prosperity for India as a whole and the establishment of cordial relations between the British Government on the one hand and the Indians on the other. We Indians want to control our own house, to fashion our own constitution and not to be dictated to from 10, Downing Street. The proposals are:

(1) The introduction of a thorough responsible Government in the States must be the condition precedent to the admission of the Indian States into the Federal structure.

(2) The nominees of the Princes must never be allowed to go to the Assembly or the Council of State; only the elected representatives of the people must be sent there. The population of the States being only 23 per cent. when compared with that of the British Government, 23 per cent of the representatives of the people of the States should go there.

(3) The Princes are to be guaranteed all the existing sanads, treaties and engagements along with usages, which must be a fundamental article in the constitution.

(4) The Rulers of the States must be constitutional Rulers acting upon the advice of the peoples' representatives in the States. "Paramountcy" is to be exercised by the Federal Ministry responsible to the Crown.

(5) The Princes may be given some seats in the Council of State.

(6) In case of disagreement between the Indian Government and any State regarding any interpretation of any treaty, engagement or otherwise, reference may be made to the Federal Court for adjudication and the decision of that Court will be final and conclusive.

(7) The method of indirect election must disappear for electing members to the Federal Assembly. There should be thus direct election.

(8) Dyarchy from the Federal Legislature must disappear. The Reserved Departments are to be handed over to popular control, that is, to the Ministers.

(9) The Governor-General's powers to exercise special responsibilities, his individual judgment and control over legislation, etc., must go. His powers to act in his discretion must be abridged within the strictest possible limits. He has to be mainly a figure-head, and to act upon the advice of the Ministers, just as is the position of the Governor-General in the Dominions.

(10) The Council of State must be relegated to a distinctly subordinate position. It must be more or less in the nature of a revising chamber.

(11) The high property qualifications of the Council of State as also the long tenure and the element of nomination must disappear. The House must be representative of the best talents of the country, if it is at all to serve any useful purpose, and suffered to exist.

(12) The Draft Instruments of Accession must be changed, so that there may not be two Indias—British-India and Indian-India.

(13) India should have the full control of

determining her economical, commercial and fiscal policies.

(14) Full control over all the services must be vested with the Ministers. Recruitment, etc., of all services should be made in India. Imperial services must go, and the Ministers should have the unfettered control over all questions relating to recruitment, promotion, etc.

(15) Constituent powers must be provided for in the Act.

(16) Communal electorate must go, and be replaced by joint electorate.

(17) The pernicious section, section 6, clause (5) and the protected provisions under the second schedule to the Act must go.

(18) Treaty making powers must be accorded to India.

The Federal scheme in order to be workable must comply with the foregoing proposals. They represent, in my judgment, the irreducible minimum demands of the Indian people. It will be in the supreme interests of the British Government to accede to all of these demands in order to avoid bitterness in the minds of the Indians. The noble Marquess has not perhaps taken stock of the political situation

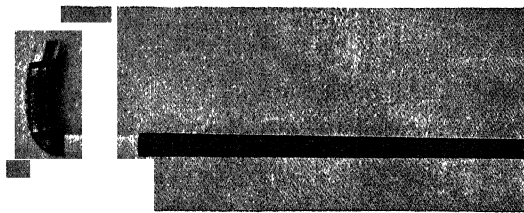
in India today. Eight Provinces are under the Congress Ministry and of the three remaining Provinces, Assam may be Congress Ministry any day. Bengal may follow suit. It will then be the lonely Punjab, which might not form a Congress Ministry. It is high time for the British Government to ponder over the political situation calmly and dispassionately, and gauge the sentiment as well as the strength of the people. It will be a political catastrophe of the highest magnitude if in the face of the emphatic protests against the proposed Federation, it is foisted upon an unwilling India. While a timely grant smoothens the feelings, a long delayed privilege, which is wrung out of unwilling hands, loses all grace. Let it not be said of the present British Government that while they are fertile in administrators, they are sterile in statesmen, who cannot peer below the surface and understand realities; and it is far-sighted statesmen who are required at this juncture.

INDIAN HANDICRAFTS IN BUDAPEST FAIR

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc., Pol. (Rome).

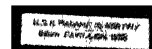
In the glorious spring weather of Hungary an International Exhibition of Industrial Arts takes place at Budapest every year, where most of the leading industrial nations of the world exhibit their handicrafts. Although as a fair

in the Budapest Fair this year too, with greater pomp and displaying more varied and a larger number of exhibits than it was possible to do last year. The Indian Pavilion has been organized by the Indian Government Trade Commissioner at Milan, and it is entirely due



The stick presented to Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, by the Indian Govt. Trade Commissioner, Mr. M. R. Ahuja

it had rather a modest beginning, it has now gained enormous popularity as an annual exhibition and occupies today a large space on the outskirts of the city. India was represented for the first time in this fair last year, and the results of the experiment were so remarkably encouraging that the Indian Pavilion was raised



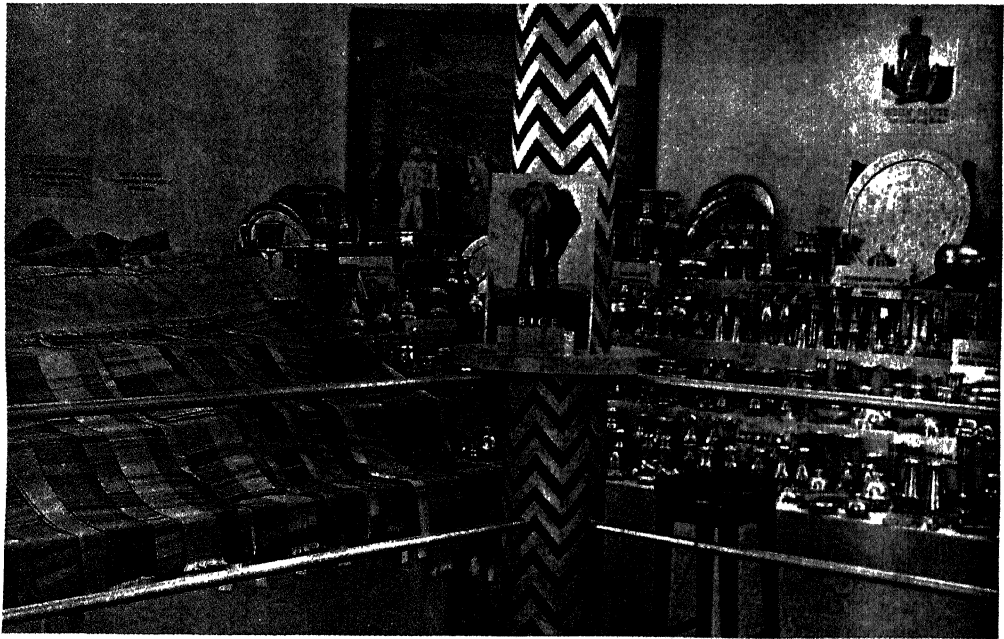
A photograph of the ivory necklace presented to Madame Horthy. It was made at Amritsar

to the organizing genius and business talent of Mr. M. R. Ahuja, that the Indian Pavilion at Budapest has achieved so much popularity and success.

The Indian Pavilion was situated this year in a very striking position, just facing the main entrance to the Fair, and there was something in the architectural design of the Pavilion which would easily remind one of the Orient. It was larger and more striking a structure than that of the previous year. The exhibits were arranged round the walls of the Pavilion and the passage for visitors circled around the exhibits. The brasswares of the incomparable Moradabad craftsmanship were the most popular among the visitors, and the entire supply of brasswares were sold out before the Fair closed. Next in popularity came the silk materials. Sports goods too were much in demand. Being

the results of this year are highly encouraging and extremely satisfactory.

In addition to that there was a very delightful function this year at the Indian Pavilion, when Admiral Horthy accompanied by Madame Horthy paid a visit to the Pavilion and received gifts from the Indian Government Trade Commissioner; Sir Geoffrey Knox, British Minister at Budapest, was also present at the ceremony. Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, was presented with a cane stick finished in silver and mother of pearl, which was specially made for the purpose at Bhera in the Shahapur district in the Punjab from which Mr. Ahuja himself hails. Madame Horthy was presented with a



Corner of the Indian Pavilion, showing a part of the silk and brassware exhibits

asked by me, Mr. Ahuja explained how the general uncertainties of the political situation in Central Europe have affected to some extent the usual enthusiasm of buyers and the briskness of traffic that had characterized the Fair during the previous years. So, whatever drawback was experienced in the sale of articles it was a general feature of the Exhibition and not of any particular Pavilion. Mr. Ahuja, however, made it clear that although the highest hopes raised by last year's success at Budapest have not been fulfilled, yet in absolute figures

magnificent ivory necklace specially made at Amritsar. Admiral Horthy, when he was still a Naval Officer in the former Austro-Hungarian Navy, visited some Indian ports and is known to have unbounded sympathy for the eternal elements of Indian culture.

Although it is the apparent desire of the Government of India to expand the markets for Indian arts and crafts abroad through these Industrial Fairs and Exhibitions, they serve a still higher purpose than merely commercial. Such fine specimens of Indian

makes the concern still more precarious. In order to make the trade at least self-supporting, the producer takes recourse to adulteration. The loss to the dairy industry through adulteration is said to be to the tune of ten crores of rupees. While legislation against adulteration does exist in the country, it is so inefficiently applied that the State, whether it can afford it or not, is losing this large amount.

Insanitary milk is the necessary concomitant of adulteration; impure water supply is the bane of the villager and in consequence in spite of the fact that unboiled milk is the most wholesome, people refrain from using it for fear of becoming victims to water-borne diseases. Methods employed in the production and distribution of milk intended for human consumption and the colossal ignorance of the milkman and the cultivator in general in regard to the elementary principles of cleanliness are deplorable.

It is a fact worth remembering that only a third of the milk produced in India is consumed as such but the rest as curds, ghee, khoa and other byproducts. Milk products patronised by Indians consume 760 million gallons of milk; they are more remunerative than milk itself and are valued at 80 crores of rupees. Besides, it is reckoned that a million maunds of separated milk, a byproduct in the manufacture of creamery butter, is utilised in the preparation of casein for export. One has to seriously consider whether in a country where diseases due to malnutrition are so rampant and where milk is so scarce, such manufacture and export is justifiable. One would expect that indigenous products which to Indians are items of major importance would receive the most serious attention from the authorities concerned. But the pity of it is that they seem to think that manufacture of creamery butter, cheese, condensed and dried milk are of greater moment than indigenous products. Let it not be forgotten that India is a land of small holdings, that 90 per cent of its population lives in villages and that the Indian cultivator is in need of experts who would put their heads to the work of immediate practical benefit to him.

Two problems of vital concern to us are the insufficiency of milk and its prohibitively high price for the man-in-the-street. It is the poor man of the village that now produces it and his poverty tempts him to sell practically all he possesses to the more well-to-do townsman. It should be the concern of the Departments of Government dealing with live-stock improvement

to see that larger quantities are produced and sold at prices that a much larger number could afford to buy. The villagers should have sufficient quantities for their own use. This would naturally necessitate the production of much larger quantities of suitable fodders, a point already emphasised, and waste rigorously prevented. Although efforts made during the last 35 years or more have resulted in trebling the area under green fodders, obviously there is much room for improvement in this direction as only a very small area sown to crops is confined to fodder crops. Much larger areas should be apportioned to leguminous crops which are highly nutritious and cost not more to produce than cereals.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture opined that for the improvement of live-stock there ought to be at least one million of pedigree and improved bulls. But the number available in all Government farms is said to be only one per cent of this estimate. Therefore, even the fringe of the problem has not yet been touched. Efforts in this direction should be greatly augmented. Bulls born to the selected ones should not be lost sight of or converted into work bullocks, and steps taken to select good bulls from those already in the villages. To do this a special staff may be necessary whose business would be to select, purchase and make available good bulls at suitable centres to those needing them.

While too much emphasis can not be laid on the importance of improvement of pastures, fodder crops, water supply, castration of unsuitable bulls, and cattle breeding, it should be recognised that these are but palliatives. As has already been pointed out, the economic condition of the ryot stands in his way to give effect to these suggestions. To him the cow is sacred and yet slaughtering of dry cows in the cities is a daily occurrence. To raise economic position of the ryot should be the first item in the programme of all rural uplift work. Since the milk problem is of vital importance to us as a nation, it is time that the State bestirred itself to strike at the root of the evil. Individual initiative and enterprise, important as they are, can not adequately meet the situation. State aid and State leadership are essential for a successful solution of this complex problem. India can not grow to a healthy and self-reliant manhood without an adequate supply of wholesome and rich milk. Surely, India's destiny is linked up with that of her cattle.

THE BURDEN OF PROTECTION

By C. N. VAKIL,

University Professor of Economics, Bombay

THE economic organisation of the leading countries in the world is changing so quickly under the pressure of modern political and social forces that we are compelled to revise our opinions of the part which both the State and the individual should respectively play in the same. The accepted notions of economic theory of pre-war days have in many cases been thoroughly revolutionised, with the consequence that those who are still under the influence of pre-war ideas will find themselves hopelessly behind the march of events. These changes have occurred in the external economic relations of countries, no less than in their internal economic arrangements. While the economic order of the future has thus not yet shaped itself, and is still in a process of transition, it is difficult to pronounce judgment on contemporary events in the light of old theories. Whereas in some cases it is true that ideas are in advance of practice, we are now witnessing a situation in which the practice of modern nations will lead to fundamental changes in economic theory.

While we find that the otherwise conservative British people have been quick to perceive the nature of these dynamic changes and have been trying with extraordinary zeal to adapt the economic organisation of Great Britain to the same, irrespective of the classical economic theories, we find that the British authorities in this country, are amazingly slow in showing an appreciation of the need for a corresponding change in outlook for the economic organisation of this country. Such a change is all the more required because in the past, on account of a variety of reasons the economic aspirations of the people could not find adequate manifestation.

The development of industries, large and small, has been accepted by all as one of the most important measures that must be taken in this country in order to relieve the pressure on the soil, to increase the national production and thus help in raising the standard of life of the people or in removing even to some extent the poverty of the people. To achieve this such development must be comprehensive and prompt and above all, in national interests.

A small beginning in this direction was made in 1923 when the Government of India accepted the policy of Discriminating Protection. With the help of that policy a few industries have received State assistance; the capacity of the people of this country to organise and run modern industries has been proved and some progress achieved. But even the limited progress which could be thus made aroused jealousies which resulted in organised attempts, either to put obstacles in the way of the industrial progress of the country, or to obtain a share of the benefits of such progress for people other than the nationals of this country. In order to appreciate these observations, one has merely to refer to a few leading tendencies in the industrial and commercial policy of this country in more recent times. In the Second Steel Protection Act of 1937, preference was granted to British steel within the protective scheme. The same was done with reference to cotton piecegoods a few years later. It is well-known that both the steel interests and the textile interests in this country were coerced into the acceptance of these arrangements, because of the threat that unless they did so no protection would be granted. Indeed half a loaf was better than none, was the logic of the persons concerned. These exceptional arrangements made under such unusual circumstances were quoted to prove the willing acceptance by India of the principle of preference for British goods at the Ottawa Conference in 1932. The Ottawa Trade Agreement which followed was, as it is well-known, rushed through, without consulting the industrial and commercial interests in the country. It gave a large amount of advantage to British trade in this country without reciprocal advantages to Indian trade in the United Kingdom. It ignored altogether the possible repercussions on the growing small industries in the country under the impetus of the Swadeshi movement. The warning then sounded by a few economists* roused public opinion, and the Government of India found it difficult to convince the people about the

* Cf. *The Ottawa Trade Agreement between India and the United Kingdom*, by C. N. Vakil and M. C. Munshi.

advantages of the Agreement. But it was a period when it was easy for the Government of India to sanction any arrangement irrespective of the weight of public opinion in the country. The leaders of public opinion in the country were in jail; Indian commercial interests were also aloof so far as Government policies were concerned because of the political tension; a tame Legislative Assembly with a weak and unorganised opposition could be easily made to accept arrangements of this nature. The only thing that could come out of the opinion then created, was that the Agreement was made for a period of three years, at the end of which it could be terminated by either party; besides, annual reports of the working of the Agreement were to be issued by the Government of India.

The reports which were published from time to time could not establish the case in favour of the Agreement, and in due course the anticipation of those economists who had tried to prove the unfairness of the Agreement were borne out. The Assembly at the end of three years passed a resolution asking the Government to terminate the Agreement. The necessary notice has been given, but the Ottawa duties continue on the Statute Book, on the ground that fresh negotiations with Great Britain are in progress pending which changes in duties are not desirable. Somehow these negotiations have been protracted now for nearly two years; delegations have gone to and fro; the Indian Commerce Member has flown several times to London, but we have not yet seen the end of the negotiations. In the meanwhile, important departures have been made regarding the manner in which protection may be granted to Indian industries. For example, it has been admitted that in the case of any Tariff Board Enquiry, British industrialists are at liberty not only to make a representation to the Tariff Board but also to give evidence before the same. In no country in the world intending to protect its industries is the right of the competing party to lead evidence in this manner accepted.

Besides this, the Government of India Act, 1935 provides that in any State assistance that may be given for the development of trade and industry in this country, there shall be no discrimination against the British. In other words, the British shall obtain in this country all the privileges of a national if they want to start industries in this country.

Putting all these tendencies together, one is forced to the conclusion that the industrial and

commercial policy of this country is that of discrimination in favour of the British producer and the British importer; that subject to this policy, assistance may be given to Indian industries against third parties, and that in the giving of such assistance the hampering conditions of the policy of discriminating protection may be applied in a manner not conducive to that all-round progress which is so urgently required.

The adoption of the policy of Protection by a country involves a conscious burden on the people at large in order to help industries. Such a burden, however, is undertaken willingly because in the long run the development of industries creates greater employment and a larger production in the country, which enables the people to have a higher standard of life ultimately. It is possible to exaggerate this burden and sacrifice, and it is invariably so exaggerated by vested interests. An impression is created that the advantages due to protection are monopolised by the capitalist producer, and that the consumer is made to pay a higher price for his goods in order that the producer may flourish. It is however, forgotten that a stage arrives, when the producers of a protected industry are able to reduce prices because of internal competition, and in due course are able to do without protection when they have grown sufficiently strong. In return for the sacrifice of the consumer, the protected industry is in this way able to create both direct and indirect employment, a larger production and a state of affairs by which the resources of the country are retained within the country. If in some cases the distribution of these resources is uneven, it may call for steps to remedy the inequality by means of higher taxation of the rich or similar other methods. If we view these processes in their proper perspective, it will be obvious that there is no antagonism between the interests of the producer and the consumer in a country; their interests are supplementary because they are parts of a larger whole, namely, the interests of the community in the aggregate.

When therefore attempts are made to point out and exaggerate the so-called antagonism between the interests of the producer and the consumer in a protected country, we should realise the fact that it is the work of some alien interest desiring to have some advantage in the country by diverting attention from the real economic goal of the country, and creating conflicts between parties which should otherwise co-operate for the good of the country as a

whole. In this connection, we may refer to the attitude of Sir James Grigg towards the policy of protection in this country. He has made no secret of his free trade convictions; his constant flings at the producer in this country are familiar to everybody. He has found it perhaps difficult to undo the existing protective policy of the country by a direct attack. But protection is imposed by means of duties, and duties are a form of taxation, and taxation is within the purview of the Finance Member. It was significant that during the budget session at Delhi in March 1938, in answer to some observations by a European member, Sir James Grigg referred to the inequality of incidents of taxation in this country, and suggested that that was a subject which the new Economic Adviser to the Government of India would take up for investigation. The inequality in the incidence of taxation in this country is not denied by anybody. Land revenue is regressive in its effects and we have several taxes on articles of common consumption, like salt and kerosene, which are bound to affect the poorer man more than the richer. It does not require any detailed investigation to prove this obvious fact; the only remedy is that these taxes should be removed or reduced; if these taxes cannot be removed arrangements should be made to tax the richer class by progressively higher rates of income-tax, by death duties and such other methods.

But the intention of the proposed inquiry is not so much to study the incidence of taxation, but to study the incidence of the burden on the consumer due to the protection to industries in the country. If this is intended to create that conflict of interests between the consumer and the producer which was referred to above, there will be a new obstacle in the name of the people of the country themselves in the way of the development of industries in the country. It is one thing to welcome the burden of protection, and having welcomed it to see that it is distributed properly; it is another thing to create a conflict of interests because of this burden with a view to prove that it is undesirable, and thus divert attention from the good of the country as a whole to the sectional interests of the different groups of people.

With the record of the Fiscal Policy of India in the past, and with the present arrangements in the country by which the British producer and the British importer must be favoured in this country, one may well doubt the nature of the sympathy of the British capitalist

and the British statesman towards the poor Indian consumer as against the Indian producer.

Besides the growth of these tendencies, we find that an organised attempt is being made by foreign capitalists to build industries in this country. A large number of concerns have in recent years established branches in this country, and started companies nominally fulfilling the conditions of the Indian Companies Act. Some of these are taking advantage of the protective system; others are taking advantage of the general feeling in the country for a larger industrial production. Because of the command over a large capital, longer experience and contact with corresponding firms abroad, these concerns are able to secure a firm footing in the country. They are further assisted at least in the case of the British Companies by the existing arrangements in the country, which enable them to obtain advantages from the State as if they were the nationals of the country. Most of these concerns either assume Indian names or are registered under the Indian Companies Act, and in any case have a sprinkling of Indian Directors on their Board. Barring the small advantage which accrues to Indian labourers that they must employ, the profits mostly go out of the country, and the experience and skill of running such concerns is denied to the people of the country, because the superior posts remain in the hands of foreigners. Nominally it appears that the industrial production of the country has increased in this or that respect, but it does not necessarily follow that the resources available for distribution among the people of the country have therefore increased in proportion. The whole object of industrialisation is therefore defeated, because the full benefits of such industrial growth are not shared by the people of the country. It is significant that those who cry hoarse for the Indian consumers, are not in the least perturbed by this influx of foreign manufacturers in the country, who by taking the profits out of the country make it increasingly impossible for the average Indian to have a larger share of the national dividend. In this connection the considered opinion of Mahatma Gandhi as expressed in the *Harijan* of 26th March, 1938 is appropriate and timely. It is so because it draws pointed attention to the need of having genuinely Swadeshi industries in the country instead of industries which are controlled, directed and managed by non-Indians. If we allow the development of such non-Swadeshi industries in the country we shall find

that our poverty problem will be as acute as ever.

But this expression of opinion endorsed by the Congress Working Committee is inadequate from the point of view of the industrial problem as a whole in the country. As pointed out above what is required is a new industrial policy in the country instead of the present halting policy of Discriminating Protection, which shall enable us to achieve a comprehensive industrial progress as soon as possible. What is further required is an organised attempt to see that the advantages of such a policy are reserved for the people of the country themselves in the manner suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. At the

same time effective arrangements should be made to combat the clever devices of certain parties to divide and rule in the economic sphere even as they do in the political sphere.

Whereas the opinion expressed by Mahatma Gandhi and endorsed by the Congress Working Committee is useful inasmuch as it indicates the attitude of Free India, it does not materially help in removing or minimising the existing tendencies explained above. If the Congress hopes to get the value of the rupee changed by means of an organised agitation, it should also take up the question of a correct industrial policy for the country, and force the issue with all its might.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND INDIA

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

ECONOMIC nationalism is no single theory or principle but a complex phenomenon whose origin lies in economic, political and social factors. It arises from the effort of a country to obtain its essential requirements from its own national resources and to protect its own economy. It differs from the theory of *laissez-faire* in its emphasis on national self-sufficiency rather than international division of labour as well as in its insistence on deliberate control of economic activities by national authorities as opposed to achievement of economic harmony by the free-play of economic forces. It is, in its present manifestation, a development of the economic and political forces since the last war.

Economic nationalism is, indeed, less a doctrine than a tendency. It is an inevitable concomitant of the more intensively organised life of the modern State due not merely to militarism but to the desire for maintaining a certain standard of life for its people and a balanced economy within its control. It is an aspect of the prevailing forces which have tended to undermine the economic order, under which a small number of large industrial countries have controlled the markets of the world. Every country is entitled to develop to the utmost its own resources and the weaker countries naturally resent any attempts to prevent such development on the plea of economic internationalism. International trade, after all, is

not an end in itself; it does not function merely to maintain exports and imports. Classical economists are prone to exaggerate the importance and value of international trade. The criterion of international trade as a measure of national recovery has its limitations. As Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, observed in his annual report of 1937:

"One of the clearest teachings of the depression is that the maintenance of the domestic equilibrium must be the primary objective of monetary policy even if it entails lowering the external value of the currency" so that "internal stability must in future take precedence of external stability."¹

This undue emphasis on external trade and exchange and international market is the result of the predominance of a few powerful countries in production and trade which has involved an economic dependence on the part of the weaker and smaller countries. These newer or backward or weaker countries have failed to develop their own resources owing to this predominance which has led to a national inferiority complex in the economic sphere. The bare notion of international trade has, therefore, in the present-day world, to be co-ordinated with the whole economic activities of the country and its people. Nor is that all. In evaluating national prosperity and economic

1. Report of the Director: Twenty-third Session of the International Labour Conference, 1937.

progress, mere arithmetical computation of figures of imports and exports is no sure test and might even be misleading unless the character of the particular trade as well as the nature and value of the different commodities are taken into account. India, for example, has a large visible balance of trade, but this is no indication of its prosperity since that trade itself is the outcome of its external indebtedness so that it remains one of the poorest countries in the world, despite its vast natural resources. Such an economic paradox can only be resolved if internal economic development takes precedence over the development of external trade. For, in the economic policy of a nation, the centre of importance has definitely shifted from foreign trade to internal economy.²

Much is spoken and written about the excellence of the principle of international division of labour. It is, however, pertinent to enquire whether the existing location of industries in different national areas is the result of purely economic forces and whether political factors have not helped the stronger powers to build up their industries and trade on the basis of their colonial possessions. Why are countries which do not grow the raw materials essential for their manufactures and do not possess adequate home markets for their disposal but are able to acquire both these through the adventitious aid of their colonial and imperial possessions considered to be *naturally* suited, in the strict economic sense, for the manufacture of such commodities? Would Britain's shipping industry, for example, have been built up without its overseas possessions and colonies? It is a strange vindication of *laissez-faire* and of the principles of international division of labour that economic laws and forces operate freely only in a world whose sources of supply and markets have been and are determined by political considerations and forces. As Dr. Schacht, the late Minister of Economy and President of the Reich Bank of Germany, observed in his speech at the Berlin Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce in July last year:

"Economic nationalism only arises where the nation's conditions of life have been cramped by external forces."

It need hardly be pointed out that India's natural economic evolution has been hampered and the economic ambitions and aspirations of its people have been impeded and frustrated by

such external forces which have not hesitated, in the words of a British historian, "to use the arm of political injustice" to keep down and strangle the ancient handicrafts no less than to prevent the growth of modern enterprises in the country. But that is not all. The technique of modern manufacture along with the facilities of modern transport has tended to undermine the principle of international division of labour by diminishing the advantages of specialisation of industries in particular localities. One can almost make anything anywhere nowadays and the location of particular industries is, therefore, relatively a matter of economic indifference. In order, however, to encourage the growth of incipient industries in particular areas against long established competitors from outside, it might be essential to protect them. It is a mere abstraction to ignore the existing division of the world into separate national areas and to under-rate the importance of balanced national economies in a genuine world order. As Herr Frowein, the President of the Berlin Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, pointed out:

"International trade can only reach its optimum development if based on sound and prosperous economies."³

The national economy of India is, for reasons on which it is unnecessary to dwell here, not prosperous. Until, therefore, India has grown to the full height of its economic stature and can secure the maximum satisfaction of its domestic requirements by its own industries, it cannot usefully participate in any movement for the development of international trade on a genuinely reciprocal basis. As Mr. Harold Butler observes in his Report this year:

"If social justice is to form the basis of universal peace, there must be some approach to greater equality between nations".⁴

It is necessary however, to eliminate some political bias attached to the movement of economic nationalism owing to its association with the Fascist States. Economic planning on a national basis is not the same as *autarkie* which involves complete control of foreign trade and economic processes for defensive even more than for economic reasons. For example, Mr. G. D. H. Cole acknowledges that

"a country which has so wide a diversity of natural resource, and so large a population that it can produce without serious economic sacrifice nearly everything it needs for an advancing standard of life is in a position by adopting economic nationalism to escape the fatal barrier

2. See *Foreign Trade Policy of India* by P. R. Srinivas, Editor, *Indian Finance*: a stimulating course of lectures delivered at Madras last year.

3. Article in *World Trade*, June 1937.

4. Report of the Director of the I. L. O. for 1938.

to high wage policy which international competition sets up".

Potentially, India is very much in this position but it is sheer misrepresentation to confuse Indian demand for and efforts towards national self-sufficiency with totalitarian *autarkie*. The development of the vast economic resources of India, industrial no less than agricultural, is a fundamental of its national economy. Industrialisation is an integral part of India's economic and fiscal policy and is deemed essential in order to secure a proper equilibrium between industry and agriculture. Protection to national industries is, consequently, a necessary instrument of national economic development. It is well-known that although India is considered one of the important industrial countries of the world, it is extremely backward in industrial production and the standard of living of the mass of its people is deplorably low. The Indian intelligentsia, therefore, desires to develop national resources and utilise the raw materials within the country for manufacturing goods, thereby not only creating larger avenues of employment but also securing a diversification of economic pursuits. If such efforts are considered as "economic nationalism" by the more highly developed countries which have attained their present economic position through their control and dominance over the weaker and backward peoples of the world, we should gladly plead guilty to the charge. Whatever orthodox economists might say, we should consciously and energetically establish industries of every kind, from a pin to a steamer, from hydro-electric power to steel. The betterment of a people's welfare depends upon the increase in economic productivity, both agricultural and industrial, and this economic advancement is inextricably bound up with the development and extensive use of our own natural resources. This view has received the powerful support of no less an authority than Mr. J. M. Keynes, one of the truest liberals and internationalists of today. Says Mr. Keynes: "I sympathize with those who would minimize, rather than maximise, economic entanglement among nations. Ideas, knowledge, science, hospitality, travel—these are the things which should of their nature be international. But let goods be homespun wherever it is reasonably and conveniently possible... a greater measure of national self-sufficiency and economic isolation among countries than existed in 1914 may tend to serve the cause of peace rather than otherwise."⁵

The "homespun goods" of Mr. Keynes are what India's economic nationalism, in its essence, aims at producing. The problem is wider than

one of pure economics. Mr. Bertrand Russel also visualised the evolution of international peace through the organisation of large land blocks each strong for defence but weak for attack involving a minimum of foreign trade and a maximum of self-subsistence.⁶

Indeed, under the present conditions of world economy, economic nationalism for a country like India is not only a right but an obligation. For, the tariff is as much an instrument of resistance and defence as of construction. The decline in international trade is not a theory but a fact, however much orthodox economists might regret it. The free market is an abstraction; it does not simply exist. In the field of foreign trade there can be no "back to normality". The formula of free trade may be sound in an ideal international society, but it is peculiarly irrelevant at present because it has little relation to economic facts of today. No one can, even if he wishes it, go back to the old policy of free trade which, so far as India is concerned, was really free imports without free trade and was imposed upon, rather than accepted by the people of this country. It is essential, therefore, to recognise that in the present changed conditions, wherein countries to which we exported have abandoned *laissez-faire* and free trade, India should also evolve a policy of reducing the national dependence on foreign trade and concentrate increasingly on internal development. Under prevailing conditions, there is no such thing as an absolute criterion of economic rightness. Economic policies cannot operate in a vacuum. National economies have to take into account new factors of planning and control and must seek to adjust themselves to them as well as to the decay of international trade. "Theoretically" the principle of international division of labour may be valid but then no one knows precisely what "theoretically" means. Unless our economic principles and policies are to be completely divested from realities as they exist and are to be barren of any results, the new elements of planning and control must enter into the sphere of international trade movements and expansion. The principle of *laissez-faire* implies achievement of economic equilibrium and harmony by the automatic working of economic forces and processes. But such *laissez-faire* is at an end, if ever it was strictly practicable. The enormous waste and frustration of efforts involved in the free-play of economic forces need no emphasis. It is widely recognised that national economic progress

5. "National Self-Sufficiency", *Yale Review*.

6. See his *Prospects of Industrial Civilisation*.

cannot be achieved merely by leaving economic forces to work themselves out as that might have catastrophic results; the preservation and expansion of national wealth is, therefore, acknowledged to be the concern of every progressive modern State. Yet if some sort of regulation or planning is needed and if today there is no international authority to do so on an international basis, the centre should, at least for the time being and as far as one can foresee, be the nation. Internationalism, after all, is still an aspiration, not a fact: it is less a force than an ideal. Economic prosperity of the Western countries has been mainly based on the political domination and exploitation of the Asiatic and African countries which provided raw materials and markets. The East has realised the futility of exporting raw materials to Europe and America in order to import them back again in the shape of manufactured goods; it would be much cheaper to manufacture them within one's own country. This development of self-sufficiency on the part of countries which served as markets is resented by nations which had an initial advantage in industrialisation and which are economically stronger. Behind the policy propounded for the international utilisation and rationing of raw materials is an undoubted apprehension of the loss of markets in undeveloped countries. This fear is not anything new. Industrialised England had the same apprehension when the continental European countries were developing their own industries; later, Europe had the same fears when the United States became industrialised and the whole West was alarmed when Japan underwent the same process. One finds, for example, an analogous position in shipping, an industry intimately related to international trade and the carriage of world's men and goods. Because certain countries developed their own shipping in the past and were able to carry a major portion of the traffic, they object to the establishment of national mercantile marines by other countries on the ground of an over-abundance of tonnage in the world. Just as the highly developed countries apprehend the loss of their markets by the industrialisation of the backward countries, so they fear the loss of their own predominance in the sea routes of the world through the development of national shipping in other countries. But every maritime country is entitled to have its own shipping for the carriage of its own coastal and overseas trade and the earlier development of some countries through fortuitous circumstances or political conditions does not give them a prescriptive right on the

oceans of the world any more than on the markets of the undeveloped countries. Such apprehensions regarding the industrialisation of countries producing raw materials should not, therefore, be permitted to influence an international economic policy. The industrially powerful countries of the world will have to learn to adjust themselves to the changed currents of international trade in so far as world industry is redistributing itself geographically on a more comprehensive basis in accordance with the change in productive technique on the one hand and the increase in social obligations of the State on the other. World economy is today in a process of readjustment and seeks to rectify some of the maldistribution of economic resources and some of the economic inequalities, particularly between the East and the West. India is, therefore, entitled to claim the right and liberty to utilise its raw materials itself in the first instance and no extraneous influences can be permitted to impede this right of a country's normal economic development in the name of a "rational" distribution of world economic resources or of "unfettered" international trade. Indeed, a policy of national economic development is not detrimental even to international trade, rightly conceived, because the process of industrialisation would lead to the expansion of wealth and is likely, therefore, in the long run to help rather than hinder international trade. As the example of Germany in the past and of Japan more recently shows, with the progress of industrialisation a country tends to purchase more goods rather than less even if they are goods of a different variety and kind. Economic nationalism, as is envisaged in India, does not imply a withdrawal from international trade but a change in its character and direction. Such economic co-operation is not and cannot be truly international until it is based on the free and independent national economies of the various countries, including the countries of Asia and Africa co-operating for mutual benefit. A rigid division of the world into economic hemispheres resulting in the perpetual exploitation of the resources of the weaker countries by the more powerful ones cannot be regarded as economic internationalism in any true sense. India cannot, therefore, subscribe to any idea or scheme for the promotion and extension of international trade irrespective of its effects on a balanced national economy. We rightly believe in nationalism not only as a political and cultural policy but also as an economic policy and we need not at all feel apologetic about it.



Nagesh Yawalkar at work
in his studio



Utkhal-Bandhan
By Nagesh Yawalkar



Buddha's Enlightenment
By Nagesh Yawalkar



Lasya dance
By Nagesh Yawalkar

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By D. P. KHAITAN

THE Cotton Textile Industry was one of the first large-scale industries to be established in this country. Though the first cotton mill is said to have been erected in Calcutta as early as 1818, the real development of the industry may be taken to begin from the middle of the last century. During all these long years, this industry has to pass through many troublous times. The one special circumstance which has affected its progress throughout these decades has been the fact that it has had to encounter constant opposition from a quarter which had political power on its side, namely, from Lancashire.

In spite of all the vicissitudes through which this industry had to pass, its progress has been steady during these years. I do not

from abroad would be restricted. It is almost common knowledge how from the position of the prime producer of cotton textiles, India was reduced to the position of absolute dependence on her foreign suppliers for the clothing of her vast population. In the year 1913-14, over 3,100 million yards of piecegoods were imported into India from foreign countries and India had to pay over 66 crores of rupees in return. Most of this trade, almost entire, was of course with the United Kingdom. The progress of the indigenous industry, however, acted as a check on this huge annual drain with the result that in the year 1937-38 our total imports amounted to only about one-sixth of those in the year 1913 in respect of both yardage and value :

TABLE I.

| Year | No. of average working spindles | No. of average working looms | Yarn manufactured (Bales of 400 lbs.) | Cloth woven (Thousand Yards) | Cotton consumed (Bales of 392 lbs.) | Persons employed |
|---------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1913 | 5,736,701 | 82,577 | 1,721,182 | 1,220,443 | 2,096,016 | 253,786 |
| 1920 | 6,238,771 | 105,169 | 1,589,400 | 1,639,779 | 1,952,318 | 311,078 |
| 1928 | 6,505,175 | 126,235 | 2,022,351 | 2,356,565 | 2,009,782 | 360,921 |
| 1935 | 8,441,464 | 174,114 | 2,501,889 | 3,397,107 | 3,123,414 | 414,884 |
| 1935-36 | *9,856,658 | *200,062 | 2,648,216 | 3,571,371 | 3,109,624 | 417,803 |

* Total number.

TABLE II.

| Year | Mill production (Million Yds.) | Handloom products (Million Yds.) | Imports Million Yds. | Lakhs of rupees | Total piecegoods available for consumption (Million Yds.) | Per capita consumption (Yds.) |
|---------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1913-14 | 1,164 | 1,068 | 3,159 | 6,630 | 5,421 | 17 |
| 1920-21 | 1,581 | 1,148 | 1,510 | 8,378 | 4,239 | 13½ |
| 1925-26 | 1,954 | 1,160 | 1,762 | 5,450 | 4,876 | 15½ |
| 1934-35 | 3,554 | 1,426 | 983 | 1,650 | 5,963 | 17½ |
| 1935-36 | 3,529 | 812 | 836 | 1,419 | | |

(6 months)

propose going into the long history of this industry but to trace its development in the post-war period only, taking the immediate pre-war year as the basis. It will be seen that the volume of cloth produced in the Indian mills increased from 1,220 million yards in the year 1913 to very nearly 4,000 million yards in the year 1937. The average number of working spindles and looms likewise increased during this period from 5,736,701 and 82,577 to 9,856,658 and 2,00,062 in 1936 respectively. It was natural that with this development of the indigenous industry, the imports of piecegoods

The growth of the handloom and the cottage industry side by side with the cotton mill industry has, of course, had its share in preventing this huge drain from India to foreign countries. It will, however, be seen from the figures given above that the textile mills alone now produce, roughly speaking, about 100 crores worth of piecegoods annually and but for the existence of these mills this huge amount would have been added to our annual drain. It should also be remembered that not only has there been a quantitative development in the textile industry but there

has also been a great improvement in the variety and the fineness of the cloth produced. Printed and coloured cloth is now being produced in increasing quantities in India and there has also been an increase in the manufacture of finer counts, as will be apparent from the following figures :

TABLE III.
Total Quantity Manufactured in British India and States

| Year | | Gray and bleached | Coloured | Yarn spun | Yarns above |
|---------|----|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| | | piece-goods Yds. | piece-goods Yds. | Nos. 31 to 40 lbs. | 40 lbs. |
| 1927-28 | .. | 1,675,011,583 | 681,553,222 | 33,757,097 | 11,141,821 |
| 1935-36 | .. | 2,772,980,036 | 797,878,975 | 112,026,209 | 58,528,164 |

There is often a misconception prevailing in the public mind that there is some antagonism between the development of a large-scale industry on the one hand and small and cottage industries on the other. With her vast market and on account of her peculiar conditions, however, India offers equal scope for the development of both large-scale and small and cottage industries. It will be seen from the figures given above as to how the volume of cloth produced by handlooms has increased along with the development of the cotton mill industry in recent years. It will be apparent that the grant of protection has been equally beneficial to the small-scale and large-scale producers.

The increase in the production of Indian mills has naturally provided an ever-increasing and a certain market to the cotton-grower in this country. The quantity of Indian cotton consumed in the mills has increased from 1,835,943 bales in 1923-24 to 2,625,485 in 1936-37. It is needless to emphasise that not only has the Indian cotton-grower been able to dispose of increasing quantities of his produce to local mills but he has also benefited in another manner inasmuch as the creation of this home market has reduced his dependence on the uncertainties which always accompany a foreign market. It is obvious that in the absence of a substantial home market, the plight of the Indian cotton-grower would have been very unenviable. It might also be pointed out in this connection that the cloth that we import from foreign countries is not made from Indian cotton except in very small quantities for much of our imports are of finer counts in whose production only American or Egyptian cotton is used. It is therefore wrong to assume that the offtake of cotton by foreign countries will in any way be seriously affected as a result of the increase in the indigenous production of

cloth with a consequent fall in the quantity of imported goods.

Apart from the benefit that the development of the Indian Textile Industry has thus afforded to a very large number of India's agricultural population, it has also been responsible for giving direct employment to lakhs of

workers. The number of persons employed by the industry has naturally been continuously on the increase. The number of persons employed in 1913 was 253,786. It increased to 414,184 in 1935. It is estimated that on the basis of the present figures the wages bill of the industry amounts to over 10 crores of rupees per annum.

It will thus be seen that the growth of the cotton textile industry has been accompanied with all round benefit to the people of India. It has not only saved millions of our money from going abroad but has brought positive gain to the doors of millions of agriculturists and labourers, not to speak of a very large number of shareholders in the industry.

The textile industry today is the most important industry of the country. Indeed, by its very nature the textile industry is such that its place cannot be taken by any other industry in the country. Clothing is one of the prime necessities of life and looking to the vast population of this country, it is obvious that the textile industry would always occupy a most important place in the economic system of the country. There is no doubt that our country is yet far behind most of the progressive nations of the world in economic development. There is a large scope for the development of both large and small cottage industries in this country, in various spheres. This is, however, sure to give a further impetus to the textile industry inasmuch as the purchasing power of the people would be raised by such development. It would appear from the figures given above, that the per capita consumption of cotton piecegoods in India is only 16 yards per annum, whereas the minimum standard consumption should be 40 yards. It will thus be seen that there is a great potential field for expansion of this industry in India. There is no doubt that with

the economic progress of the country, there will be an increasing demand for textiles.

As I pointed out in the beginning, the cotton mill industry, in this country has had to face continuous competition. The nature of the political relationship between this country and the United Kingdom which has been the largest competitor, except in recent years, had prevented the indigenous industry from receiving adequate support from the Government of the country. In fact, it has been a standing grievance of the industry that its interests have always been subordinated to the interests of Lancashire. It was, however, the constant public support which the industry has been rightly receiving throughout which resulted in the abolition of the excise duty and in the grant of protection howsoever halting it has been. The support which the industry received from public opinion has not, of course, been in vain. The country has benefited in an all round manner by the progress of the industry, as pointed out above.

The progress of the industry has, however, been subjected in recent years to many attacks from outside. Apart from the constant competition from Lancashire, Japan has emerged in recent years as a serious competitor in the field of textiles. It is recent history how in order to withstand the serious invasion from this quarter, the protective duty on piece-goods had to be increased considerably and an agreement was entered into with Japan. Lancashire is also trying to take the opportunity of the revision of the Indo-British Trade relations in getting the protective duty reduced and having its market expanded. It was but right that the representatives of the commercial community refused to countenance the unreasonable demands put forward by Lancashire in the course of the recent Simla talks. The chief argument which Lancashire used in its favour was that of the Indian cotton-growers; but as pointed out above, the majority of cloth imported from Lancashire is produced out of foreign cotton and the parity being in favour of Indian cotton it is obvious that Lancashire will continue to take sufficient quantities of Indian cotton. Apart from this, however, it is always to the benefit of the country to have an increasing market for its raw material within its own borders rather than export the raw material to foreign countries and take manufactured goods in return. It is obvious that the expansion of the Indian market for the products of any foreign country would result in a set-back to both the

cotton mill and the handloom industries within the country.

Another source of concern to the industry recently has been the increase in labour troubles. It is natural that on humanitarian grounds, the sympathy of the public should be with labour. Everybody admits the necessity of progressive improvement in labour conditions. Mr. Harold Butler, till recently Director of the International Labour Office, who visited India last year, has acknowledged in his recent review of industrial conditions in the East that in the matter of labour welfare work, India keeps pace with most of the advanced countries of the world and is certainly ahead of 'other Asiatic countries.' There are, however, several important points which must be borne in mind while considering the question of labour conditions. Firstly, there is the competition from foreign countries and particularly from the United Kingdom which has always been using political pressure to thwart the attempt of the indigenous industry towards progress. Secondly, and this is a very important point, the power of granting protection is in the hands of the Central Government and not with the Provincial Governments who deal with labour conditions. If Provincial Governments had the power of giving protection in any form they could certainly proceed in labour welfare work more quickly without jeopardising the industry. Thirdly, it must be borne in mind that the majority of people in India are agriculturists. Most of the labour force of the cotton mill industry is drawn from agricultural classes and it would be obviously to the disadvantage of national economy to have the difference between industrial and agricultural labour very pronounced. Lastly, it is also to be remembered that if increasing burden is imposed upon the industry it would result in an increase in the prices of the manufactured article and would thus operate against the interests of the consumers. Taking all these facts into consideration it is a matter for serious consideration of the public as to at what pace the demands of the workers should be encouraged to grow. It is also for the public to consider whether it would not be desirable first to help the development of the industry to a stage where imports may be reduced to a minimum of only some special varieties that may be needed. It is also essential that steps should be taken simultaneously to increase the purchasing power of the people so that they may be able to buy at least what should be their minimum requirements and at higher

prices consequent on increased cost of production. What is more essential therefore is to develop the purchasing power of the people by an all round economic development, before placing increasing burdens on the industry.

As has been pointed out above, the cotton textile industry has got a great scope for development in this country. Apart from large potential markets within the country itself, there is also scope for expansion in the neighbouring foreign markets. On account of

the facility of raw material and certain other factors, India is particularly in a position to supply cheaper textiles. In fact the demand for our cloth from East Africa, for example, is increasing and there is no reason why with an ordered and progressive development the Indian textile mills should not be in a position to supply a major portion of the demands of the African and other neighbouring Asiatic countries which are not as fortunately placed in the matter of raw material and other essential factors of production.

EXPLORING THE ROCK-BOTTOM OF COMMUNALISM AND REWRITING INDIAN HISTORY

BY PROFESSOR BHUBAN MOHAN SEN

I AM honestly of the opinion that communalism would have been rampant in India today even if there were not a dozen Muslims in the country. The castes and sub-castes into which the immobile Leviathan called the Hindu society is divided and sub-divided, would have had its majorities and minorities as we have today. Even the racial colouring which is sought by interested people to be given to the communal problem of today by drawing an imaginary line between the Aryan and the Semitic, would have been present in the shape of Aryanism and non-Aryanism. So, the present problem is nothing very unnatural, and it should be possible to sit round a table to discuss it without any exasperation of mind.

We have seen many such round-tables for pacts and agreed solutions, but unfortunately, one by one, each one dies an unhonoured death. That was even the fate of the great 'Nehru Report' and the 'All-Parties Conference'. Yet other pacts are in the making, but let us hope they may not be as still-born as their forbears, notwithstanding the Congress High Command god-fathering them.

I have no objection to secure communal harmony by a policy of give and take, and for the present, there is no escape from some kind of agreed solution, whatever its defects may be. Whether we wish such a patch-work or not, it is inevitably coming; for there is the dominant party in Indian politics who are pursuing Swaraj at any cost.

But I humbly contend that the foremost leaders of the different communities should evolve some scheme of lasting harmony and good-will. Possibly they are frightened by the complexity of the problem. It shall be my endeavour to show that the problem is not as complex as it appears.

Obviously, any scheme of a permanent nature should be based on one great principle, "Forget the past, and look to the future". I do not propose the writing off the slate of the past history of the Hindu, the Muslim and the Sikh, but I do most emphatically believe that if you desire harmony for the future, the history of the past should be materially re-written for all communities. Englishmen today participate in the Washington memorial meetings and join the Wallace and Robert Bruce anniversaries with sincere enthusiasm.

What is the present situation? The young learners in India enter schools and are given a book of Indian History in which the most important things which they are required to learn are the wars and annexations, outrages and ravages, battles and sieges, murders and dynastic changes, etc., etc. As one passes from chapter to chapter, there is an unending succession. No third party existed then, and the rivals and combatants on either side were the Muslims and the non-Muslims. So, young learners in schools today digest from day to day the wild fury, the inordinate ambitions, the unscrupulous ways of their ancestors. In these circumstances, very

naturally, the youthful and tender learners of one community lustily seize upon the misdeeds of the heroes of the other, and their minds thus receive what may be called an ineffaceable taint for all times. The historical stuff with which their minds are filled may be all correct, but what I contend is this, that, history being a record of a people's many-sided achievements, the learning of these learners becomes confined mainly or only to one aspect in which there is little room for cultivating respect for the actors on the stage of history. Take for example, the growth of the mind of a Hindu lad. In the pursuit of an imperialistic policy, in divorcing religions from politics, in devising economic measures for the relief of the impoverished masses, in dealing stern justice to wrong-doers in high places, Sultan Alauddin Khilji stands unrivalled, and he would shine by the side of a modern Dictator or War-Lord. But when the Hindu lad leaves the school, he is for all his life obsessed with Alauddin and Padmini, and Alauddin and his assassinated uncle. Is this frame of mind conducive to a sympathetic understanding of sister-communities? The same applies to Muhammad Tughlak, to Nawab Sirajuddowla and to many other rulers. Then, take for example, the Muslim lad. He reads of the Hindu Mythology, the Pauranic Gods, the Ramayan in which Sree Ramchandra, the Avatar of the Almighty Maker, slays with his own hand, the Hindu Chandala Sambuka for 'practising Yogic austerities,' the Mahabharata in which Draupadi stalks the stage, from beginning to end, with her five husbands. Where is the teacher to tell his pupil how much of it is allegorical, how much myth, how much interpolation, and what kernel of truth these contain? Where is the teacher to tell his pupil of that unity in diversity which the Vedanta proclaims in the clearest accents? So the Hindu lad grows up in life with a detestation of the characters of Muslim history whom he regards all through life as little better than brigands and assassins. Similarly, the Muslim lad grows up with the queer idea that his lot is cast with so many idolaters whom it is irreligious to understand and cultivate. That is the atmosphere which we have deliberately created, and, whoever is solicitous of communal tranquillity must make it his duty to revolutionize this atmosphere.

How can that be done? I will indicate my lines of thought in this vital matter of national importance.

Let all interested in this question appoint a Select Board of Scholars to write a history of India. This Board should be clearly given

the mandate that they are not required to produce a scholarly book aiming at scientific precision and correctitude. It should be the duty of the Board to write a history in which the objectionable features of the characters should be eschewed as best as possible. It is a truism that whoever has made any mark in history must have had real greatness in him, and this Board of Scholars should emphasize those elements of greatness. Trietschke was once twitted by a friend that, though his lecture rooms were thronged by thousands of German students of history, he would never go down to posterity as a great historian—he would never attain the position of a Ranke or a Gibbon. To this Trietschke quickly retorted, 'I do not care for my reputation, I want to make my country great'. This he did by instilling into the minds of two generations of German youths the half-truth or untruth that Prussian genius was behind everything great achieved in the world. Our scholars need not go to this length, they need not distort. What I suggest is that they may keep back certain facts, and lay stress upon certain other facts. Trietschke was guilty of 'Suggestio falsi'; compared to that 'Suppressio Veri' in the nation's interest would be a virtue. Moreover, if the book were written in a philosophical vein bringing out the connected sequence and the onward march of events, stressing the narrative and chronological points would appear comparatively non-essential.

I will be more definite. Let us take the Hindu period. It is quite within the range of Indian historical scholarship to write paragraphs and chapters in simple intelligible language to bring home to the learners of all communities to what heights of philosophical thought, artistic, architectural and sculptural excellence, and intellectual pioneering, as in the fields of Medicine, Astronomy and Geometry, the Hindu mind attained in that dawn of history when the ancestors of the modern European nations were, in the humorous words of the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, 'swinging from tree to tree in the jungles of Europe'. I was told by an esteemed friend of mine, one of India's representatives to the World Conference on Education held in America some years ago, that every American school teacher when he begins teaching Geometry to his pupils prefaces his lecture invariably with the statement, so flattering to Indians that Geometry was born in India. I will frankly confess that personally I was not aware of this fact before I had reached the Degree standard. There are references, no doubt, in existing works in this country, but they are

in the creeks and corners of the books, and it is well-known that University paper-setters attach such undue importance to bare political history (this they do from the bias their own minds received in schools) that pupils have come to omit those portions of their books which have a bearing on the growth of Hindu thought and the Hindu mind. Teachers and pupils are both dominated by the examinational need only.

Then let us take the Muslim period of Indian history. After passing the Matriculation with History (so long optional) we grow in life with vivid impressions of incidents like demolition of temples, forcible carrying away of beautiful maidens, outrages, assassinations, breaches of laws, human and divine. But we do not understand the meaning of a poem Rabindranath wrote long long ago with reference to the Muslim advent and Muslim contribution to the richness of India's heritage. Readers will kindly excuse me the very indifferent rendering of a very beautiful stanza: "Those who came in victorious glee roaring out victory's song through deserts and mountains—they also live in me—none, none is distant. In me have mingled all the varied tunes in harmony."* Is it impossible for Indian scholars to write paragraphs and chapters on the services of Islam to India in the fields of politics, religious thought, social organisation, arts, architecture, etc., etc. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's small book embodying 'Sir William Myer Lectures' delivered by him before the Madras University contains a very brief but well-arranged account of Islam's services to India. Not to speak of pupils, how many teachers have heard of, or read this book, I really wonder.

Thus proper books on Indian history not being available, and Indian Universities being supremely indifferent to the latent dangers of the policy they are pursuing now by the sheer inertia of age-long traditions, the rock-bottom of the communal problem has never been explored, whereas our great leaders are busy over the upper structures. They have failed, and they must fail till they change their modus operandi

log, stock and barrel. Let them evolve make-shifts and patched-up pacts today, but let them not stop here. Let them also simultaneously work for the 'future by providing healthy stuff for those who will be leaders a generation hence.'

Having said so much, I will now endeavour to indicate the lines on which a standard book on Indian History should be written by the afore-mentioned Board in English, and then translated by government orders into all the provincial vernaculars.

Firstly, the Hindu period should be dealt with in the manner I have indicated before. That was the broad outline. There should be ample references to the incoming into India of the Greeks, Bactrians, Sakas, Huns, Scythians, etc., and to the remarkable ease and absence of violence with which these people were assimilated within the 'roomy fold of Hinduism'. This power of self-adjustment, this capacity for assimilation and growth of the Hindu society receive very scanty attention in the existing textbooks on Indian History; whereas division into castes and sub-castes is dwelt upon amply and questions are frequently set which make them all-important to the examinees. Nalanda, Taxila, Colonization, Buddhistic Missions, our spiritual and cultural expansion in Ceylon, Burma, China, Greater India, Japan—all these should be dealt with in an inspiring manner.

Secondly, the history of the rise of Islam in Arabia with the wonderful conquest and complete Islamization of countries from the Hindukush to the Pyrenees, with full glowing references to the great universities and mosques, should be dealt with in a full manner.

Thirdly, in regard to the advent of Islam in India, the pupil should be told that on the Muhammadans securing a strong foot-hold in India, two great religions and two great social organisations stood face to face, each one proud of its past achievements—Hinduism for having assimilated the Sakas, Huns, Bactrians, Scythians; and Islam for having completely extinguished the civilizations of countries from Afghanistan to the Straits of Gibraltar. These two religions had their pride humbled for the first time. Notwithstanding conversions from the Hindu fold, the mass mind remained unconquered, and Hinduism's career of assimilation failed to absorb the Muslim as it had done with his predecessors.

Fourthly, the history that I am outlining should then proceed to state that two great religions, and two great social organisms, cannot live side by side for long without the one

* রণধারা বাহি জয়গান গাহি'

উদ্ভাদ কলরবে

ভেদি' মরুপথ গিরি পর্বত

যারা এসেছিল সবে,

তারা মোর মাঝে সবাই বিরাজে—

কেহ নহে নহে দূর,

আমারি শোনিতে রয়েছে ধ্বনিতে

তার বিচিত্র সুর।

influencing the other in vital and manifold ways, although the question of blood-fusion is ruled out. There must be some kind of blending and fusion. Thus began in Indian History a great Renaissance by the blending of the two great cultures and civilizations, including the birth of the great Vaisnavite revival all over India, the evolution of the Urdu language, and of the Indo-Persian schools of Painting, Music, Art, Architecture etc., etc. In a thousand and one ways Islam and Hinduism were being blended into a harmonious unity.

If these elements of harmony and unity, this history of the remarkable Renaissance which attained its culminating point in the Ibadat Khana of Fatehpur Sikri, where comparative religion was for the first time in the World's history discussed, and in that 'Poem and Dream in marble'—the Taj of Agra, are dealt with with the attention they justly deserve, one can easily imagine the impress such an account will make upon plastic minds.

I frankly confess, I am not competent to present a subject like the above in all its

bearings, but I shall consider my labours amply rewarded if this outline provokes thoughts in persons much more competent than myself, and some concrete results follow.

I conclude by quoting the weighty words from the speech which Principal P. Sheshadri made while addressing the World Federation of Educational Associations at Tokyo (*The Modern Review*, April, 1938):

"It is, however, in the teaching of history that there is the greatest scope for the teaching of international understanding. In the Educational Experts' Committee at Geneva, to which I have already made reference, we formulated a number of recommendations which have a profound bearing on this subject. One of our proposals was that all the history textbooks of the world should be revised, so as to eliminate traces of racial bitterness. It is not that textbooks for children should be colourless and devoid of patriotic enthusiasm, but that children should be taught to appreciate the heroes of not only their own country but also of others and sentiments likely to engender ill-feeling should be carefully avoided."

What Principal Sheshadri says about international understanding applies with greater force to national and communal spheres.

April 13, 1938

THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

By RAJ MITRA B. D. AMIN

THE Pharmaceutical industry of India has attained some dimensions only in recent times. It has had to struggle hard against the policies of Government and no satisfactory solution of our difficulties has yet been reached. The policies of Government were first devised and framed in a manner that would discourage the indigenous products and encourage the foreign products imported from overseas. These policies still continue to be in operation with some minor revisions and seriously impede the progress of the industry.

The Indian Pharmaceutical Industry is struggling for bare justice and no favour. On the other hand we find an effective policy of discrimination in actual operation as between indigenous spirituous medicinal preparations and similar preparations imported from overseas. Products imported from overseas, once the tariff duty is paid on them at the port of entry, enjoy the privilege of free transport and move-

ment throughout India, while similar indigenous products are subjected to serious excise restrictions in the matter of transport and movement.

These excise restrictions have resulted in creating inter-provincial barriers to trade and industry in this country. No spirituous medicinal preparation of Indian manufacture can move from one province to another without import and export permits to secure which a long procedure is prescribed, and thereafter the consignments are subjected to inspection and verification. Such a restrictive and cumbersome procedure is vexatious and dilatory, and as quick despatch is the very soul of business, the inordinate delay caused by the excise restrictions in transport and movement is highly prejudicial to the indigenous industry. So long as similar imported spirituous products are not subjected to the same restrictions, the policy of effective discrimination operates

against the Indian industry. Both the Indian and imported products should equally enjoy the same privilege of free transport and movement, if discrimination is to disappear.

I need not discuss here the measures that are necessary to remove this discrimination. I have been suggesting them to the various administrations in the country from time to time but without much effect. Finally I was able to convince the Indian Industrial Conference that our complaints were true, and this Conference in 1936 unanimously passed a resolution that Excise policy should be so framed as not to injure the indigenous industry and that to this end there should be uniform excise rules in the whole of India. To attain this object, the Conference recommended that the Government of India should convene an Excise Conference of the Provincial Excise Commissioners.

The Excise Conference was held after a year i.e., in November 1937, and it did come to the conclusion that uniform rules must be established in India, but no effect has yet been given to the resolutions passed therein. On the other hand, we find some more restrictions placed in certain provinces as in the Bombay Presidency. In these circumstances, one gets greatly disappointed. Will discrimination disappear or not? Or, are the indigenous products to be under a perpetual disadvantage to the benefit of foreign products?

I shall next refer to another part of the policy of discrimination which affects the Indian industry prejudicially, namely, the policy followed in the purchase of medical stores. From the very beginning the policy of Government has been to give preference to imported products and to discourage the Indian products. The Indian industry has long established its capacity and reputation for manufacturing equally good if not superior products, and the Government ought to purchase these products in preference to imported products.

But under the present Government rules all supplies of medical stores to civil hospitals and dispensaries are purchased from Government Medical Stores (Army Dept.) which itself imports products from overseas and supplies them to the various administrations in the country. Is this a right policy? The Indian Drug Enquiry Committee which reported seven years ago, clearly stated that indigenous drugs of the proper quality were available in the market and strongly recommended that these should be purchased by Government for their requirements and thereby an encouragement should be given to the indigenous industry.

But this recommendation has been absolutely disregarded by the Government and the old policy still continues. Not only this, but the Government Medical Stores also maintains a manufacturing branch which competes with private enterprise. This is wrong in principle and the Indian Drug Enquiry Committee had recommended that this manufacturing branch of the Government Medical Stores should be discontinued and that the Stores should purchase all supplies from the market. But the Committee's recommendation remains unheeded.

Another important matter in which discrimination against the Indian industry is distinctly shown, is the heavy duty on the import of raw drugs which are required as raw material for the indigenous industry. In advanced countries including the United Kingdom the import of raw materials utilised in the manufacture of medicines is allowed free but in India, a high duty of 30 per cent *ad valorem* is imposed. This burden on the industry raises the cost of production and puts the Indian medicines to disadvantage in competition with imported products.

The Indian Drug Enquiry Committee had after due consideration recommended that the import duty on raw drugs should be abolished. At the time the recommendation was made (1931) the duty stood at 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Instead of abolishing or lowering the duty, the Government of India took a contrary move and increased the duty to 30 per cent. What shall we say to such action? Is this the way to encourage the industry? It was perfectly clear that this step serves to give an impetus to foreign imports.

An equally objectionable discrimination arises from the fact that the tariff duty on imported spirituous preparations is charged to alcoholic contents only, and not on the invoice value. This means that the drug contents, the bottles which contain the medicines, the packing materials, corks, capsules, etc., of the foreign article are imported free of duty. If these things, I mean the bottles, the drugs, the packing, etc., are imported independently a heavy import duty is charged on them. The indigenous industry needs all these things and has to import them in order to put its products on the market in a saleable position, but has to pay a heavy duty on them, and this burden still further cripples the industry, as compared with the foreign industry.

Take next the railway rates policy of the Government of India. It was well-known for many years that the railway rates on Indian

medicines were high. In about the year 1928, the Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. of which I am the Managing Director, got the matter referred to the Railway Rates Advisory Committee which after two years of judicial investigation submitted its findings that the rates on indigenous medicines were high, and the Committee recommended a certain lower scale which in its opinion was right and proper. But the Government of India rejected the unanimous recommendation and the rates are as high as they were. We see how discrimination comes in here also.

Another direction in which the Railways apply discrimination is the framing of the rates on raw drugs. The rates on imported raw drugs which are required by the Indian industry are charged to R. R. 8 classification, while the raw drugs available in India and exported from India to meet the requirement of foreign manufacturers are charged to R. R. 4 classification. In other words, foreign manufacturers are given the advantage of lower freights by Indian railways while the same advantage is denied to Indian industry in its requirements of foreign raw drugs.

When I am writing of discrimination, two other interesting cases should not escape my attention. One is the fact that the Punjab Government prohibits into its territory the import of Indian-made foreign liquors including Rectified Spirit and Absolute Alcohol from any other province of India, except from the Solon and Rosa Distilleries. These distilleries, be it stated, are European concerns. This discrimination is of a double character against Indian products, because the prohibition does not apply to imports from overseas, and does not also apply to the products of particular European distilleries in India. The latest phase in discrimination is to be found in a new regulation

of the Sind Government which does not allow duty-free spirituous medicinal preparations for the use of Government-aided charitable hospitals and dispensaries to be imported from other provinces. This is provincialism and localism with vengeance. It is not also clear whether this new regulation applies also to imports from overseas countries.

We want that an Indian industry as such should grow as one whole, and not as provincial and local units protected by the discriminating rules of provincial governments inspired by the vicious spirit of narrow localism. Apart from this, such rules of prohibition and discrimination are entirely against the spirit and the letter of Section 297 of the Government of India Act 1935, and it is astonishing how this aspect of the question escaped the attention of those administrations whose rules have discriminating effect.

There are a number of other matters which can be pointed out as items in this policy of discrimination. But I shall close this article by referring to only one more. It might be recalled here that the Government of India introduced Drug legislation in regard to imported drugs only and the implication of the measure was that a stamp of inferiority would have been put on indigenous products if these latter were left out of the legislation. Strong opinions were expressed and finally the Government of India yielded and the Drug Bill, it is hoped, will now be made comprehensive so as to include indigenous drugs. I refer to this to show how the habit of discrimination once formed fails to take the larger view.

I have been an optimist and despite many discouragements in the past, I hope that the discriminating policy of Government will begin to diminish in its operative force, but there is real need of an ever watchful public opinion.



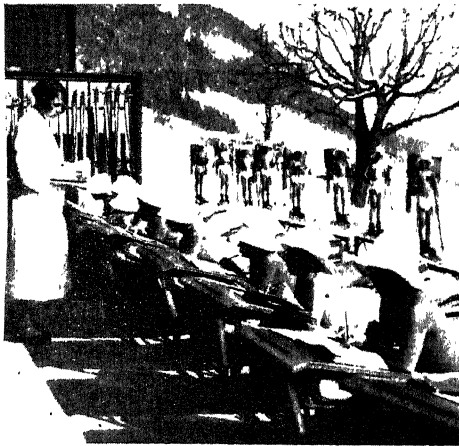
HOW TO PREVENT TUBERCULOSIS

By DR. SUDHINDRANATH SINHA, M.B.

IT is now an established fact that tuberculosis like all other preventible diseases is also preventible. Now we know that it is an ordinary contagious disease due to a known organism; that it is contracted only after birth and can be easily avoided and cured. These facts should be widely known. The more the people know the nature and the life-history of the disease, the better is the chance of cure and the less is the risk of the contagion spreading.

Tubercle bacilli are found in diseased tissues and in substances ejected directly from these tissues, *e. g.*, sputum, pus, excreta, etc. Indiscriminate spitting and other careless habits of patients are the principal factors responsible for the spread of the disease. Patients should be acquainted with this fact and advised to use the

tuberculosis in our body having acquired it in infancy, and the rival forces of the two—the host, the human body, and the unwelcome guest, the germ—seems to be delicately balanced. So long as the host can afford to keep himself in good conditions, the guest fails to make any impression. With circumstances unfavourable

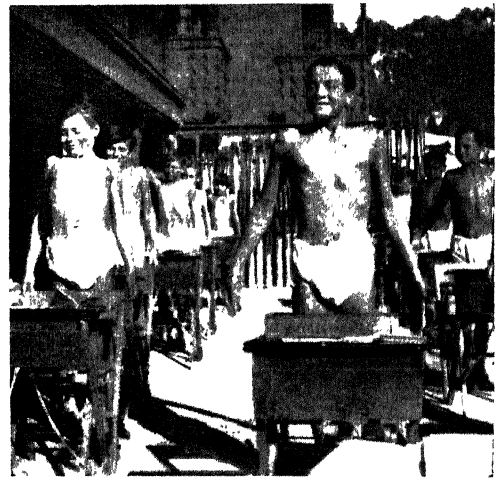


Ventral position lessons

sputum flask and adopt healthy habits. With the co-operation of the patients the spread of the disease can be effectively checked.

In India the incidence of tuberculosis is on the increase. The statistics published from time to time hardly give us the correct figure of cases of tuberculosis; because many cases—especially in mofussil—are not diagnosed, and even when diagnosed, are not brought to the notice of the authorities.

Almost all of us carry the germ of



Breathing exercise for the development of the chest

to the host the guest gains upper hand, and the man becomes a prey to the invading bacilli. The fight is as a rule a long-drawn one, and the chances and risks are shared by both. General health of the man plays the deciding role in this fight. The body, therefore, should be strengthened and maintained at a high standard of efficiency. Factors contributing to the weakening and fatiguing of the body help development of tuberculosis and are to be avoided.

It has been established beyond all controversy that tubercular infection occurs after birth. It has been estimated (in England) that the number of children carrying the germ :

During the 1st year of life is 5 per cent.

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|----|---|
| " | 2nd | " | " | 14 | " |
| " | 3rd | " | " | 33 | " |
| " | 4th | " | " | 38 | " |
| " | 5th | " | " | 51 | " |

Then as age advances, the incidence of infection also rises and culminates in 98% of adults in town and 70% of adults in villages being infected with tuberculosis.

Inhalation and ingestion are the usual routes by which this germ enters the human body. Infection, though rare, is also possible by inoculation. After entering the body the bacilli penetrate the mucous membrane of the mouth, pharynx or the alimentary tract and arrive at the lymphatic glands where they remain dormant. Further progress of the bacilli and development of active trouble depend on the defence put up by the infected person. The first notice of the fight between the lymphatic glands and the bacilli will have to be taken from general weakness, loss of weight, rise of temperature especially after exertion, loss of appetite, disturbed sleep, inflammation of the glands, etc. If the bacilli win now or later when the resistance of the individual is weakened, they enter the blood circulation and may establish themselves anywhere in the body. And then the fight repeats here also; and with

Nothing but these two natural forces can give the required protection. These twin necessities are essential in sustaining life. Extensive experience has shown that fresh air and sunlight stimulate all the physiological functions of the body through its action directly on the skin.

The inevitable consequence of keeping an



Work and sun-bath



Going out for open class in the sun in winter

conditions favourable to the person the bacilli are rendered inactive and gradually they die out leaving only a scar. On the other hand, if the man is incapable of putting up strong resistance, he becomes a sure victim to the invading bacilli.

For the prevention of tuberculosis the measures must start with protection of the infant through proper development of its body and strengthening up of its natural resistance. Fresh air and sunlight are par excellence the agencies whose aid we must requisition for the purpose.

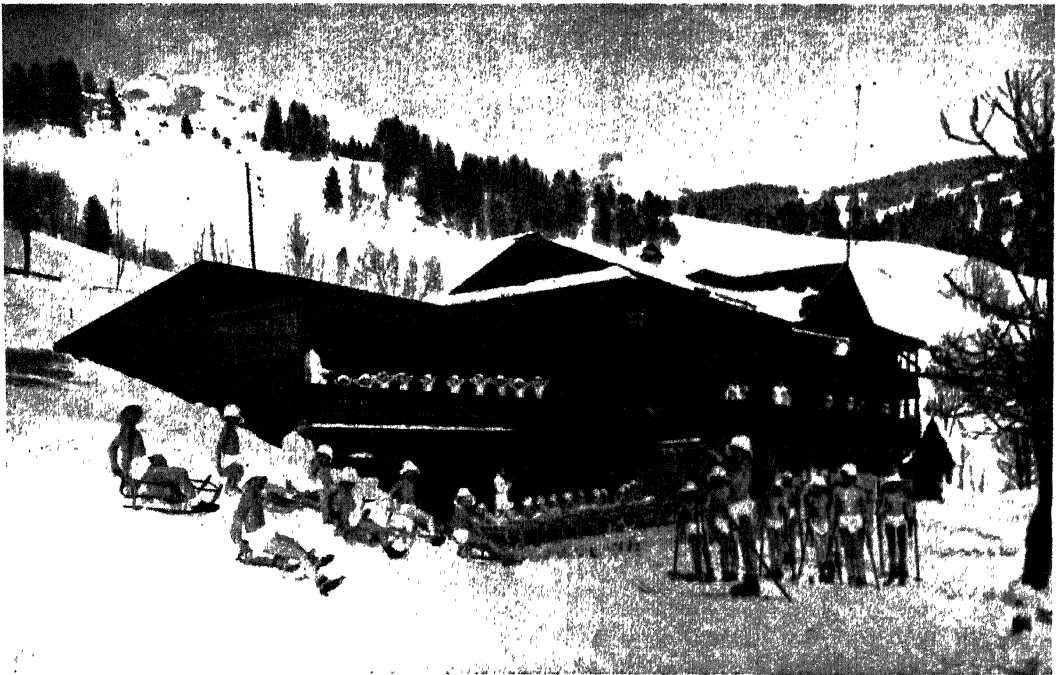
infant in the impure and stuffy atmosphere of a closed room is to help it to become extremely delicate and susceptible to cold and bronchitis—ailments which hinder proper development of the pulmonary system. And under-developed pulmonary system invites phthisis. It is a common practice in many homes to confine young children, especially at night, in air-tight rooms. The parents feel safe that thereby they keep out cold, bronchitis and other diseases—as if these enter through open windows! It is only when parents realise that by making their children sleep and live in closed and ill-ventilated rooms they are condemning the children to a slow death, they will, let us hope, change their habit. It is a common practice with many parents not to allow their children to go out in the sun lest their complexion gets dark! Is it then any wonder that these children so easily develop tuberculosis? In some houses again the shutters are closed to keep the Sun's rays from decolourising furniture, carpets and blinds. These parents have got to learn to put greater value on human life than on furniture.

For proper development of the child sun and air bath must commence soon after its birth. To begin with, the exposure must not be for more than a few minutes and then gradually the time is increased according to the established dosage and method. This reminds us of a very rational and wholesome practice in our country that has almost disappeared. Our mothers knew

and perhaps some in remote villages still know the blessings of sun and air on the uncovered body of the new-born baby. From its birth it had its regular sun and air bath. Regular and systematic contact with sun and air make the tissues and organs grow vigorously and the baby has a splendid growth, and is thus well-equipped to keep away tuberculosis and other 'diseases of darkness'. The daily sunbath also frees—though for a while—the child, the unwilling victim, of layers of clothing, not only irksome to the child but most unhygienic as well. This unscientific clothing shuts out air and light and

impossible to trace a family that can boast of a single child free from digestive trouble. Many mothers do not even care to suckle their children they have brought to this world. Mother's milk is the ideal food for the growing child before dentition. When the mother is physically incapable of suckling the child herself, let the child be fed on cow's milk (some prefer goat's or ass's milk) with necessary alterations in the composition to suit the delicate digestive powers of the child.

Milk supply plays a great part in prevention of tuberculosis. In America it has been found



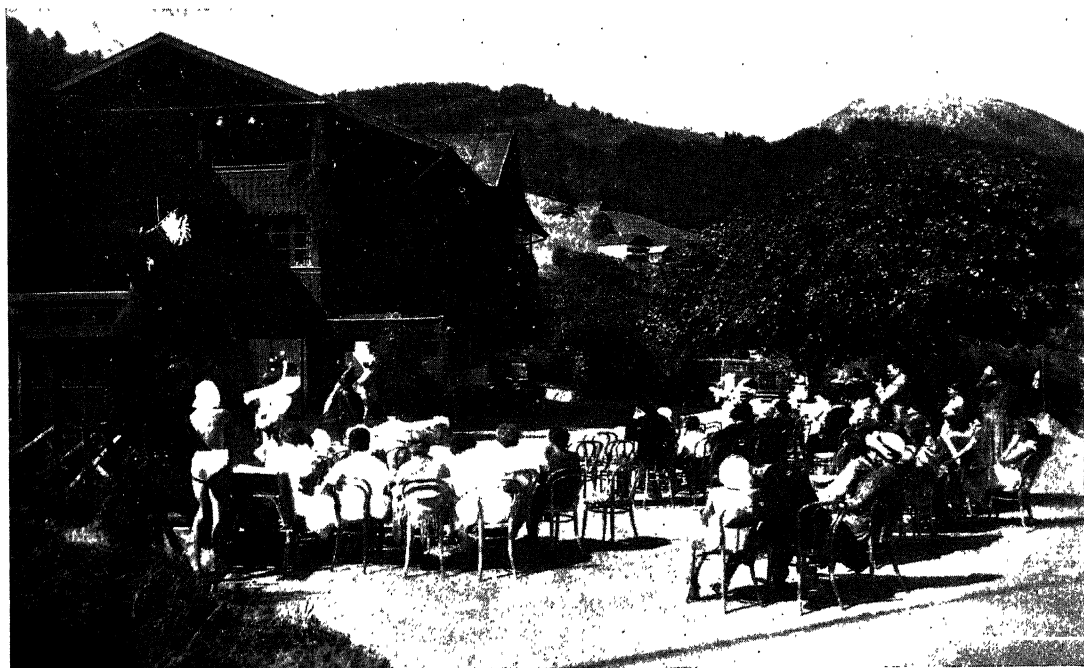
Rollier's Sun School (in winter)

creates a dark and humid atmosphere which envelops the greater portion of the child's body. In Switzerland I have seen children with their bare bodies exposed to the sun playing about on the snow, and yet they are free from cold and bronchitis; and how splendid and vigorous is their growth! It is difficult to follow why in a hot country like India the child, or for that matter any one, should require so many layers of clothing.

Child-feeding hardly receives in India the attention it deserves. The result of this indifference has been deplorable, and it will be

that the rate of milk consumption per capita provides an excellent index to tuberculosis. It is known that during the last Great War in the milk-lacking countries of Germany and Austria the tuberculosis incidence rose rapidly. And when in later years there was a more liberal supply of milk the rate of tuberculosis incidence appreciably came down, though otherwise the standard of living was very unsatisfactory. It is a remarkable fact and shows us the importance of milk in preventing tuberculosis. Extensive and careful investigations carried out in England, France, United States, New Zealand

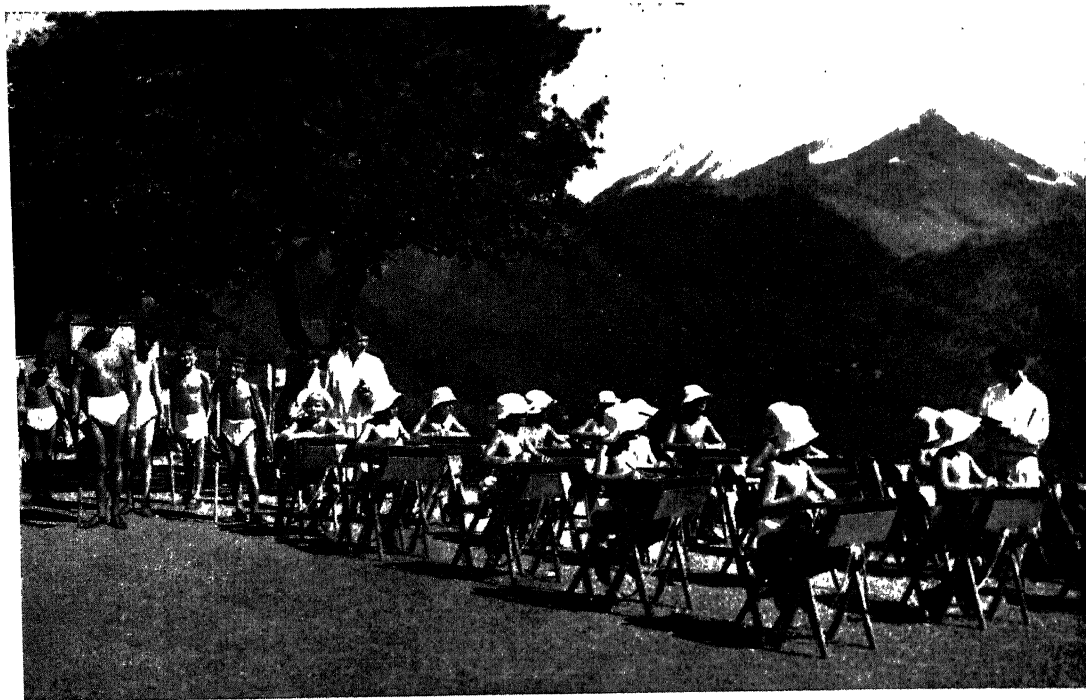
HOW TO PREVENT TUBERCULOSIS



Variety Performance by the students of the Rollier's Sun School



Position recommended by Dr. Rollier for students at his Sun School



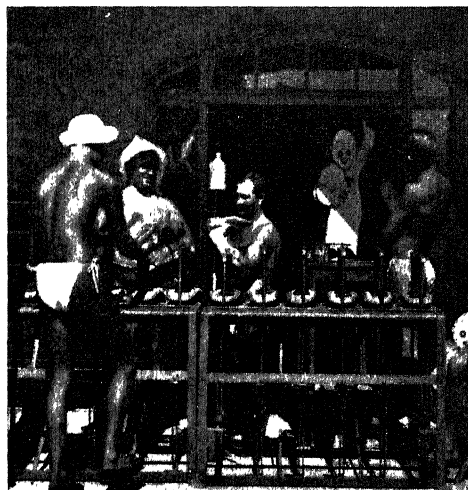
Open air class



Gardening and sun-bath

and Japan have shown that milk is an essential item in the diet of people of all ages—especially children in whom it would ensure better bone formation and maximum growth as well as diminish the incidence of tuberculosis and rickets.

Let us now follow the child to school where he will pass nearly ten years—the formation period of his life. Our schools may justly be



Convalescent patients working at the Factory Clinic (Leysin)

looked upon as centres of propagation of tubercular infection. Insufficient ventilation and over-heating of the class rooms, prolonged and continuous inactivity in stuffy rooms, unsuitable and at the same time uncomfortable posture the students have to maintain at school constitute some of the main factors why today among the school-going children an alarmingly large proportion is found to be weak and of low resistance. And it is these children that provide a favourable nidus for the growth of tuberculosis. Movement is vital for the proper growth of the young children. Immobility and insufficient movement are detrimental to the normal functioning of the organs of the body and cause predisposition to tuberculosis. In girls the baneful effect of being shut up in schools is seen in anaemia, menstrual trouble and constipation-troubles which not only devitalise them but very often follow them for the rest of their lives. The girls in high schools and colleges do a lot of harm to themselves when for fear of losing percentage they attend classes during their monthly periods. This is the period when a girl

needs complete rest. The educational authorities should not overlook this fact; and in fixing percentage of attendance due allowance must be made for these periods.

The principle of holding classes in the open air whenever weather permits, should be recognized. For this purpose Sun Schools on the lines of Dr. Rollier's "Ecole au Soleil" in Switzerland, should be introduced all over India. This will be taking a definite step towards prevention of tuberculosis. Besides Sun Schools, there may be holiday camps away from towns. This will be a welcome diversion which will create interest in and love for nature and outdoor life. In addition to these, to aid physical development of the children, mobile classes—whenever practicable—should replace classes held in rooms. In towns such classes may be arranged in public parks and gardens, in open spaces under shade of big trees in the proximity of a river or pond—specially reserved for such purposes. In villages such classes may be held in the outskirts of woods, in big clearings or meadows. These mobile classes not only break the monotony of lessons inside school room but by bringing the young mind in contact with nature help it to learn the mysteries of nature through simple lessons. Moreover free movement in the open stimulate growth of the body.

At school and at home particular attention must be paid to the proper development of the child's chest. A well-developed chest is the best preventive against phthisis. By regular breathing exercise, by walking straight with shoulders thrown back and by avoiding the stooping and crooked posture the child will expand his thorax. His lungs will work more energetically and the respiratory system will be strengthened and he will have obliterated risks of tuberculosis.

Feeding plays a considerable part in all periods of human life in resisting tuberculosis. First principle in feeding is to avoid excess and insufficiency in quality and quantity. Unfortunately, we do not always realise that we eat to live and not live to eat.

Growing bodies need cereals, green vegetables, fruits and milk. Meat is not essential in a hot country like ours. Fish is a good substitute. Diet has to be modified according to the season. In winter a more liberal supply of fat is permitted, while in summer, more vegetables and fruits are required.

It needs to be emphasised that narcotics in all forms are to be discarded. People indulging in these—especially alcoholics—can hardly resist tubercular infection. Human body needs

adequate rest to keep up strength and efficiency. The present-day school system in our country shows utter disregard for this necessity. At the end of the school hours the young students are

they should be allowed to benefit from air and sun.

One very important factor contributory to the spread of tuberculosis in India is that no arrangement is made (except in hospitals) for the segregation of the patients with active lesions. Undoubtedly abject poverty is mainly responsible for this state of affair. Yet, it must be admitted, our ignorance plays not an insignificant part in it.

In our country attention is usually paid to those actually suffering from active tuberculosis. But cases of those pre-disposed persons who form a large proportion are simply neglected. The unhygienic and miserable life majority of them live aggravate their condition and they become actively tuberculous. To protect these pre-disposed people preventorium

should be started at suitable places. In these preventorium they will lead a healthy life under



Sport and sun-bath in winter

like so many depleted electric batteries with no spark of energy left in them. Even homes of most of the children do not provide for due rest for them. Consequently, the depleted batteries have hardly any opportunity to be replenished, and there is the inevitable breakdown. To remedy this state of affair school hours should be so modified that students may enjoy at least 2 or 3 hours' rest every day, especially when the day is the hottest.

In every school—primary, secondary or otherwise—an anti-tuberculosis campaign should be organised by means of books, pictures, post-cards, special anti-tuberculosis postage stamps (as circulated in the Western countries), lantern lectures and motion pictures (wherever possible) and lectures with practical demonstrations.

What has been said regarding prevention of tuberculosis among children is applicable to adults as well. For them also the golden rule to prevent tuberculosis is:

- (1) Enjoy fresh air and sun;
- (2) Eat proper food—both in quality and quantity; learn correct eating habits;
- (3) Take regular exercise;
- (4) Have adequate rest.

In many of the existing hospitals hardly any due regard is paid to the necessity of air and light for the patients. Suitable cases in every hospital should have sun and air bath which will no doubt expedite their cure. Hospital patients are weakened by illness and are likely to be easy victims of tuberculosis. So



Mobile Class (on the snow) in winter

better conditions and will be subjected to periodic medical examinations to watch their progress. The name tuberculosis must not be associated

with these institutions as that will scare away people from taking advantage of these centres.

Many of the existing social conditions in India are factors contributory to tubercular incidence among people—especially women, *e.g.*, the purdah system, want of physical exercise (I don't mean exercise making muscular giants!) and any out-door life.

It is impossible to do any justice to the subject of 'prevention of tuberculosis' within the short space allotted to a single article. It is even impossible to touch—however briefly—all the aspects of the problem. I shall, consequently give a very brief suggestion of the lines on which the preventive campaign should be conducted in India.

The campaign will be conducted by a central organisation with a network of branches all over the country. The work of the organisation will be:

1. Extensive, intense and unceasing propaganda to arouse public opinion against the menace of tuberculosis.

In this connection I may suggest the formation of *Travelling Health Caravan*. Its duty will be to travel the length and breadth of the country showing charts, diagrams, photos, paintings and distributing pamphlets in simple language. Lectures and demonstrations by medical men should be arranged by the Caravan. In villages these should be made sufficiently interesting to the simple folk. Special meetings for children and also for women are to be arranged. This will be the best way of establishing contact with people who will otherwise remain ignorant of the knowledge that is so essential in fighting tuberculosis. This caravan will teach people how to live simple hygienic life and all other things essential for prevention and cure of tuberculosis and disease in general.

2. Establishment of after-care colonies for the cured T. B. patients. The Papworth Settlement (Cambridge) may guide us in this respect.

3. Establishment of preventoriums for the pre-disposed.

4. Tracking down of all types of tubercular subjects and making arrangements for prevention, treatment and after-care as the cases may need. The Travelling Health Caravan will undertake this responsibility.

5. Slum clearance and removal of smoke nuisance in towns.

6. Fighting intemperance.

7. Necessary legislation for the control of the menace of tuberculosis.



Scenes from a village fair
By Sailes Deb Burman

THE STRUCTURE OF CHINESE SOCIETY

By M. N. ROY

EVEN today, the fundamental unit of the Chinese society is not the individual, but the family. The revolution of 1911 and the Republican State established by it, did not alter essentially the patriarchal character of that social relation. Under the Republic, new laws were made. But social relations cannot be changed overnight through legislation, so long as the economic foundations of those relations are not subverted. Under the old regime, the father was the legal head of the family; by tradition, he enjoyed the right to dispose of the lives of his children.¹ The Republican laws have changed the position of the *pater familias* but partially. Individual rights have been created, but the patriarchal foundation of society has not been completely destroyed. The ownership of land—the main means of production in China—still belongs to the family, and even to clans. The defective form of private property in the main means of production hinders the individual to replace the patriarchal family as the elementary unit of society.

In the capitalist society, family is not abolished. It continues to be the foundation of society. But its character is changed. The monogamous family is essentially different from the patriarchal family; it does not push the individual to the background. It is a social institution which rises in course of the evolution of private property. Individualism is the fundamental principle of capitalism, the highest form of private property. Therefore, individualism and monogamous family are not mutually exclusive. They exist side by side, being two different branches of the social system founded upon private property.

While the monogamous family is the nucleus of bourgeois society, the individual is the corner-stone of the capitalist State. The right of individual is the fundamental principle of bourgeois political philosophy. The republican form of government was introduced in China only in name. The old political order broke down. But the old social relations which had created it, remained intact to a large extent,

resisting the strivings for building up a republican system of government. Because of its weak social foundation, the Republic tried to adjust itself to antiquated conditions. Consequently, the republican laws could not go to the extent of even undermining the institution of the *pater familias*. They granted the individual the right of self-defence, although not to the extent of killing. But the right of self-defence is not valid in the case of an attack by an elder relative.² In a work on the new Chinese Penal Code, the famous jurist Wang Chiang-hui, former Chief Justice of the Peking High Court, observes :

"The Anglo-American law lay special emphasis on the individual and not on the family; while the Continental (European) Codes have inherited something from the Roman family. The unit of the Chinese society being the family, the Reform, naturally, tries to retain this institution and modernise it as far as possible."³

After two thousand five hundred years, the spirit of the old sage Confucius still dominates the thinkers of modern China. They long for something new; the old has become untenable; yet they try to clothe the venerable skeleton with a few selected pieces of novelty. The reformers undertake a hopeless task when they try to readjust patriarchal social relations with bourgeois political and legal institutions. The hopelessness of the task became evident during the dreary years of the futile struggle for the defence of the Republic. The cumbersome, highly bureaucratic Constitution of the Nanking National Government has been the culmination of that task. The "modern State" of the nationalists is essentially Confucian. The initial period of its creation is not a revolutionary dictatorship. It is the benevolent despotism of a few persons who claim the right to educate the people with the object of "developing their ability to exercise political right, so that a constitutional regime may be soon realized and political power delivered to the hands of the people."⁴ So, according to the

2. The Penal Code of the Chinese Republic.

3. Dr Wang Chiang-hui, *The New Penal Code of China*. The quotation is re-translated from the German edition of the book.—M.N.R.

4. "Fundamental Law of the National Government of the Chinese Republic" proclaimed by the Kuomintang on October 4, 1928.

1. G. von Mullendorff, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Chinese Branch), Number 2, 1892-93.

open admission of her rulers, China, is not that kind of State in which theoretically the supreme political power belongs to the people composed of individuals. In the "Republic" of the Chinese nationalists, the relations are reverse; the political structure stands on its head, so to say. The political power and, consequently, the right of sovereignty, is monopolised by an elite, who benevolently promise to pass them on to the people in some indefinite future, when these will have qualified themselves for shouldering the responsibility. Since these self-appointed guardians reserve to themselves the right of judging when the people will have attained political majority, it is not very likely that the promised transfer of power will ever take place. The Chinese "republicanism" does not provide for a legislative body created by universal suffrage, of the kind that formally constitutes the highest organ of the bourgeois democratic State. Such a political ideology is determined by the patriarchal relations which dominate the major sector of national economy.

Unable, as well as unwilling, to set up a revolutionary dictatorship with the object of sweeping away all antiquated social relations, which hinder the creation of a modern democratic State, the nationalist bourgeoisie dress themselves in the musty, threadbare mantle of benevolent despotism, and thereby demonstrate their own impotence.

The cause of all these contradictions and peculiarities in the political life of modern China must be sought in the structure of her social system. In spite of the unreliability of the Chinese census report, it can be reasonably assumed that more than eighty-five per cent of the population live on the land. Sixty million families are engaged in agriculture.⁵ In the light of this fact, the social structure of the village is revealed to be the decisive factor in the life of the nation. The political life of a country is determined by the nature of, and the property right in, the means of production. Land is the main means of production in China. Therefore, the system of landownership constitutes the foundation of the social structure, and all other branches of national economy are largely influenced by the methods of cultivating land, that is to say, by the mode of production of the main industry of the country.

The dominating system of landownership is essentially patriarchal. Not only is the land possessed jointly by families, but often by

family groups—clans.⁶ There are villages which are populated by the members of single clans. Such villages are named after the clans. The landed property of the clan, or of families, or of individuals is mostly derived directly from the State. It is a system in which, theoretically speaking, private property in land does not exist, or find itself on a very low level of development. But practically, the superstructure raised over this patriarchal foundation is, in a high degree, of feudal character. The charges on land are expressly feudal, not only in their essence, but often in form. However may the present system of Chinese rural economy be theoretically appraised, the feudal features in the history of the evolution of landed property in China are unmistakable. The struggle between patriarchalism and feudalism characterised the Chinese history ever since the days of Confucius. In the present form of landed property, elements of both the systems are to be found, and the overlapping of the two systems, which normally characterise different stages of social development, is the peculiar feature of the Chinese society. This hybrid produced by the two mutually exclusive social systems was later penetrated by the mode of capitalist production.

Thus, the economic life of the Chinese village is subjected to threefold exploitation: patriarchal, feudal and primitive capitalist. Although large-scale feudal states or capitalist farms are rare, except in Manchuria and some of the northern provinces (Shantung and Chili), more than half of the cultivated land bear landlords' rent. The peasant cultivating the land today is either a tenant or a sub-tenant, having no proprietary right in the soil. The rent is not fixed, and tenancy not permanent. Only in about thirty-four per cent⁷ of the land is the proprietary right of the cultivating peasant legally recognized. A considerable part of the cultivated land is the property of ancestral shrines, temples and schools. In these cases, originally, the right was communal. But the traditional right has been abolished in practice. But the system of administering these traditionally communal properties even now supports the patriarchal relations in rural economy and politics. The village elders have usurped the proprietary right of these

6. The formal collective ownership, however, does not prevent, as will be shown later on, the subordination of the cultivator to the system of landlords' rent and capitalist profit.

7. Report of the Agrarian Commission of the Kuomintang, 1926.

5. Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, 1919.

formerly communal lands. The peasants who cultivate these lands have been expropriated, practically if not legally. Consequently, the village elders have really become landlords. But the formal continuation of communal property in a considerable part of the land invests them even now with patriarchal rights and power.

At the same time, primitive capitalism has penetrated this feudal patriarchal structure of rural economy. The result is continuously growing impoverishment of the peasantry and extraordinary backwardness of the entire system of national economy. Although since long money has become the legal means for the payment of taxes to the Government, the rent is paid by the tenants still mostly in kind. This system of collecting rent in kind and paying taxes in money makes traders out of the feudal-patriarchal landlords. The surplus of agriculture passes in their possession. But their essential feudal-patriarchal character prevents that they become capitalists. The wealth accumulated in their hand does not become productive capital; it is invested in semi-feudal landed property, which keeps national economy in backwardness. On the other hand, subjected to pre-capitalistic methods of exploitation, the peasantry cannot improve their means of production, so as to grow out of their practical serfdom. Thus, in its precarious existence, the patriarchal family still continues to be the foundation of the social super-structure.

While hereditary property in land is not legally recognized, land theoretically belonging rather to the State, rent-bearing tenancy is the outstanding feature of the agrarian relation. Approximately sixty-six per cent of the cultivated land is subjected to the payment of rent to landlords.⁸ So, for all practical purposes, even though not legally, private property has been created in land, because private property in land realizes itself in the form of rent.⁹ But the essence of this property in land is analogous neither with the *allodium* of the European middle-ages, nor the *socage* in feudal Britain, nor the *free-hold* of modern England. The right of this private property does not belong to peasants whose ancestors had received the

land from the Crown; it belongs to a class which received rent and, by virtue of that, has become owner irrespective of any written law. The growth of rent-receiving private property in land transforms the peasant into a tenant; consequently, he becomes dependent on another lord in addition to the king.

The classical feudal property in land was created through the expropriation of free peasant proprietorship. But the process was not uniform. Its essence was that between the king and the people, there rose a new class which, on the one hand, encroached upon the freedom and rights of the people and, on the other hand, restricted the king's prerogatives. The rise and operation of the new class were determined by the relation previously subsisting between the king and the people. The peculiar features of Chinese feudalism were determined by the fact that a rent-receiving class appropriated the ownership of land, not by robbing the right of the peasant, but thanks to the transfer of the proprietary right by the king to the court nobles, high officials and other patriarchal heads of villages. With this type of feudalism, the creation of private property in land begins at the top of the society; the rise of a landowning class between the king and the people is not the result of expropriation, but represents the expansion of the basis of private property. The supremacy of the king is not disputed; the nobility continues to be subordinated to the monarch. Since the land remains the private property of the king who incorporates the highest power (by the Grace of God, in Europe; and thanks to the direct descent from Heaven, in China), theoretically he is entitled to divide it further from time to time. This prerogative guarantees for the king undivided loyalty of the people and provides him with the possibility of checking high concentration of land in private possession and, consequently, the development of a powerful nobility. The most characteristic feature of this type of feudalism, therefore, is not the serf toiling on manorial estate, but the tenant cultivating the land, which practically belongs to a person standing between himself and the king, under such conditions of production as deprive him of the entire surplus in the form of rent and other charges.

In China, private property in land did not grow in the foundation of the right of conquest. When the Germans conquered Gaul, the king shared the right of conquest with all the members of the conquering race; that was necessary for fortifying his position in a foreign

8. Report of the Agrarian Commission of the Kuomintang, 1926.

9. "Whatever may be the specific form of rent, there is one thing in common to all types of rent; the appropriation of rent is the economic form in which property in land is realized; land rent presupposes proprietary right in land—the ownership of certain individuals of certain parts of the globe." (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Part II. —My own translation from the original German.—M.N.R.)

land still full of enemies. The division of land by the king was a mere formality. In reality, each member of the conquering race simply took possession of as much land as he could cultivate. In order to secure the loyalty of his followers, the conquering king simply endorsed their action. Private property was created from the bottom. The transfer of the original-private property in land, which in any case constitutes the foundation of feudalism, could not be an analogous process in the cases, for example, of Gaul and China, because it started from the opposite poles of society. Because of the difference in the position of the two factors concerned, and in their mutual relation, the nature of the struggle must also be different.

In China also the distribution of land by the king to the people was a mere formality, which simply sanctioned a system in force. But the substance of the system, formally sanctioned by the king in China, was fundamentally different from that in Gaul. In Gaul, private property in land was created by the conquering settlers; in China, land came to be cultivated by separate families, while the tradition of regarding it as public property continued. The right of the Chinese king was not the right of conquest. It was, so to say, an organic right which could more easily claim divine origin. Since the land was not conquered with the help of the entire people, not in the historical period at any rate, there was no necessity for dividing it. The monarchy rising out of the dissolution of the tribal society ultimately developed into patriarchal despotism based on that unrestricted right of the ownership of land. Under those conditions, the peasant could have the right of cultivating land only by the grace of the Supreme Lord and for his benefit, receiving only so much as is necessary for subsistence and reproduction. Thus, the development of private property in land invested the patriarchal monarch with feudal attributes. He was no longer the head of a free community, possessing and cultivating the land collectively. He became the Lord and Master, and the people came to be composed of his subjects instead of free men.

But the king could not retain for ever the primitive monopoly of feudal rights. In course of time, they inevitably went over to those standing nearest to him in the social organization. That transfer of right was not legally sanctioned, but the existence of a feudal nobility was a fact. In consequence of their dependence on the king, this type of feudal aristocracy constitutes the foundation of that

special form of State which is characterised as Asiatic despotism.

In China, private property in land resulted from the decay of communal ownership and collective cultivation. The older system decayed; but the ruins were not swept away. Instead, they became the foundation of the new form of property which, consequently, could not grow normally to the full stature. The king distributed the land to the people. But he did not transfer the right of property, which remained in his hand. Since private property in land was created not by conquest, but in consequence of the dissolution of primitive communism, the king's share in the product of agriculture assumed the character of ground rent in its most primitive form.

In that period, rent represented the entire surplus labour; it absorbed directly the whole surplus product and as such, it corresponded completely with surplus value. Surplus value tends towards circulation. Therefore, even in those days of defective private property in land, its source broke the limits of patriarchal monopoly, practically if not in terms of law. With the appearance of rent, the private property in land expanded. So long as land belongs to the State, rent and tax are identical. The administrators of State revenue gradually came to be tax farmers; and, under the given conditions, rent being inherent in tax, they became landlords for all practical purposes.

The peasants had no right of ownership in land; therefore, they could not be expropriated like their class in Europe. Consequently, serfdom did not take the classical form. The specific Chinese forms of serfdom were semi-slavery, forced labour and tenancy. The social position, characterised by those peculiar appearances, however, essentially was serfdom. For, the essence of serfdom is the obligation of the producers to cultivate land which, though in their possession, is not their property, and to deliver a part of the produce to the landlord. Whatever remained with them, after the obligations to the landlord were discharged, might provide them a little more than the necessities of bare existence and reproduction. That depended on the conditions under which their labour was performed.¹⁰ In ancient and medieval China, natural conditions kept the surplus on a very low level. Often there was none. Consequently, serfdom approximated slavery, and the rise of capitalism within the limits of feudal relations was greatly restricted.

10. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Part II.

EDUCATIONAL SURVEYS

By DR. A. ARONSON, B.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D.

Visva-Bharati

EDUCATIONAL theories vary in form and contents according to the particular scholarly training of the writer or to his physical, social, economic, and political environment. In mixing various sciences such as psycho-analysis and education, sociology and education, politics and education, and the like, educationalists, during the last 50 years or so, thought to solve the irrepressible problems of our time. The "science" of education, therefore, became more and more complex and involved until those who really are responsible for education, namely, the teachers, are no longer able to distinguish between what is right and wrong in contemporary education nor indeed are they prepared to define the aims of education. The Teachers' Training Colleges do not provide them with relevant knowledge; textbooks on education are dry and abstract and divorced from experience and the living educational reality. The teacher or professor—after passing a certain number of irrelevant examinations and instilled with old and new educational theories alike—chooses his profession with the view to earn his living and to provide his students with the same kind of knowledge that has made him what he is now, namely, a "useful" member of society. His interest in teaching or in education generally amounts to next to nothing; he goes to his classes or lectures as the businessman goes to his office. A certain amount of work or preparation guarantees remuneration and a normal social and economic standing within the community in which he happens to live. Intelligence is not required of a teacher: textbooks, methods, and everything else, are handed over to him by some administrative body, which is responsible for the training of the young in a social group. On the other hand, the teacher is looked upon by the other members of the community as some kind of parasite, a social, economic, and political nonentity.

Only very few people seem to realize that the educational system of a country reflects best of all its cultural standards and values. Many are utterly ignorant of the responsibility that is laid upon the teacher to whom society entrusts its children. Although no originality or intelligence is required of him, although he is but a small wheel in the complex machinery of modern

standardization and mechanization, he is asked to be keen, alert, and "efficient". The result must inevitably be that teachers lose themselves in hopeless resignation, that kind of destructive fatalism which is so representative of the frustration-complex of modern intellectuals.

In this essay we want to neglect all educational theories of whatever "progressive" kind they may be. If really the educational system of a country reflects its cultural standards and values, it should be the aim of every responsible educationalist to understand this system first, before throwing himself into the disconcerting whirlwind of contradictory theories and principles. To understand this system implies, in fact, an awareness of the shortcomings and defects of cultural evolution. This awareness, no doubt, will help the educationalist in his practical everyday methods as well as in his way of dealing with educational theories. There is, we believe, only one way of attaining this awareness: by means of an intelligent survey of an average educational institution representing the educational aspirations of the social group in question.

Only if we realize the intimate connection between the actual environment and this educational institution, will this survey be successful? Our point of departure must, therefore, be the social group out of which this institution grew. This approach is justified if we keep in mind that there is no organized education without some kind of social order or social coercion.¹

We must, however, begin with a hypothesis, namely, that there are two or three intelligent teachers or professors in this institution who realize the use and the meaning of such a survey and who are willing enough to begin this investigation open-mindedly and unprejudiced. Their first concern should be to define the environment, that is to say, its physical, economic, social, political, religious, etc., characteristics.² Particular stress, no doubt, should be

1. W. S. Smith : *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, 1929. B. S. Counts : *The Social Foundations of Education*, 1934. L. F. Ross : *A Sociological Philosophy of Education*, 1928.

2. L. L. Bernard : "A Classification of Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXI.

laid upon the social environment, whether this educational institution is situated in or near a city or in an agricultural area. This is, as we shall see later on, of greater importance than the political characteristic of this social group. As society always exercises some amount of influence upon the educational system of a country, the various population groups have to be taken into consideration; and as the institution which has been selected, represents, so to speak, the most important population group (being an average institution), it should be made clear that there is an intimate relationship between this particular group and the educational system of this institution. In the survey itself it will be seen how this system adjusts itself to given social conditions.³ We may give one instance, so as to illustrate our argument. Frequently we find, in the East as well as in the West, that schools in the open country have to use the same textbooks as those in cities; the kind of training that is given to a child in an agricultural area is frequently irrelevant and useless; the child cannot and need not adjust itself to the standards and values of a city-culture; yet it is forced to do so owing to the fact that one population group, even if it is quantitatively smaller exercises an undue amount of influence upon another. This can be observed not only in matters of textbooks but in all matters related to the educational process. If, however, the essential characteristics of the population group is made clear, these regrettable and far-reaching mistakes could be avoided altogether, or, at least, corrected to a considerable extent.

As most of the concerns of a social group today centre around economic activities and as, furthermore, education at present depends almost entirely on the economic capacity of the group to provide education, the investigators should make a survey of the economic assets and liabilities of the institution. As it is of an average kind, the results of this investigation will be most illuminating: for, apart from the actual assets, its expenditure for the various branches of learning will, no doubt, reflect the willingness of the social group at large to provide a suitable education for its children. The percentage of the average expenditure for general administration, salaries, health service, buildings, libraries, laboratories, art-departments, vocational training, newspapers and other reading matter, will show the importance attached to one or the other, and the proper conclusions can be drawn therefrom. If, for instance, the expendi-

ture of an average educational institution for administrative purposes is higher than for its libraries, we may assume that there is something wrong with an educational system where more money is spent for organising learning than for the "learning" itself, and that, consequently, the social group is more interested in the organization of education than in "education" itself. The investigators will observe similar mistakes in expenditure within the various branches of learning. They will be enabled to determine almost mathematically the importance attached to them and to correct possible mistakes, in the interest of the social group. On the other hand, a comparison between school-economics and state-economics (for instance, between the amount spent by the average population group for insurance and for education) will help to realize the role, education and therewith this particular institution plays amongst all the various activities of this community. Only if both the social and economic basis are given the survey proper can begin.

The following five points will have to be considered in details: the administration, the teachers or professors, the freedom of teaching, the curriculum, and the students. Statistics should be avoided as far as possible; a survey of this kind deals essentially with human beings and not with abstract principles: the investigators should, therefore, be on more or less intimate terms with everybody-connected with this school or college.

Those who are responsible for the running of the institution and who most directly represent the interests of the social group will form the point of departure of this survey. It will be necessary, first of all, to investigate whether they are fit to represent the social group, whether—apart from their qualifications and training—they have not detached themselves from the common interests and activities of the community. As educational administration is a matter of social policy, this question should be answered first of all.⁴ Next their training and educational qualifications should be considered. And lastly their social composition and social concepts. It is frequently to be found, for example, that those who are responsible for the administration of an educational service in a city were brought up in agricultural surroundings and that they, consequently, are not fit to represent the interests of a city population

3. R. A. McDonald: *Adjustment of School Organization to Various Population Groups*, 1915.

4. Jesse H. Newlon: *Educational Administration as Social Policy*, 1934. A. N. Elliot: *The Status of the Democratic Ideal in the field of School Administration*, 1931.

group. Their social concepts and beliefs cannot adjust themselves to a new environment. The result is a maladaptation of the administrative machinery. This maladaptation can, of course, be studied best in the administrator's everyday interests and activities, in their reading matter, and in their way of passing their leisure time.⁵

A similar investigation can be carried out with regard to teachers. Teachers rather than the administrators are in daily contact with their students and therefore more liable to influence them; here the beginning age of teachers should be taken into consideration, the reasons why they selected this profession rather than any other, and their length of service. One of the commonest observations consists in the fact that teachers today are much too young and inexperienced to "explain" to the students the "meaning" of all the knowledge which they are supposed to carry over from one generation to the next. Frequently also they change their institutions far too often which again handicaps the educational process. A survey of their social composition will help to define the social stratum from which teachers are selected; it will, for instance, be found, that many teachers in cities come from agricultural areas which—as in the case of the administration—leads to maladjustments and maladaptations.⁶ Their social beliefs and attitudes will have to be studied next; this will elucidate the teacher's peculiar position within society and throw light upon his mental activity.⁷ His leisure time activities and interests will complete this picture. It will also be important to establish a relationship between his training and his actual salary; untrained and unqualified teachers being "cheaper" than those who are trained and qualified, it will be interesting to know the percentage of both and to draw the conclusions as to the "standard" of this average institution.

Last, but not least of all, it should be investigated how much interest is taken by the teachers themselves in the freedom of teaching; whether their teaching is only a means for the acquisition of wealth or for some higher intellectual purpose; whether they feel handicapped by outside pressures of a social,

political and religious kind; whether they have any suggestions to make as to the prevention of this outside pressure; whether they resent the restrictions imposed upon them by the local administration rather than those emanating from the vested interests of the social group.⁸ Frequently the investigators will be astonished to find, how ignorant teachers themselves are of the most obvious restraints upon the freedom of teaching and that—should they be aware of them—they usually do not care. Here again much useful work can be done by this survey.

As teaching today depends to a considerable extent on the curriculum, it should be studied very carefully indeed. The average curriculum involves at present a great deal of standardization and mechanization; the methods of teaching should be considered first, whether mass production or individual training is preferred, and the number and attendance of lectures, seminars, discussions, respectively. The same applies to examinations. Here especially mistakes occur more frequently than anywhere else: there are too many examinations and often quite irrelevant ones; preparation for these tests takes place in a most preposterous manner, the students using "annotations" which are dry, abstract, unrelated to the young adult's interests and frequently altogether unreadable. It should be ascertained how many students use these "annotations" and especially what use they make of them. A similar survey should be made of the textbooks in use: their date, and the kind of social, political, religious bias they advocate; their preoccupation with cultural phenomena and civic attitudes, whether they are published privately or by special authorization by the school administration. The textbooks that are used in this average institution will be an index of the current social beliefs, civic attitudes and vested interests within the community.⁹

All the auxiliary teaching material should be considered also: the libraries, the newspapers, reviews, etc., the cinema and the radio, if any. This is, properly speaking, the influence of the environment upon the curriculum, and every educationalist knows only too well that sometimes the leading article of a third-rate newspaper with strong political bias exercise—

5. C. E. Arnett: *The Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American School Board Members*. F. H. Bair: *The Superintendent of Schools as Social Agent*.

6. L. D. Coffman: *The Social Composition of the Teaching Population*, 1911. M. E. Barker: *Personality Adjustment of Teachers Related to Efficiency in Teaching*, 1933.

7. M. H. Harper: *Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators*, 1927. Merle Curti: *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, 1935.

8. H. K. Beale: *Are American Teachers Free? A Analysis of Restraints upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools*, 1936. J. F. Walter: *Outside Demands and Pressures on the Public Schools*, 1932.

9. Bessie Pierce: *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*, 1930. C. J. Tidwill: *State Control of Textbooks*, 1928.

a greater influence upon the young adult's mind than, for example, his textbooks in Civics or Politics.¹⁰ Only if the methods of teaching, the textbooks, and the outside influences are combined, the investigators will be aware of the shortcomings of the curriculum proper; they will, for example, realize that textbooks must be related to the child's reality and experience in order to counteract the dangerous influences from outside.

As for the subjects taught, it should be interesting to know how much time is allotted to them, and the percentage of students enrolled in the various classes. Thus it might be found that purely commercial subjects at present attract students more than art or literature, but that, on the other hand, useless subjects (such as Latin in the West) have to be taught not for the sake of knowledge but for all kinds of other purposes. It might also be found that many subjects are taught only for the sake of some competitive examination and that the "knowledge" thus acquired will be of no use in adult life. The investigators should, therefore, aim at an intelligent classification of subject-matters, thereby indicating the particular trend of cultural movements within the social group.¹¹

The part of the survey that deals with the students, is in itself much more complex. Here the investigation is no longer concerned with mature personalities representing some kind of social order, but with human beings at a time of transition and gradual evolution. However, a survey of the students' population in this average educational institution will illustrate the evolution of the social group itself; it is, in fact, nothing else but a survey of the next generation who will be responsible in the near future for the interests and activities of the social group. Here again a study of the economic background will be useful; the first aim, therefore, will be to establish a relationship between the income of the students' parents and the expenditure for the education of their children. The number of scholarships, free textbooks, etc., will have to be investigated next: this will surely be an index as to how far the social group encourages education for poor but well-deserving students. This study on scholarship may also lead to most

illuminating conclusions, those related to educational waste and allied problems.¹² Next the social and religious composition of the students will be subject to a careful investigation. As it is an institution of an average kind, comparisons may be drawn later on between the percentage of students from the various population groups and the percentage of eminence attained by them during or after the educational process. It will, for instance, be found that students who were brought up in a city environment attain eminence rather than those from an agricultural area. This does not necessarily imply a "higher" standard of learning in cities, but rather a wrong application of city standards in agricultural areas; furthermore, it means that there is something wrong with rural schools, that teachers are not properly trained and that not enough money is spent for education in rural districts. Consequently, a study of the students' social and political concepts and attitudes always with special reference to the population group they represent, will help the investigators to realize how far the social aspirations of the community at large are being instilled into the next generation. They will also frequently come across a strange discrepancy between the theoretical aspirations and the actual results. Questions should be put to the students with regard to the most common interests and activities of the group, such as those dealing with political, social, religious, moral, literary, artistic and economic issues; here the influence of outside propaganda rather than that of textbooks will be painfully obvious.¹³ This study may be successfully supplemented by a survey of the students' leisure time interests and activities, their reading matter (what books do they like best, which page in a newspaper do they read regularly, etc.), and the interest taken in games. If the results of this investigation are again compared with the various population groups which the students represent, the survey will be almost complete. The health of the students can be tested easily; as for their "intelligence", it would, perhaps, be better to avoid all unnecessarily complicated and standardized "intelligence-tests". Commonsense will do as much. If, however, tests of this kind seem to be necessary, they should be handled carefully and not too many conclusions drawn from them.¹⁴ If this average institution is on

10. F. L. Cumley: *The Propaganda Menace*, 1933.
J. F. Scott: *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*, 1926.

11. C. H. Mann: *How Schools Use their Time: Time Allotment Practice in 444 Cities*. Columbia University, 1928.

12. K. Lindsay: *Social Progress and Educational Waste: being a study on the "free-place" and scholarship system*, 1926.

13. Hyman Meltzer: *Children's Social Concepts: a study of their nature and development*, 1925.

14. S. S. Colvin: "The Use of Intelligence Tests." *Educational Review*, LXII, 134.

a co-educational basis more problems of a different kind will have to be dealt with. The investigators being in the full confidence of the students, very appreciable results may be obtained here which may be easily correlated to the preceding points of the students' survey. An investigation in the working arrangements of the department for professional or vocational training will elucidate the interest taken by the social group and the students themselves in their professional life and the way students adjust themselves to existing social and economic conditions.

Here the survey proper ends. A few general remarks have, however, to be added indicating the particular trend of an educational system as represented by this average institution. These remarks will bear upon the relationship between social progress and this educational machinery.

All educational problems centre around the relationship between those who represent the social group, namely, the teachers, and the students. If there is no obvious relationship to be found, the educational system is bound to fail. If teachers do not participate in the communal life of a school or college, the educational process will be to a considerable extent divorced from the "realities" of the social group. The lack of proper guidance will lead as regards the students to social maladaptations of a very serious kind. No "social progress" can be achieved without the mutual consent of both teachers and students. It should be investigated whether this mutual consent exists. If it does not exist the fault lies usually with the teacher: students are always open to new suggestions of a "progressive" kind with regard to social life, art, or morals. Character-building is closely related to this problem. If children or young adults are taught to think about life in terms of intellectual entities and abstractions, character-building will

be replaced by "instruction" and the result will invariably be educational failures. It should be investigated how much "moral" or intellectual pressure is exercised upon the young individual and how much freedom, on the other hand, is left to him to educate himself in a "natural" way by means of personal experiences.¹⁵ If possible, a similar investigation should be carried out with regard to the sexual problems predominating the young adult's life in this average institution. The amount of inhibitions and repressions will be a sure index of the general "moral" health of the students. Should the educational process be successful, these inhibitions and repressions will have to be reduced to a minimum: this alone will guarantee a healthy and normal family life in the future.¹⁶

If this average institution trains its students for an intelligent social adjustment to existing conditions, the educational system which it represents will be invariably successful; if, on the other hand, students are trained to respect tradition and to look upon life in an unprejudiced and open-minded way, no considerable amount of educational failures will be possible; if, lastly, habits of mind tending towards social progress are instilled into the young adults, the community at large will profit by it and traditional cultural values and standards will not be cut short by some pseudo-revolutionary mentality, as it so frequently happens at present, but will go on evolving in a normal, healthy, and natural way.

To make this evolution clear and, if necessary, to prevent possible distortions and maladaptations, should be the aim of such an educational survey.

15. D. H. Lawrence: *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, 1923.

16. G. Humphrey: "Education and Freudianism." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, XV.



FOUNDATION OF A KEY INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Electrolytic Manufacture of Soda and Chlorine

By SIR P. C. RAY

ONE great difficulty in India of starting big industries is that she is called upon all of a sudden to face fierce competition from the long established, highly developed industrial organisations of Europe, America and Japan. Foreign products are dumped into the country at rates which defy competition and thereby indigenous industries are throttled out of existence. Needless to say, price are again enhanced after the local enterprise has been crushed out to make good for the temporary losses of the foreigner. The difficulty is now further increased when England herself, under the new constitution, in the name of Imperial preference or some other euphemistic epithet, is entering the field by jumping over the tariff wall. Just now this is our unfortunate position. Gigantic British industries incorporated in England, such as the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., are opening branches in India. But if unhappy India is to exist at all she must be prepared, dwarf as she is, to fight with the colossal giant.

Hitherto in India only a single attempt has been made by Indians to start a big key industry, the Tata Iron and Steel Works Ltd. It has outlived its infancy and has come to adolescence. At the outset it had the financial backing of the late J. N. Tata and latterly of the Bombay capitalists. When the great war broke out and the supply of foreign steel was cut off, our government realised the supreme importance of an indigenous industry and of making India self-contained as far as possible in her needs. But the Tatas at that time behaved like spoilt children. Once while presiding over an industrial conference Sir Dorab Tata boasted that his expert was drawing a pay higher than that commanded by the Viceroy of India. The criterion of efficiency had thus been judged by the concern by the salary of its expert. Things went on merrily for a time, but, a crisis arose when peace was concluded and the efficiency of the experts was tested in the fire of foreign competition. German and Belgian steel produced from a much lower grade iron ore began to pour into the market at a much-reduced rate. A cry was raised for the support of an infant industry and a national backing was secured for the con-

cern for its protection and subsidy. It is needless to proceed further. Suffice it to say that Tata Iron and Steel Works got something like a crore a year from the Imperial coffers and latterly under the Imperial preference somewhere near about eighty lakhs a year. In other words the poor peasantry of India were taxed for their commodities, such as corrugated sheets and implements of husbandry, and the country had to pay seven or eight crores of rupees to cover the losses of inefficient running of this concern. Still the cost is not too high if the concern thereby becomes efficient and completely Indianised.

These preliminary remarks may seem irrelevant to many but they have an important bearing on the subject proper which I now introduce.

India is yet in her infancy in industrial progress and capital is naturally very shy and she lacks in organising power. Hence undertakings of colossal scale as obtain in highly developed industrial countries do not appeal to her and are at present beyond her means. Therefore the example set by an Asiatic country naturally appeals to her.

Japan has developed to a remarkable extent during the last decade in her industrial activities in diverse fields, following the example of European countries. In the metallurgical industries, such as, copper mining and copper refining, she started from a very small beginning; now she occupies practically the second place in world production. Last year in an article published in *The Electrical World*, Dugald Jackson, Emeritus Professor of Electrical Engineering of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, gave a survey of Japanese electrical plants. He states that practically all the power stations both hydro-electric and thermal are now run by Japanese generators. The sizes of these generators and their efficiency are quite on a par with those of other nations. Electric locomotives that run in Japan have all been manufactured in Japanese factories. A number of Japanese lamp factories have been started and the productive capacity of one of them could be compared favourably with some of the biggest factories in the world, having a daily output of three lakhs of lamps.

In Electro-Chemical industries her development has been remarkable. By the electrolysis of common salt she not only supplies her need for alkalis and bleaching powder and liquid chlorine but manages to export large quantities abroad at a price much lower than that produced by other nations. She produces the artificial fertilisers needed for her agriculture by the atmospheric fixation of nitrogen and even exports considerable quantities abroad. Though she lacks in aluminous ore which is imported mainly from our country, she has within the last six years developed a big Aluminium industry. Her textile industry, silk industry, rayon industry, rubber industry have developed within the last decade to such an extent that they excite the envy of people who had been pioneers in those and have considerable experience.

The secret of these undertakings in their inception and growth may be attributed to many causes, but it may be pointed out that she is now almost independent of foreign manufacturers regarding the equipment of her industrial concerns. Japan now is in a position to equip almost all her factories with machinery and equipments developed in Japan and a considerable number of them are of higher efficiencies than those developed abroad. This is the finding of an eminent foreign engineer, a teacher of a renowned engineering institution and no mean observer in the world progress in the engineering line.

Japan has to import pig iron and scrap iron from India; she readily converts them into steel and now her grand mercantile marine and her powerful naval equipment including battle-ships, cruisers and submarines, aeroplanes for commercial navigation and warlike operations and all the ingredients for war purposes are secured from the steel of her own making. The textile machinery is entirely of her own production. The development of the rubber trade and of the rubber products both in variety and in price has been remarkable. One really looks for the basic factors which have led to this astounding progress and one finds that a spirit of self-determination and self-confidence to produce the elements of her industrial equipments independent of foreign countries form the foundations of her industries.

Things are different here in India. One can cite the case of sugar industry. Thanks to the prohibitive duty on Java sugar we have had a rapid growing up of an indigenous sugar industry. Already there is over-production and rate cutting and loud complaint against the excise duty on home-grown sugar.

Here is an example of the effects of ill considered excessive protective duty. But the important fact must not be overlooked. Any one who examines the custom duties on imported machineries will be surprised at the enormous quantity of machinery worth several crores introduced into our country from abroad, from England, the continent of Europe and the States.

This comparison would surely indicate the secret of Japan in a nutshell. As soon as her period of probationership was over, she with commendable foresight turned a new leaf in her chapter of industry. She realised that she must manufacture on the spot her own requirements and has managed the same on an economic basis. She is no longer dependent on foreign countries. She charges wages for labour from a coolie to an expert in a scale which would puzzle us. She is a rice-eating nation like ourselves and her cost of living is not of the standard of European countries. An expert technician or a college professor serves on a pay which appear to us ridiculously small. But unlike us she takes advantage of her asset of brain and brawn for her own benefit. There is no tendency for job-hunting and service securing in Japanese youths. While we are frittering our energies in securing paper qualifications without any definite end in view, thus running to waste our potential brain wealth, Japan had been utilising to the fullest extent her intellectual elements for the development of her industries, her commerce and other avocations of modern national life. Though in the beginning she like other oriental countries had been stunned by the force of impact of science on society, she rallied quickly and set up an organisation to equip herself to meet the altered conditions. And further her government gave well-planned and highly efficient financial and technical backing to her enterprises during their infancy.

In explaining the industrial growth of Japan we have diverged from our main theme regarding the difficulties of initiating new industries in our country. It is well known that there are a number of industries which are essential for the development and growth of other industries. Of these key industries one finds alkali manufacture has an unique position. Soap has been stated by Liebig to be an index of modern civilised society and though India situated in the tropics abounds in vegetable oil and has within the last twenty five years grown an indigenous soap industry it may be pointed out that she is entirely dependent on imported alkalis for the same. The quality and price of

soap are naturally found to be affected by the fluctuations in the price of this imported alkali. Within the last forty years India has been growing a textile industry mainly for her home consumption and it is not realised how far the industry is dependent on the imported alkali. The growth of an Indian paper industry, apart from other causes, is handicapped not to an inconsiderable extent due to cheap alkali. In a modern paper mill established in the neighbourhood of Calcutta we have the information that the annual consumption of alkali runs up to about 3,000 tons a year. These are only a few examples to illustrate the nature of this key industry. Alkali manufacture can be traced back to very olden times, but the modern methods can be said to originate from the processes well known to students of chemistry—the Leblanc and Solvay processes,—about the beginning of the last century. With the development of electrical energy the electro-chemical decomposition of sodium chloride to produce caustic soda, chlorine and hydrogen has been evolved and within a short period of twenty years the long established older processes have received a check. In America specially, the electro-chemical process soon supplanted to a considerable extent the older industries. More particularly, since then its bye-product chlorine, transformed either into bleaching powder or into liquid chlorine, is finding considerable use for disinfection and other sanitary purposes.

As we discussed about the industrial development of Japan we found that her secret of success lay in devising means to build up her own equipments without external aid. For some time there has been an attempt to design a suitable electro-chemical plant for the production of alkalies and bleaching powder locally and it may now be said that there is every chance of installing a successful plant for the purpose. For more than a couple of years the untiring effort of a band of workers, who

for reasons best known to them do not like to give their names away to the public, had been engaged in the problem and they feel that the successful establishment of this important key industry may not be very far off. The experimental plant is a very modest one with a small output but it shows signs that it is capable of large expansions. It has as its competitor one of the biggest world organisations, namely, the Imperial Chemical Industries, subsidised by the British Parliament, opening its new branch here, but there is reason to believe that India has a scope not only for such big organisations, but also for small ones. If the spirit of self-confidence, self-sacrifice and efficiency in organisation can be combined such small concerns may not lose heart to face the competition. In these days of motor lorries and quick transport, even in the streets of big metropolis hand carts have not ceased to ply their trade. But apart from plain and honest competition, there are other methods of killing an infant industry practised here, chiefly by foreign concerns, or "Indian" concerns that are "Indian" only in the location of their industrial machinery. Zonal price cutting, threats to purchasers or wholesalers of non-supply by the European concerns, if they purchase from Indian concerns, and similar octopus methods of strangling infant Indian industries are practised here with impunity. Such practices must be regarded as criminal and penalised. The foreigners have stipulated and obtained their safeguards. It is up to us to agitate for and secure anti-trust laws and other safeguards against the destroyers of Indian enterprise.

The dawn of a new era in the industrial development of India would certainly begin when this and other important key industries take their footing in the indigenous soil and be entirely developed by us unaided by extraneous help.



THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By A. R. DALAL

IN spite of the abundance of raw materials in India and of India's relatively high importance a thousand years ago in the world's supply of wrought iron and steel, India did not effectively take up the manufacture of iron by modern methods until fifty years ago, when the Barakar Iron Works were established at Kulti in Bengal, about 140 miles north-west of Calcutta. Since that time these works have, almost without interruption, continued the production of pig iron and iron castings, under the ownership of the Bengal Iron Company, which has now been acquired by the Indian Iron and Steel Company. Over thirty years ago the Bengal Company attempted the manufacture of steel at Kulti, but did not succeed in overcoming the many difficulties which had to be faced; the plant was closed down after about two years and was ultimately completely dismantled.

Although the Barakar Iron Works were the pioneers in their line small foundries for the production of iron castings from pig iron existed in several places in India before the establishment of the former. Those foundries have developed steadily but inconspicuously apart from two offshoots of an unusual nature. Over forty years ago the iron foundry of what is now the Metal and Steel Works of the Army Department at Ichapore, a short distance north of Calcutta, undertook the manufacture of steel in a small open hearth furnace. This plant, which has since had a moderate growth, is the pioneer of modern steel-making in India. It was followed after a few years by a similar development at the Jamalpur Works of the East Indian Railway. It is doubtful whether either of these plants ever produced 30,000 tons of ingots in any one year. Neither of them made steel for the commercial market. About nine years ago the Jamalpur plant was closed down, as the Railway found it more economical to purchase the small quantity of billets it required for its rolling mill, which is still retained.

The most important development of the Industry, however, was due to Mr. Jamshedji Tata who prepared the schemes which led to the formation in 1907 of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Two blast furnaces and a steel plant with rolling mills were erected at

Jamshedpur with a capacity of 1,20,000 tons pig iron (of which the greater part was absorbed in the steel plant) and about 80,000 tons of rolled steel annually. Production of iron began in 1911 and of steel in 1912. The output has developed practically without check, and extensions of the Works have been almost continuous for the last 20 years. For some years it has been the largest steelworks in the Empire on a single site. The extensions now in hand will bring its capacity by 1940 to about 1,200,000 tons of pig iron, almost the same quantity of ingots and nearly 8,50,000 tons of rolled steel for despatch to customers.

In 1918, another enterprise, the Indian Iron and Steel Company, was formed and two blast furnaces, the necessary coke-ovens, etc. were erected at Hirapur, a few miles from Kulti. This Company acquired the Bengal Iron Company, and its works now have a combined capacity of about 8,50,000 tons of pig iron annually, together with foundries capable of producing 100,000 tons of cast iron pipes, sleepers and general iron castings. The amount of pig iron required by the general Indian market being very small, the Indian Iron Company has hitherto depended mainly on the export of pig iron for its market. A new Company, The Steel Corporation of Bengal, Ltd., was registered in 1937. This Company will take all its requirements of pig iron from The Indian Iron and Steel Company, Ltd. The production aimed at is 2,00,000 to 2,50,000 tons of finished steel per annum.

The next enterprise in this line was invited by the Mysore Government who erected a small iron works at Bhadravati over 16 years ago to produce charcoal pig iron on the scale of 20,000 tons per year. They are making cast iron pipes which absorb about 7,000 tons of pig annually. The scheme has never been financially profitable and a small steel plant with an estimated capacity of about 15,000 tons of bars and small sections and 5,000 tons of hoops has recently been added, in order to afford a means of utilising the iron produced.

Recent important factors in the growth of the industry are the Tinplate Company of India and Indian Steel Wire Products, Ltd., both of which have their works adjacent to

those of the Tata Company and depend upon the latter for the supply of tin-bar and billets respectively. The former Company has in recent years produced over 50,000 tons of tinplate annually and the latter is producing over 40,000 tons of steel rods, small bars, wire (black and galvanised) and wire nails. Besides these, an interesting recent development is the understanding between the Tata Company and Messrs. Stewards and Lloyds, the largest British producers of tubes, for the formation of a jointly-owned Company which will make tubes in India to the maximum extent practicable in the conditions of the market.

Apart from the above several concerns are operating re-rolling mills, mainly for bars and small sections, in Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Cawnpore, Negapatam and elsewhere. Some of the Mills work on such scrap as is locally available, while others operate on billets. India also possesses three small foundries for the manufacture of steel castings for the general market, two in the Calcutta area and one in the coalfield area.

Both the Tata Company and the Indian Iron Company possess enormous reserves of high grade iron ore within economic distance of their works. These deposits lie in the Singhbhum District, which is one of the richest iron ore areas of the world. India, however, does not possess correspondingly large reserves of the equally necessary coking coal. Both Companies possess reserves of this coal, those of the Tata Company, however, being much larger than those of the Indian Iron Company.

So much for the supply side of the question. As for the demand side, India's consumption of steel is mainly in the form of sheets, bars, rails, structural sections, plates, sleepers, tinplate, hoops, tubes, wire and rods. There appears to be no other form of steel which is consumed to an extent reaching 20,000 tons per year in normal times. Since 1923 the aggregate Indian consumption of all the products specified above has averaged about 1,000,000 tons annually. All these products are, or will, within the next two years, be, made by the Tata Steel Company and its immediate associates to an extent aggregating about fourth-fifths of the whole. The position of this Company in the industry thus appears to be one of unusually great strength.

Further development of the industry in India depends mainly on the growth of demand. It need not be doubted that the effective demand will grow. The growth may, however, not be so rapid as is expected in some quarters. The

world consumed over 50 per cent more steel in 1928 and 1929 than in the best pre-war year 1913. India, however, reached its peak in 1927 with a consumption 40 per cent greater than in 1913, which was also India's best pre-war year. The consumption rapidly declined from 1927 and although the last four years have shown some improvement, the consumption in 1936 was barely 60 per cent of its previous record, whereas in 1936 the world as a whole passed its previous record of 1929. Thus, although there is good reason to regard the Indian steel market as sound, it must be recognized that it has limitations in its present demand and that expectations of its future rate of growth should not be pitched too high.

India has not yet appeared in the steel export market to any important extent. It is, however, and has for many years been, one of the major exporters of pig iron on the world market. For the manufacture of basic steel and for certain kinds of foundry work Indian pig iron has established a high reputation for quality in many countries. The principal buyer is normally Japan but the United States and the United Kingdom have for years been fairly steady buyers of Indian pig iron while smaller quantities are despatched each year to a large number of other countries.

As in other countries, the Indian steel industry has experienced large fluctuations in its fortunes and in 1924 it became necessary for Government of India to grant the industry fiscal protection, partly by import duties and partly by subsidies. The subsidies were removed after less than three years and have not been re-instituted. The protective duties were revised in a downward direction in 1927 and again in 1934. At the present time the duties on British steel are only 10 per cent ad valorem and those on non-British steel vary between about Rs. 25 and Rs. 43 per ton. An unusual feature of the situation is that since the end of 1934 Government has levied an excise duty of Rs. 4 per ton on all steel ingots produced in India and an excise countervailing duty of Rs. 5½ per ton is added to the import duties on finished steel of the protected kinds. Billets, however, are free from import duty and the excise countervailing duty is only Rs. 4.

At its last inquiry the Indian Tariff Board estimated that by 1940 the Tata Company would be able to produce rails at a "works cost" of about Rs. 47, billets about Rs. 38, bars at Rs. 52, galvanised sheets below Rs. 99 and other products at correspondingly low costs. The Company has naturally not pub-

lished its recent costs, but all the indications are that it has made substantial progress and will make further progress in the next two or three years. It is expected in competent circles that a further prolongation of protection will not be required and that by 1941 the protective duties will be removed. In the main the re-rolling industry has depended on the unusual combination of a high duty on bars and the free importation of billets. The cessation of protection would tend to put the production of bars, etc., where it economically belongs, *i.e.*, in the primary steelworks, which in India can produce billets more cheaply than they can be imported and can convert them into bars on high-capacity mills more cheaply than the small re-roller.

Turning to the question of financial strength, the Tata Steel Company has a share capital of Rs. 10.52 crores. As it expects to be able to finance out of its own resources the extensions referred to earlier in this article, its capitalisation may be regarded as distinctly moderate in relation to the large capacity indicated, the more so as the Company has not written down its capital at any stage, a process which has occurred only too frequently in the industry. The capitalisation also covers the cost of a large town and the very rich ore mines and collieries already mentioned. Practically the whole of the plant now in operation is less than 15 years old, the original equipment having been almost entirely superseded. This has been made possible by the conservative policy of the Company in the matter of depreciation. For example, Rs. 501 lakhs have been set aside out of profits on this account in the five years ending March 1937.

The capital of the Indian Iron and Steel Company, as re-constituted at the end of 1936, is £2,000,000 in debentures and Rs. 181.16 lakhs in shares, the share capital representing a substantial writing down of the original amounts raised by the two Companies which have been amalgamated into the present Company. The Company possesses four blast furnaces of modern type (two large and two of medium size), the necessary coke ovens and auxiliary plant, large foundries, two small townships, collieries and the extensive iron ore mines referred to above. It is understood that the Company has sufficient reserves to enable it to modernise those parts of its plant which are not reasonably up-to-date. Further capital of Rs. 40 lakhs was issued for the purpose of

participating in the new steelworks. The capital of the Steel Corporation of Bengal, Ltd. is £1,000,000 in debentures and Rs. 370 lakhs in shares.

The Tinplate Company of India was formed with a capital of Rs. 75 lakhs of which two-thirds was furnished by the Burmah Oil Company and one-third by the Tata Iron and Steel Company, with which the Tinplate Company has a long-term contract for the supply of tin-bar. The reports of the Company are not publicly available but the latest accounts of the Burmah Oil and the Tata Companies show that the Tinplate Company is paying satisfactory dividends.

The works of Indian Steel Wire Products Limited were originally in private ownership. The public Company was registered in 1936 and has an issued capital of Rs. 10 lakhs in debentures and Rs. 50.00.000 in shares. The Company owns a modern mill with a capacity of about 45,000 tons of small bars, rods, etc. for which it obtains the billets from the Tata Company under a long-term contract. It also has fairly extensive wire-drawing and nail-making plant. The Company is believed to be operating with satisfactory financial results.

Apart from the above, there are re-rolling mills operated by the Eagle Rolling Mills Company, Guest Keen Williams, Ltd., the National Iron and Steel Company and the Indian Steel Rolling Mills, Ltd. In addition to these there are a few smaller mills in various parts of India mainly under private ownership. Little information is available about the operating results.

It can be gathered from this short survey that India appears to be within a very short distance of reaching practical self-sufficiency in the more generally used forms of steel, if this be judged on the basis of past consumption. It has achieved this position on a sound financial and economic basis and there is little reason to doubt that the industry in India will be able to maintain its position. If there should be a rapid increase in the consumption, there might well be a time-lag before the Indian industry expanded to meet it and imported steel might for a period be required on a larger scale, but the dependence of India on the United Kingdom and the Continent for large supplies of steel has passed and is not likely to return. Beyond this, the stage may prove to be not very far distant when, during times of low local demand, the Indian Steel Industry will be able to make an effective entry into the export market.

CIVIL AVIATION INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By SURESH DESAI, M.A., LL. B.

THE remarkable development of air transport in post-war years has assumed added importance at the present day. It is indisputable that Civil Aviation is no mere commercial proposition. Commercial air-fleets, it is well known, are an auxiliary to military air-craft, and are calculated to play a vital part in the chain of imperial communications. The role of Civil Aviation as a key-industry in the defence and economy of the country has been recognised by modern States through heavy subsidies and other forms of assistance extended to their national air services.

India, having a peculiar geographical position on the map of the world and with its long distances came early to be considered as an important playground by foreign air services. Not only does India hold a strategic position in the aerial links of the Empire between London and Brisbane but it also commands an equally important position in the aerial connections between the East and the West and incidentally, in the round-the-world service *via* Hongkong over the Pan-American Airways Trans-Pacific route. The Government of India established their Civil Aviation Department in 1927. Private enterprise was allowed to operate air services in the country, but active State assistance was not forthcoming. Whereas a number of foreign countries were quick to appreciate the importance of air transport from the military as also from the economic viewpoint and heavily subsidized this industry, which by its very nature required such aid, no steps were taken in India to attract or encourage capital to be invested in this industry. It is interesting to note here that the Advisory Committee on Civil Aviation in Britain in its Report on 'Imperial Air Routes' while recommending the establishment of certain main-trunk lines, pointed out that "the proper place for initial action was the route to India" and that the development of these Imperial routes "should be by private enterprise backed by State assistance". Next year, the Committee recommended that 'direct financial assistance should be paid to companies operating on 'approved routes'. The Controller-General

of Civil Aviation also emphasised in his first report that if 'civil aviation in England is to be regarded as one of those industries which is unable to stand on its own feet and is yet so essential to the national welfare that it must be kept alive at all costs', some form of 'direct State assistance was necessary'.² In India, on the other hand, neither were training facilities in aeronautics made available to Indian youths, nor what was more important, was any effort made to develop air-mindedness in the Indian public.

It was not long, however, before the question arose of India's participation in international aerservices. The Standing Finance Committee of the Central Assembly who dealt with the question in 1929, arrived definitely at the conclusion that in any new concern to be started to operate air service, India should have 75% of the voting rights, that three-fourths of the Directors should be Indians, whose appointment should be subject to the approval of the Government and that an express stipulation should be made to ensure full control over the affairs of the company, including the power to remove the Managing Agents, in the hands of the Board of Directors and the shareholders. It may be noted that Sir George Schuster, the then Finance Member, stated before the Standing Finance Committee that "he had come to the conclusion that not less than 75% of the voting rights would give the Government the desired control over the affairs of the company". Sir George also explained the method by which 75% of the voting rights be secured while the Government need only find 50 of the capital. What the public in India was insistent upon was that in the vital industry of Civil Aviation, Indian controlling interests should be assured and maintained. In 1931, the General Purposes Sub-Committee of the Indian Retrenchment Advisory Committee also recommended that "no non-Indian conducted air service should be allowed

development of Civil Aviation," 1920. This Report also contains a 'Brief summary of the more important steps taken by the Air Ministry for the assistance of Civil Aviation.'

2. "Synopsis of progress of work in the Department of Civil Aviation."

1. "Report on Government Assistance for the

to start the Indian link in the East and the West through air run" but that the Government of India should themselves unhesitatingly inaugurate the Indian State Air Service, if such a course be considered necessary, to avoid the establishment of non-Indian controlled service. The Sub-Committee even went further and suggested retaliatory measures. They stated:

"But against pressure and threats from any powerful non-Indian commercial interest, the Sub-Committee consider that the Government of India, at the limit of withdrawing all their ground organization and meteorological facilities (the latter up to the borders of Persia) are not without effective weapons."

British commercial interests meanwhile were somewhat perturbed over the slow progress of Civil Aviation in India and they requested the Government "to take immediate steps towards the inauguration of an air mail service between Karachi and Rangoon" even by relaxing the conditions laid down by the Government regarding the development of Civil Aviation in India. Indian commercial bodies, on the other hand, took exception to any such relaxation, for the conditions laid down by the Government were not only according to the general policy of discriminating protection laid down by the Government of India as an outcome of the Fiscal Commission but were also sanctioned by the recommendation of the External Capital Committee about the imposition of such specific conditions and stipulations whenever bounties, subsidies and similar pecuniary assistance were granted by the State. In 1932, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry passed the following Resolution at their Fifth Annual Session:

"That this Federation is of opinion that in any scheme for the development of civil aviation in this country, the Government will strictly adhere to the conditions laid down by them about reserving a substantial majority—75 per cent—of share capital and directorate for Indians in all branches of its works and will not relax these conditions on any account."

It was contrary to the understanding arrived at in the Standing Finance Committee in 1929, and against the considered views of the Retrenchment Sub-Committee and despite the definite Indian commercial and public opinion on the question, that the Government of India entered into an agreement with the Imperial Airways in 1933 in respect of the Indian Trans-Continental Airways Ltd. wherein they assigned the major portion of the capital to the Imperial Airways, thereby establishing the control of non-Indian interests in a vital key-industry of the country. The Government of India kept 24% of the capital, 25% were given to the Indian

National Airways, while the Imperial Airways—a foreign concern—were assigned 51% of the share capital. This anti-national action of the Government in passing over 51% of the share capital of the new concern to the Imperial Airways was adversely criticised both inside the Legislature and outside. Sir Frank Noyce during a debate on the question in the Assembly on the 20th September, 1933, tried to explain that

"the holding of 51 per cent by Imperial Airways was a fundamental condition of the whole arrangement, especially of the grant of the subsidy and if it had not been accepted, it would not have been possible to start the service."

It cannot, however, be gain-said that had the Government of India adopted a strong attitude on the question and declined to yield to the unreasonable demand of the Imperial Airways, an agreement could have been concluded wherein the controlling interests would have been Indian. Moreover, there was no reason to be in such a haste to establish the aerial contact between the East and the West even at the cost of sacrificing the interests of the country. As a last resort, as suggested by the Retrenchment Sub-Committee, a State service could have been inaugurated by the Government even if private Indian capital was not forthcoming. However, there is no doubt that if the opportunity had been given, Indian capital could have been found for investing in the Aviation industry as evinced by the successful enterprise of the Tatas, who have built up a highly efficient internal airmail service without any subsidy from the Government. But Sir Frank Noyce assured the Assembly that

"these arrangements are subject to the provision that in 1939 the Government of the day will be at perfect liberty to reconsider the whole position."

Public opinion in India had, therefore, no option but to wait for further five years.

Adieu Paniers, vendanges sont faites—says the old French saying. The Empire Air Mail programme loomed in the air. The arrangements which were due to expire in 1939 were replaced by the arrangements for the operation of the Empire Air Mail Scheme. The Indian Trans-Continental Airway cease to operate between Karachi and Singapore and their operations have been transferred to the England-Calcutta Section, on which they would operate half in conjunction with the Imperial Airways. The capital of the Company will also be increased from Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 32 lakhs. *But the proportion will remain the same, that is the 51% dominating*

interest of the Imperial Airways, a non-Indian concern, over the vital industry of Aviation has been perpetuated and will continue uninterruptedly for the next term of 15 years. It hardly needs to be explained that the entire Aviation policy of the Government would as a consequence continue to be dictated by the Imperial Airways and would not, therefore, be necessarily determined in accordance with public opinion in this country. After the strong expression of protest at the time of the last agreement, the least that the Government of India were expected to do was to see that the new agreement eliminated the 51% foreign domination clause and provided for the major part of the capital in Indian hands, both private and Government. Non-Indian vested interests have been consolidated in a vital sphere, which is of defensive, no less than of economic value.

And how is it explained? The Government of India have sophistically stated that the arrangements were placed before the Standing Finance Committee and were accepted by it at its meeting on the 27th February, 1937, and were subsequently formally approved by the Legislature which accepted the necessary demand. It should be made clear, however, that three members of the Standing Finance Committee, Messrs. Asaf Ali, Sait and Gadgil, dissented from the proposal and as for approval by the Legislature it was simply a formal voting of the grant. That the Government of India ought to have consulted the Indian Legislature and the public at the time when the proposals about the Empire Air Mail scheme were submitted by His Majesty's Government cannot too much be emphasised.

At the time of the negotiations about the Trans-Atlantic Air Service between U.S.A. and the Imperial Airways, it was stated that "understandings had been reached with America based on the principle of full reciprocity which it was hoped would bring about as soon as possible the establishment of the service" (*italics are mine*). In December last year, Sir George Beharrel, Chairman of the Imperial Airways Ltd., speaking at the annual general meeting, said:

"In Europe this is not the case. If a British Company secures a contract from the British Post Office for the carriage of mails, outwards from Great Britain, it hardly ever follows that the same company secures a contract for carrying the inward mails from the foreign countries to Great Britain. The contract for the inward mails is usually and not unnaturally, awarded by the country concerned to its own national company."

Perhaps Sir George has forgotten the 'unnatural' agreement imposed upon India by

the Imperial Airways. And about the absence of reciprocity, is it not true when he says, 'In Europe, this is not the case'?

Another feature of the new agreement is that India will take no direct part in the operation of the Sea-plane services, though she would co-operate in the provision of the ground services, as according to the Government "India's interest in the development of sea-planes is comparatively small". In fact, there is hardly any justification for circumscribing the activities of the Indian Trans-Continental Airways to the operation of land-planes and excluding thereby trained Indians from employment in the sea-plane services. India has got a long coastline and large navigable rivers and the training received by Indians in the operation of sea-plane services could have been utilised with much benefit in the development of this important branch of Civil Aviation. It is surprising that the Government of India have attached so little importance to sea-plane aviation while every other maritime country considers it of special defensive value.

Under the new agreement, Imperial Airways will be paid by His Majesty's Government an agreed sum for the carriage of mails and an additional payment by way of subsidy. India's share in the total payment will be £102,500 or Rs. 13.7 lacs. It may be of interest to note that the Australian contribution, on the basis of not more than 40,000 lbs. of mail letters a year, will be £40,000 sterling subsidy and £32,000 sterling for mails. The *intelligentsia* in India wonder as to why the controlling interests in the Trans-Continental Airways have been taken away from Indian hands even though such a heavy burden of Rs. 13.7 lacs a year has been imposed upon the Indian tax-payer.

In the Memorandum submitted to the Standing Finance Sub-Committee on the 27th February, 1938, the Government of India have been at pains to explain "the expansion of opportunities for employment of Indians in Aviation" as a result of the new arrangements. It is stated:

"The Government of India have made arrangements for the employment and training of the largest number of Indians reasonably practicable, on the services operated by the Trans-Continental Airways. Further, Indians will not be debarred from employment in any capacity in the services operated by Imperial Airways, provided they possess the qualifications, experience and other qualities which are considered essential."

The public in India has, however, ceased to be enraptured over these vague assurances and platitudes. They have only recently seen how

the process of "de-Indianization" is working in the higher services under the Government of India. Moreover, is it not the primary duty of the Government of the country to see that its nationals are equipped with full training to repel aerial attacks? What India wants, however, are not a few jobs but the control of a key-industry.

Meanwhile, the Indian National Airways, the Tata Air Service, Irrawadi Flotilla and Airways Limited and the Air Services of India ply on

their internal operations. The first company holds 25% of the share capital of the Indian Trans-Continental Airways. But is it strictly an Indian concern?

It is said that the new arrangements with the Imperial Airways whereby the controlling interests in the Indian Trans-Continental Airways are handed over to the foreign concern, will expire after 15 years and the agreement will stand to be revised. But who knows? History may repeat itself.

BANKIM CHANDRA CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore

(Contributed by the Secretary, Karnataka Sahitya Parishat)

A PUBLIC meeting was held under the auspices of the Parishat on Thursday, 30th June, at 5-30 p.m., to celebrate the Centenary of the birth of Sri Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the celebrated novelist of Bengal, and to commemorate along with it, the services rendered to Kannada by the late Mr. B. Venkatachar, who popularised Bankim Chandra's novels in the Kannada Country, through his delightful translations. Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A. B.L., Vice-President of the Parishat, presided. There was a good and representative gathering present. Portraits of Bankim Chandra and Venkatachar were exhibited on the occasion.

The function began with the singing of "Bande Mataram" of Bankim Chandra by Mr. K. C. Sampathkumarachar, B.A., B.T., well-known Gamaki. Mr. B. M. Srikantia, with a few opening remarks in the course of which he referred to the appropriateness of the celebrations and the unique significance of "Bande Mataram," called upon the persons who were to speak on the occasion.

Mr. D. K. Bharadwaj Vidyabhushana, well-known Kannada writer, presented a brief study of "The Personality of Bankim." He said that Bankim was a true patriot who was able to preach the gospel of love towards one's own country and language, through his novels and writings. Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, M.A., Excise Commissioner to Government of Mysore, renowned short-story writer and poet, author of "Rabindranath Tagore" in Kannada, spoke next on "The Place of Bankim Chandra in Indian Literature." He said that Bankim no doubt wrote in Bengali for the Bengali people, but the national spirit which he enshrined in his works escaped the borders of Bengal and caught fire in distant lands, and today he is regarded as the Father of Modern Indian Literature. "Bande Mataram," a little song, has now become the great symbol of the worship of our Motherland. Then Mr. L. Gundappa, M.A., Literary Assistant in the English-Kannada Dictionary Office of the Mysore University, read a few passages

from the Kannada translations of Bankim's novels with a view to illustrate the style and manner of Bankim's writings, the vividness and naturalness of his portrayals of characters and the greatness of his sentiments. Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastry, M.A., Assistant Professor of Kannada, Central College, Bangalore, contributed a refreshing speech on "The Modernity of Bankim." The speaker referred to Bankim as the forerunner of modern literature in India, particularly prose literature. His "Krishna Charitra," a rare work, fully reveals the modernity of a mind trying to understand the historicity and greatness of a "mythical" personage.

Sri S. Shalman then read out a paper, being a sketch of the "Life and Work of Mr. B. Venkatachar."

Mr. B. M. Srikantia, in his closing remarks, stated that what Bankim was to Bengal Mr. Venkatachar was to the Kannada Country. Bengal was the first and foremost to catch the spirit of the Indian Renaissance, and led the other provinces in India. She produced many worthy sons, geniuses in religion, literature, arts and science, the most endeared of them all to the Kannada Country being Bankim Chandra. It was no exaggeration to say that Venkatachar created among the public the love of reading Kannada literature. Both of them stood for the uplift of the people through the vernacular.

After thanking the lecturers, Mr. Srikantia availed himself of the opportunity to acknowledge publicly the token of sympathy and goodwill shown by the Shrimant Rajasahab of Jamkhandi to the Parishat in the shape of a donation of Rs. 101 to the Parishat, in response to its request. Mr. Srikantia also referred to the recent announcement made by the Jamkhandi Durbar recognising the principle of making Kannada the official language of the State in due course. The gathering expressed warm appreciation of the generosity and the sympathetic outlook of the Shrimant Raja Sahab of Jamkhandi.

THE PERFUME INDUSTRY OF FRANCE

An Example for India to Emulate

By PROF. V. SUBRAHMANYAN, D.S.C., F.I.C., F.N.I.

Department of Biochemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

A CONSIDERABLE part of the world's perfume industry centres round Grasse in the south of France. The town is situated on a hill slope and can be easily reached by road from either Cannes or Nice. The surrounding country is famous for its delightful climate and wonderful scenic beauty. There is also abundant production of flowers, which are utilised to maximum advantage.

GRASSE, THE PERFUME CENTRE OF FRANCE

The town has a population of about 12,000, most of whom are engaged in the perfume industry. There are about fifty factories in and around the town and some of them are world-famous for their high class perfumes.

Two classes of perfumes are produced—pure and blended. The pure ones are just essences from perfume-bearing plants. These are prepared with the greatest care so as to ensure the maximum retention of the original flavour. The blends are generally mixtures of pure oils and are done according to recipes, which are closely guarded trade secrets.

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE

The pure oils are extracted according to well-known methods. The most delicate perfumes (which cannot stand strong heating) are first absorbed into fat (beef or pork fat being used for the purpose). In some cases, warm fat is used, while, in others, only cold fat is employed. The perfume which is present in the fat is next taken out with alcohol in which only the perfume dissolves. This process, though apparently simple, still involves a number of technical difficulties, which have to be skilfully overcome.

Some of the perfume is always left unextracted in the fat. This is turned to advantage by using them for the manufacture of toilet soaps. Some of the brands of soaps thus produced are famous for their rich perfumes.

Perfumes which can stand stronger heating are taken out by either direct distillation with water or by the well-known method of steam distillation.

The pure oils from some of the flowers like the gardenia, the rose and the jasmine are nearly as popular as the blends. High prices are also paid for them because they are pure and are always of the same quality.

THE ART AND SCIENCE OF BLENDING

Blending is partly art and partly science. It is not merely an intelligent combination of various perfumes to obtain the most pleasing effects, but it also involves a special technique for obtaining and preserving the desired quality. In some cases, the blended-materials have to be allowed to age, while, in others, they have to be shaken intermittently for several months. The chemist and the blending expert work together and are continuously striving to produce newer and more pleasing effects.

There is probably no place in India (except, perhaps, in some parts of Kashmir) which can compare with Grasse for the profusion and variety of flowers, but there is no doubt that there are several small areas, which are famous for their abundance of individual flowers. It should be possible, with proper organization and expert assistance, to develop small industries in such areas and to supply the pure essences to the consumers. If they can be produced cheaply, they can even be exported in spite of the heavy duties levied by various countries. Blending can be developed at a later stage. With some intelligence, practically all the well-known blends can be closely imitated.

INDIAN PERFUMES ARE GENERALLY OF POOR QUALITY

When making the above suggestion, it is realised that there is already a small perfume industry in the country and a fairly extensive perfume trade. Unfortunately, most of these aim at cheapness, with the result that quality has suffered considerably. It is in this direction that there is need for better organization and more effective control, so that Indian products may gain a reputation for *genuineness and good quality*.

The principles of the methods used for the extraction of perfumes are well known, but there is still considerable need for expert scientific assistance. The conditions will have to be specially standardized for each perfume-bearing material so that (a) the original perfume may not, in any way, be altered during extraction, and (b) the maximum possible yield of perfume may be obtained. There is also need for periodical checking of the composition of the products so as to maintain uniform quality.

THE INDUSTRY SHOULD BE REORGANISED WITH EXPERT ASSISTANCE

A few experienced investigators like Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (who has had over 20 years of experience in the line) are already available. If the industry is to expand adequately, many more such experts will be needed. There is also need for proper organization, so that all the available resources of the country will be efficiently collected and skilfully utilised. Some surveys have already been made by Government departments, but more systematic investigation of the raw materials is still needed. The best kind of extracting equipment should be obtained and the most up-to-date methods followed.

Enormous sums of money are spent, every year, by the Indian consumers on foreign perfumes which are imported either in the pure or blended form. Perfumed chemicals (synthetic or otherwise) suitable for blending are also being imported under various trade names. A large part of this importation can be avoided and the major part of the money retained in the country

if an indigenous perfume industry—with reputation for quality—can be built up. A few suggestions for the organization of the industry have been made and it is hoped that before long, both the Government and the leaders of industry will take some interest in the subject and initiate the necessary organization.

THE INDUSTRY WILL NEED PROTECTION IN THE EARLY STAGES

The young industry will, of course, require some protection in the early stages, for, otherwise it will be swamped out by foreign competition. In this connection, one is reminded of the extremely stringent regulations adopted by the French Government, even today, to discourage the importation of foreign flowers and other perfume-bearing materials into their country. The following case will be of some interest. Not very long ago, a French gentleman and his wife had gone on a visit to San Remo on the Italian side of the Riviera. There they are presented with a small bunch of flowers which they were naturally anxious to take home with them as a memento of the visit. As soon as they reached the French frontier, however, they were searched and charged 20 francs, which was about five times what the flowers were worth! This shows how even a country like France which already commands a considerable part of the world's perfume market takes drastic steps to protect her industries! Even the raw materials—let alone the perfumes—are not allowed into the country. A similar and perhaps, even stronger protection will be needed by the Indian industry, when it is properly initiated.



TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING IN INDIA

CHEMICAL ENGINEERING IN INDSTRY: ITS NEED FOR INDUSTRIALISATION

By GOPALDAS G. GULRAJANEY, B.Sc. TECH., CH. E., B.Sc. CHEM.

THERE is pretty well complete unanimity in all quarters on the necessity of industrialization of this country. The authors of the *Report on Constitutional Reforms* as far back as 1918, said:

"On all grounds a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or a few over-stocked professions; in order that the money now lying unproductive may be applied to the whole benefit of the community; and in order too that the speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends. These are political considerations peculiar to India itself. But both on economic and military grounds imperial interests also demand that the natural resources of India should henceforth be better utilised".

Although there are undoubtedly great potentialities in this direction, so far nothing worthy of the name of an 'Industrial Revolution' appears to be taking place. The following table will reveal how backward is India in regard to industrial development in comparison with other countries, despite the fact, as observed by the Industrial Commission, that she produces nearly all the raw materials necessary for the requirements of a modern community!

| me ntr. | No. of Establishm | est in | ross value in industrial output (Rs. lacs) | Population proportion, p.c. of India | with |
|------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--|--|----------|
| India | 9,422 (incl. States) | 700 (bulk British) | 800.0 | | |
| U. K. | 1,07,500 | 7,607 | 4,269.0 | 13% | 23 times |
| U. S. A. | 1,74,136 | 23,000 | 19,444.0 | 35% | 75 " |
| Canada | 24,020 | 1,445 | 952.5 | 3% | 5 " |
| Japan | 13,711 | 1,009 | 1,905.0 | 19% | 3 " |

TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING IN INDIA

There are innumerable points to be considered in connection with the slow and tardy industrial development in this country. But in an article of this nature, one can only deplore the fact that India still suffers from grave deficiencies with regard to the technological education. Obviously, no great progress in industrial development is possible until we have

within call an adequate supply of trained personnel. The growing problem of unemployment in this country has, however, focussed public attention on this point; and now more than ever, a great need has been felt for provision of facilities in technological education which, besides industrial advancement of the country, could find effective employment for the youth of India. Under provincial autonomy, each province has to aim at becoming self-supporting in regard to those industries which give food and work to a large portion of the population. Under the circumstances, each province should encourage vocational and technological education by establishing technical schools and polytechnics. I am told that this line of action is to be soon followed by the 'Congress Provinces' in this country; and a beginning has already been made by the U. P. Government by establishing certain 'flying' tuitional courses. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Karachi Corporation has been the first among the City Councils to have displayed special interest in industrial and technical training by its recent decision to open a polytechnic school at Karachi. It is also gratifying to note that the Bombay University has recently opened "a national department for the benefit of the whole country". This Institute, which goes under the name of the University Department of Chemical Technology, has been established, to quote the authorities themselves, "to build the super-structure of industrial development in this country" by training 10 well-grounded graduates in Science from all over India in Chemical Engineering. The starting of the Technological Department will always be a landmark in the history of the Bombay University; it has given a status and reputation to this University, being regarded in all its essentials to be equal to the best equipped technological adjunct of any University in the world. It satisfies at long last a long-felt want by training young men in Chemical Engineering.

CHEMICAL ENGINEERING

The people of this country have, however, not yet understood the full significance of this

profession. Often I have been asked: "What is Chemical Engineering?" I am not at all surprised at the query; for this field of engineering, which had its origin only two decades back in the Continent, is still in its infancy in this country, having birth under pressure of events, which have necessitated each and every country to cry for self-sufficiency. This particular bug has bitten not only the countries largely deficient in raw materials, but even those plentifully supplied in many ways.

CHEMIST-ENGINEER

The continuously disturbed state of the world demands careful exploitation of all natural resources in raw materials. It is not surprising, therefore, that the need should be felt for men capable of translating "grams into tons, beakers into tanks, and flasks into autoclaves". Such then is the justification of the Chemical Engineer, who has been defined by the Institute of Chemical Engineers, London, as "a professional man experienced in the design, construction and operation of plant and works in which matter undergoes a change of state and composition."

He has also been described in terms of approbation by both the Chemist on the one hand and the Engineer on the other. It is sometimes stated that the Chemical Engineer when in the company of Chemists is an Engineer, and when in the company of Engineers is a Chemist. Accordingly, Chemical Engineering need no longer be regarded as has been done till recently even in advanced countries like Germany as *Maschinenkunde für Chemiker*.

WEIGHTY CONSIDERATIONS

In the actual practice of Chemical Engineering as a profession, the economic and business considerations are usually controlling. Of course, the proposed process must in itself first be developed; but given one that has been developed to the stage when production is to be begun, the remainder of the problem depends upon recognition of economic and business principles as they apply to that particular project. In short, Chemical Engineering relates to the development of a project to the point of sustained commercial success. Naturally, therefore, the Chemical Engineer has to answer the following typical questions before launching on any scheme:

- (1) Are the raw materials and intermediate products involved the cheapest which may be used?
- (2) Which process requires the smallest amount of equipment as well as the least expensive type?
- (3) Is the equipment required highly specialised and

is it, therefore, likely to prove expensive to construct and replace?

(4) Which process will consume the least power in the form of heating or cooling facilities, mechanical agitation, communication, etc., etc.?

(5) Which process will best fit with existing methods of manufacture from the standpoint of building and equipment which may be available?

(6) Which process will be the most economical in its labour requirements?

NECESSARY TRAINING

The above account touches only very briefly and in a general manner some of the many problems, which the Chemical Engineer has to solve, and to do so not only efficiently and economically but within the law as well. To be a success, he has to keep himself in touch with a great number of fundamental sciences unlike the case of other engineering professions. The training of such a man, therefore, should be made on a broad basis, involving a sound knowledge of such subjects as, Technical Chemistry, Engineering,—Mechanical, Electrical and those branches of Civil Engineering dealing with the strength of materials and factory design and construction,—together with principles of economic production, including, factory organisation and management, with a thorough grasp of the "Laws of Negligence". A man so equipped should be capable of fulfilling the requirements of a Chemical Engineer.

It must have been apparent by now that the course for Chemical Engineer has been of a general nature, based on a sound general training. It is deliberately made so, since it is felt that special training for a particular industry limits one's outlook and does not give him the breadth of vision, which will enable him to adapt to the equipment of one industry to the needs of another. Moreover, if special training is adopted, one cannot be sure that at the end of such a course vacancies will occur in the industries for which the training is designed and one is handicapped thereby in obtaining a suitable post.

INDIA'S NEED

It is an admitted fact that almost all the raw materials with but few exceptions undergo chemical change as well as change in physical form and appearance. Naturally, therefore, Chemical Engineering plays a vital part in many industries. It is much broader than either chemistry or engineering alone, and utilises both through the medium of the so-called unit operations, which in proper sequence and co-ordination constitute an industrial process. If a need was felt for it and was found useful in the

Continent, how much more so should it be in India, which is craving to be self-supporting!

It must be admitted that until the supply of trained men has been greatly augmented, the cost of technical staff to the modern scientific industries must necessarily remain exceptionally high. Extension of vocational and technological education should, therefore, precede a policy of industrialisation. It may be objected that in the West, especially in England, technological

education has succeeded, not preceded the establishment of industries. But in the West, the whole movement towards industrialisation was spontaneous, whereas in India the attempt is being made deliberately to graft Western methods and organisation into Eastern society, so that it will be necessary to take special measures to ensure adequate supply of "managers and foremen, experienced in the practical management of shops and factories".

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Compulsory Hindi

On pages 708-9 under the heading of 'Linguistic Hungerstrike' in *The Modern Review* for June 1938, there is a note, which condemns a cartoon representing the Premier of Madras as stabbing his mother (tongue), which disapproves the fast observed by Stalin Jagadisan for about fifty days till this day breaking the record fast of 21 days of Mr. Gandhi made much of then in all the newspapers of India and abroad, and which doubts whether the Madras ministry are resisting Hindi upon an unwilling public, and longs for information about the majority of Tamil-speaking persons being for or against the introduction of Hindi. There needs be no doubt as to the opposition being wide-spread and spreading daily and heroic unto death, and as to the Premier not moving along the line of least resistance in forcing Hindi on urchins in Forms I to III. Arrests of more than 50 persons till today have been made and they are remanded and are under trial have been made and they are remanded and are under trial for opposing the compulsory study in Mr. Gandhi's wav of fasting and Satyagraha, with a view to ward off an impending misfortune and danger to their mother-tongue. Here below is a summary of the reasons advanced by the ministry during the successive stages of the agitation for the compulsory study of Hindi in schools.

(1) Hindi is a most widely spoken language in North India—a statement seriously contradicted with facts and figures in brochures in English and Tamil.

(2) Hindi study will promote trade and commerce with North India and relieve the congestion of unemployment in South India—as if North India is very prosperous and ready to feed hungry mortals in South India, whereas the introduction of compulsory Hindi in schools of the Madras province will facilitate the immigration of hundreds of Hindi teachers from the North seeking employment.

(3) Hindi study will promote unity and nationalism in India. That Hindi is Protean, that one form of it spoken by one people, is not recognised by another and is a stranger to it, and that it has not united North India as a whole as a *lingua franca*—are stubborn facts. The question is often asked, "Why not North India learn Tamil for the alleged purpose of unity and nationalism?" Is Hindi a compulsory study in North India?

(4) Hindi study is a plank in the Congress programme of the past half century. It is flatly contradicted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself, though it may be a hobby with Mr. Gandhi, our Premier's *Sambandhi*.

(5) The sturdy Mohamedans *may* study Hindi in Urdu characters while the mild and meek Hindus *must* study it in Nagari script. Why this invidious distinction? Will the different scripts mutually unintelligible contribute towards the much coveted Swadeshi Government? It is thought that the Nagari Script will encourage Sanskrit study.

(6) Politically, Hindi study will enable Southerners to participate in the effective administration of India in the Central Legislature. How many Southerners can have this wonderful privilege? Why crucify thousands of school-going urchins for the sake of a handful of fortune's favourites, when the National Government is *fait accompli*. Still 97 p. c. of the masses do not know their own vernaculars, *i.e.*, read and write them, under the British Government which has fostered mass-education. They are not compelled to study their vernaculars yet.

(7) The children of Denmark learn five languages in their school-going age. It may be true. Why resort to Denmark for defence? Climatic conditions differ as well as political and economical. Indian energies—particularly the South Indian energies—are being sapped and scorched by the burning tropical sun, and premature old age and death are almost the order of the day. Why then overload them?

(8) Hindi study will not affect promotions from class to class but attendance in Hindi classes is compulsory. How can the urchins acquire basic knowledge of Hindi when they have no mind to learn it? As the proverb has it, you cannot force an unwilling or unthirsty horse to drink. How will it serve to realise political ambition, unity and the national movement?

(9) Hindi literature will enrich Tamil literature! A language comparatively recent with no grammar till two or three years ago and no literature worthy of mention except Tulasidas's Ramayanam is going to enrich an ancient and highly developed and abundant literature of its own, supplemented in many directions by the world-encompassing English literature during the past one century and a half. The Kural in Tamil is a gem unparalleled in any progressive literature in the world, and it is worth noting that Bengali has quite recently absorbed it in translation.

(10) In all ministerial utterances 'Hindustani' has taken the place of 'Hindi,' though Hindustani is not the topic in dispute. Why this disguise? Why this diversion

of public attention? The vexed question is about compulsory Hindi. Is it to appease the wrathful Mohamedans? Why this change of venue? 'Hindustani' was the name of Sanskrit in the past as spoken in Aryavarta.

(11) Our Premier had given his word to a friend in the North to introduce compulsory Hindi in schools if he should become a Minister and he wants to keep his word at any cost having become Premier. The promise is 'too early reckoning without the host.' When it comes to catching the Tartar, why persist in the attempt to displease the Tamil population as a whole against incurring the displeasure (mockery or taunt) of one particular friend? The Premier and his colleagues often boast that they are the *ministers of the people* and yet flout them as ignoramuses and scout their wishes and entreaties. They profess to advance Tamil while they smother it and their playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde at once is unworthy of the great trust placed in them by the majority. In extenuation of their murderous scheme, they ascribe the mighty opposition to unnecessarily compulsory Hindi to their political opponents. If their opponents find their mother-tongue strangled, is it not their duty to ward off the crime and save their mother? Is this an argument? Will the Tamil nation gird up its loins at the instance or instigation of a few political opponents?

(12) If the experiment of compulsory Hindi is not successful, it will be withdrawn. Schools and Colleges in South India—most of them are unendowed—will play the Cinderella for the Knife Grinder's six pence in the way of grant-in-aid, irrespective of the uselessness or otherwise of the foreign tongue forced upon them. When once introduced and encouraged by the Government, it will strike root, and to uproot it afterwards will be no easy task. The policy of 'I am Sir Oracle' is tyrannical and

will and must come to an end, all at once or abruptly. 'The voice of the people is the voice of God.'

(13) Thousands of Tamilians have gathered around the banner of the great Hindi opposition. Mass meetings are held in all Tamil districts, and black flags greet the Ministry in their tours. Jails are no menace to them and they are ready to die for their mother-tongue. All policy and diplomacy will be of no avail unless what the Tamil nation demands is granted. In this matter of self-assertion on their part, the Madras Ministers are no better judges than any outsider.

(14) This compulsory Hindi is not a question of parties. The Tamilians include Congress-wallahs, Independents, Justicites and what not of every community. If the devotees of Tamil are found in every one of these sections, it is idle to ignore their demands or leave their grievances unredressed. Schools and Colleges are mostly manned by one section of the Indian population reputed as 'intelligentsia,' but the schoolmasters will be nowhere in number when the whole Tamilian population is taken into account. To conclude with a couplet or two from the Kural, apt and apposite to the point:

'Who not agrees with those around, no moderation knows,
In self-applause indulging, swift to ruin goes.'—474.

'The foes who fought to triumph, find their thoughts were vain,

*If hosts advance, seize vantage ground, and menace the
fight maintain.*'—494.

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June 18, 1938.

PATRIOTIC WOMEN'S ARMY ORGANIZED BY NEW DELHI SECRETARY

Lord Reading's Talented Wife as Chief

By MRS. CHAMAN LAL

A WOMAN WHO INVENTED BILLIONS LOTTERY SCHEME. RURAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

A former Secretary in the Viceroy's Home in New Delhi is organizing the Patriotic Women's Army for the coming war. With more than usual secrecy the Government has surrounded its plan to organise a national emergency corps of women for service in war time, but this week the news leaked out. With it came hints that the woman in charge was to be former Private Secretary, efficient, much-travelled Dowager Lady Reading.

Compulsory military service has never been stomachied by Britons. But it will operate in the next war, if any, and accordingly the Chamberlain administration has concocted a scheme

for filling war time jobs at home wherever possible by women. Pseudo-pacifists will thus not be able to insinuate themselves into safe positions miles from the firing line. The project provides for enrolment of "Women Territorials" throughout Great Britain. On emergency, all existing Women's organisations would be merged into a central body.

Last week, the Marchioness of Reading made a start on her job by sounding officials of the National Council of Girls' Clubs and the Young Women's Christian Association as to whether they could help, provide recruits for Air Raid Precautions.

The Marchioness has been Chairman of the Personal Service League, since her husband's death.

"SILLY COLONELS"

On a somewhat narrower women's topic this week *ex-Daily Herald Editor*, Hamilton Fyfe dilated in *Reynolds News*:

"This silly business of women colonels should be ended. . . . the general attitude towards war makes people shudder to think of women pretending to be part of the military machine."

Photographs of Queen Mary as the "Colonel" of a British regiment and of the Duchess of Gloucester "inspecting a military guard of honour" inspired vitriolic Mr. Fyfe's candid comment.

LADIES, YOU MAY NOT SMOKE

The will of Miss Annie Faulder, of Buxton, who disinherited any person of the female sex who contracted the habit of cigarette-smoking, was pronounced valid by Mr. Justice Farwell, in the Chancery Division last week. Of the beneficiaries six had said that they had never smoked, and one said she had smoked on occasions only.

RURAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Women leaders of Rural England are meeting in London this week-end. From the stone hamlets, from mining villages, from valleys, from the red-brick country towns and from the white fishing ports, more than 7,000 women are

gathering in the Albert Hall for the annual general meeting of the Women's Institutes.

They come from the big house and the village shop, from the farm and the labourer's cottage; women whose families have done service to the State for generations, women whose grandmothers never moved beyond their own market town—all have made the journey to London to represent their own Women's Institute at their great meeting. In 5,000 villages during the last few months, country women have been making up their minds for themselves about the questions which are to be discussed here. Some of these are matters of internal Government. The Women's Institute Movement is a true democracy, and there can be no changes made in its rules without the assent of the whole body of members.

The subject which is of most personal interest to many of these women of the countryside is the new method of relieving pain in child-birth. There are now in existence various patterns of gas and air machines which give a woman in labour relief from pain without making her unconscious. An apparatus of this sort has been approved by the British College of Obstetricians and the Central Midwives' Board, and is now in use in Queen Charlotte's Hospital.

London,
June 4, 1938

WIVES FORM A TRADE UNION

DEMAND WEEKLY WAGE FROM HUSBANDS—"KILLING A CHILD BY TENDERNESS"—
CHILDREN'S PARADISE—A NEW SCHOOL EXPERIMENT—HOW ENGLAND PROTECTS
CHILDREN

By MRS. CHAMAN LAL

WHILE the Hindu civilization nominally regards the wife as the ruler of the home, and in practice she has very little rights, the women in England generally run the home and they are practically masters in the domestic atmosphere. Still they are not satisfied with the present conditions and a new marriage slogan has become popular.

In return for promising to love, honour and obey, young brides may soon be asking their grooms to sign agreements and guarantee them a fixed weekly wage. This is part of a campaign to be organised by the newly-formed wives' trade union, which has the support of many prominent women workers.

The union, known as the Married Women's

Association, has been started to protect the interests of Britain's wives. Miss J. Frances, champion of women who have husbands to contend with, stopped enrolling new members yesterday to explain the objects of the enterprise.

"By law, housewives are entitled only to food, shelter and clothing," she said:

"Many of them work their fingers to the bone for husband and children, yet they have no rate of wages, no national health insurance, no set holidays, with or without pay, no days off and no limit to the number of hours they work. Just think of some of the jobs working housewives have to do—and do well.

"They have to be experts on dietetics, housework, cooking, dressmaking, laundering, mending, nursing, infant rearing, and a host of other subjects. And yet, although many wives work under conditions that would

set most men's unions howling in protest, not a single women's organization has raised its voice against this state of affairs. We hope to get an act passed giving wives the right to claim a proportion of the family income. In other words, we aim at making marriage a partnership instead of the ownership of the wife by her husband."

The idea of partnership is no doubt the ancient Hindu ideal, but the weekly wages for wives is not so good an idea, since I believe that all income must go into the hands of the wife who should run the home.

"KILLING CHILD BY KINDNESS"

How many thousands of mothers, especially rich mothers in India, kill children by kindness? Some actually die, while others become invalids or spoilt during their whole life. These mothers should be punished by law. In England such a mother is hated by society and prosecuted by a law. Only yesterday a mother was prosecuted for "killing a child by too much kindness".

Mrs. Rebecca Burman, forty-six year old widow, is to lose the custody of her only child—a boy of eleven whom, it was alleged, she was almost "killing by kindness". A jury at Lindsey Quarter Sessions yesterday found her guilty of neglecting the boy so that his health was injured. She was bound over for three years, and order was made putting her son in the care of the local municipality.

PARADISE FOR CHILDREN

"DO AS YOU PLEASE" SCHOOL

England has started a new experiment in order to make children bright and active. A new school where mischief and all the forbidden pranks of childhood are encouraged was opened in London last week.

The lucky pupils are allowed to slide down the bannisters instead of using the stairs, daub the walls with paint and comic drawings, squirt water at each other in special leak-proof rooms, and generally have the time of their young lives. No one ever says "Don't" or "You mustn't". In fact, the naughtier they are the more they are encouraged.

Psychologists believe that this new method of education gets rid of complexes and repressions that hamper the progress of nervous and backward children. The new school, built by the Institute of Child Psychology in Bayswater, represents the last word in training centres.

There is one room that must seem like paradise to the child who likes to play with paint. There they can have as many pots of sticky paint as they like and daub its specially prepared walls to their hearts' content. They are never told not to make a mess. The more

paint they splash over the floor and walls the better. And the staff never clean up while children are in the room in case it should make them feel guilty.

In another room, dressed in macintosh overalls, they can squirt hoses at one another, play with taps and leave the floor running with water without being scolded. Modelling rooms filled with trays of damp sand, boxes of toy soldiers and building materials keep them happy for hours. The things they build there and the comic pictures they scrawl on the walls of the "paint pot paradise" help psychologists to analyse the kiddies' difficulties and decide why they are sulky, violent or backward.

Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld, in charge of the new centre, believes that lack of opportunity to "let off steam" is behind a good deal of juvenile delinquency.

HOW ENGLAND PROTECTS CHILDREN

Here is a tip for our Congress Ministers and Women legislators who care to protect children working in large or small factories. England has just granted a Charter to Young People.

To-morrow 2,50,000 factories in Britain will begin their first full week's working under the Young People's Charter, which came into operation on Friday as part of the new Factory Act. There will be a 48-hour week for all women and young people in factories, and not more than nine hours can be worked in any one day. For children under sixteen, overtime will be absolutely prohibited. Those over sixteen may work certain overtime, under strict regulation, but this must not exceed 100 hours in a year. From July next year, the 48-hour week for children under 16 will be reduced to a 44-hour week.

OVERTIME RULE

Women, young people and children are also protected from having to work early in the morning or late at night. No child under sixteen is to work after 6 p.m. This is planned not only for health reasons, but in order that children shall be able to attend evening schools. General restrictions on overtime for all classes of workers are introduced, and no factory may work systematic overtime for more than 25 weeks in any year.

Many laws for the protection of women and boy workers exist in India but they are seldom obeyed by greedy factory owners who bribe factory inspectors.

London,
July 4, 1938.



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—EDITOR, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL: By B. Attem.
Frederick Muller Ltd., 29, Great James Street, London W.C. 1. Price 5s. net.

The publishers say that Mr. Attem's book may irritate English readers, it will almost certainly amuse them, but it will undoubtedly stimulate them. A non-English reader has not, of course, found it irritating. But it is undoubtedly interesting and in some passages amusing.

The publishers say the book is a glorious and all-embracing indictment of the national characteristics of Englishmen, their sports, their women and even their boasted forms of government. This is partly true. But there is sufficient praise of England in the book to please Englishmen who are not inordinately conceited. For example, take the following sentences.

"England can say with justifiable pride that she has influenced the world."

"The English have given many sports and sporting words to the world."

"The East has created the spiritual man, but England has created, in a certain sense, the political and the social man." "He [the Englishman] is the father of the Parliamentary system of government in the world."

"The Englishman is reliable. If an Englishman promises you that he will do something for you, you may depend upon it that he will keep his word."

"Although the English are very young in their ideas of social life, of art and literature, sports, and several other subjects, they are absolute adults in the art of government."

As regards indictment, take the following sentences:

"The English have for centuries cherished the fond delusion that in sexual matters they are more virtuous than the Continental Nations."

"The English are almost always bragging about their country."

"The English have a positive genius for turning a blind eye to their own defects and for pointing out the defects of other nations."

"The English are not an intellectual people. Nor are they an industrious people."

"The English judges are incorruptible, but they are by no means impartial, for they are swayed much by class, sex, and race prejudice."

"Doctor Arnold of Rugby knew the character of his people when he said, 'My great fear is that the English are indifferent to justice when it is not on their side.'"

Indians and other orientals will find the last three chapters of the book—"England and the East," "England's Influence and Place in History," and "Future," particularly interesting.

In the concluding chapter the author writes that England's financial and naval supremacy have gone and she is not as prosperous as she was before 1914. There are some 3,000,000 unemployed men in her midst.

"Indians do not like the British Government. The new constitution which England has given to them divides the Hindus from the Mohammedans and gives them only the shadow of real self-government. They will, therefore, not be satisfied until they have a new constitution which will bring the two great communities together, enable them to Indianize the army rapidly, and control the foreign policy of their country. And if England does not satisfy their wishes, they might seek the help of Japan—and perhaps of Russia, since there is a fairly large number of open or secret Communists in the country—for regaining their independence. Those two countries are likely to help her. General Araki and some other Japanese leaders have openly declared that it is the duty of Japan to help India to be free, and it has been the policy of the Soviet Government since the days of Lenin to help Eastern nations in their fight to be free against their Western masters."

Indians have no confidence in Japan, and Stalin's policy is no longer that of Lenin.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF THE MANUFACTURE OF AND TRADE IN ARMS: *League of Nations Information Section. Price 7s.*

This volume of 241 pages, which has just been published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, is the result of a request to the Secretariat by the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference in May, 1937, to collect any useful information available on methods of national control of the manufacture of and trade in arms in the principal countries.

A separate monograph is devoted in the volume to each of fourteen countries: Belgium, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. A summary of the whole situation is given for each of these countries and is followed by extracts from its relevant legislation. The information for each country is arranged under the headings: A. Arms and Ammunition—with sections on manufacture, external and internal trade—and B. Explosives.

The volume shows the degree to which authorization, licences or permits for the manufacture of arms and armaments, as well as systems of centralized supervision, control and inspection, or partial or complete nationalization, exists in the countries mentioned. Similar information is given in respect of the external and internal trade.

The sections on explosives show that special legislation on this matter is in force in all these countries and usually antedates by many years the legislation dealing

with arms and ammunition. The State as a rule exercises stringent control over the manufacture of and trade in explosives.

D.

INDIA—A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY: By H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E. The Cresset Press, London, 1937. Price 30s.

In this nicely got-up volume of 418 pages, with thirteen maps, twenty-three plates, and forty-five illustrations, the author has made an attempt 'to present in a popular form an outline of the cultural history of India,—her literature and philosophy, her great religious movements, her art and architecture, from the time of the Indus Valley Civilization up to the establishment of British rule.' It must be admitted at the very outset that it is a formidable task, and can only be successfully achieved by one who has made a special study of the history and antiquities of both ancient and mediæval India, and is fairly conversant with its language and literature. Dr. Rawlinson has earned reputation as a scholar by his monographs on some particular aspects of Indian history, and we naturally expect a scholarly treatment of any subject which he takes up as a special study. The book before us, however, does not satisfy the high hopes which the name of the author raises in our minds. It is a readable book and interesting in many ways, but it lacks in accuracy and perspective. The author has no first-hand information on many of the topics he treats, and does not possess any intimate knowledge of the essential features of Indian culture. He has brought together much interesting information in his book and thrown valuable side-lights on various aspects of Indian culture; but he has failed to grasp its inner meaning and to present it in its proper perspective and historical development. This may be illustrated by his treatment of the Bhagavad Gita. In course of discussion of the religion of the Gupta period he remarks:

"The most popular of the Avatars under which Vishnu is worshipped in modern India is Krishna. Krishna first appears in the Mahabharata as the charioteer of Arjuna and in his mouth is put that remarkable poem, the *Bhagavad Gita*. Arjuna is agast at the prospect of a conflict . . . Krishna consoles him by propounding the theory of *Karmā* (sic) Yoga . . ."

"The *Bhagavad Gita* has been to generations of pious Hindus what The Imitations of Christ has been to Christians, and some authorities have detected Christian influences in its teaching" (p. 126).

Here the author's ignorance about the contents of the Bhagavad Gita is equalled only by his ignorance about the history of Krishna-cult and the place of both in the development of Hindu religion. It may be noted in passing that the word '*Karmā*' is not a printing mistake but used throughout the book in this form.

Want of space does not permit us to enter into a discussion of other points, but the following few sentences, taken from the same Chapter illustrate the author's viewpoints about Indian religion:

1. Krishna, the "dark" God, is probably non-Aryan, . . . (p. 126).

2. The salagrama, a fossil ammonite found in the Gandak river, is supposed, on account of its resemblance to the discus to be sacred to Vishnu (p. 125).

3. Jainism and Buddhism were never the religion of the masses (p. 123).

4. The Mahabharata was originally a secular poem describing the fate of the Kurus at the hands of the treacherous Pandavas (p. 130).

The quotation No. 1 is specially objectionable, as in course of his discussion of Indian ethnology, the author

has accepted the views of Eickstedt that "there are no Aryans and Dravidians, though there are Aryan and Dravidian languages and cultural usages" (p. 9). As regards 4, it hardly fits in with the author's description of the Mahabharata given on pp. 323. These passages specially Nos. 3 and 4 show how ill-equipped the author is for writing on Indian religion and Indian culture, which is based on religion.

The author's knowledge of the political history of India is very poor and he has wisely restricted himself to an extremely brief outline of important events. But even this short sketch is full of errors. Not only has he no first-hand knowledge of the subject but he has not even cared to study the up-to-date historical writings. We shall quote a few instances only, by way of illustration.

1. '125,000 people, Asoka tells us, were carried away captive' (from Kalinga) (p. 76). In Asoka's inscription, the number is given as 150,000.

2. "The Secret Service of Chandragupta was now mobilised into a body of 'Overseers of the Law'" [by Asoka] 'whose duty it was to report upon religious progress in all quarters of the Empire' (p. 76). This is a travesty of facts and it is a pity that the author did not even care to read the English translation of Asoka's inscriptions.

3. 'A reaction, doubtless fomented by the Brahmins, set in' (p. 80) [against the Mauryas]. The author is evidently unacquainted with the views of a large number of scholars who have opposed the theory.

4. Kanishka 'erected a lofty wooden tower, over six hundred feet in height' (p. 99). While the opinions of Chinese travellers vary regarding the height of the building, Hiuen Tsang and others have definitely described it as a stone stupa.

5. Chandragupta II 'transferred his capital from Pataliputra to Ayodhya' (p. 107). Of this there is no evidence.

6. The chronology of the later Guptas (p. 110) is out of date, and has been given up even in the latest edition of V. A. Smith's History on which the author usually relies. His statement that the Imperial Guptas were tributaries of the Hunas (p. 111) has no foundation of truth. The reference to 'the iron pillar at Delhi erected by Kumaragupta I in A.D. 415 in honour to his father' (p. 141) betrays ignorance of the vast literature on the subject.

7. The author makes very curious mistakes about Harshavardhana. He says that after the campaign of the first six years Harsha 'was able to reign in peace for thirty years, without striking a blow' (p. 112). But we know from Hiuen Tsang that he carried a campaign in Kongoda about 642 A.D., more than thirty years after his accession. On p. 121, the author quotes a passage from Rajatarangini describing the end of Harsha's reign. But this king Harsha is not Harshavardhana, as the author supposes, but a king of Kashmir who flourished about five hundred years later!

8. 'From A.D. 732 to 1250 Middle Java came under the rule of the Sailendra dynasty' (p. 150). This is quite wrong and the author contradicts himself when he says on the very next page that 'in the middle of the tenth century the power of the Sailendra rulers in Java seems to have come to an end.'

9. 'The Chalukyas were almost certainly of foreign origin' (p. 160). There is no evidence to justify this assertion.

10. The author's view that the numerous clans that came into power after the death of Harsha 'called themselves Rajputs' (pp. 199, 202) is utterly wrong. This term does not come into use until a much later period.

11. 'In the middle of the eleventh century the Palas were succeeded by the Senas' (p. 206). This is absolutely wrong, and antedates events by more than half a century.

12. 'Raja Jaichand Gahrwar (c. 1040) restored Kanauj to its ancient position as the premier city of Northern India' (p. 209). Jaychandra ascended the throne in 1170 A.D., i.e., 130 years later than the date given, and the credit, attributed to him, really belongs to Govindachandra. We do not know of any Gahrwar power in 1040 A.D., the dynasty having been founded towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.

13. Muhammad Tughlak's 'expedition for the conquest of China' (p. 233) is an exploded myth.

14. The author's attempt to summarise the events of history sometimes leads him to commit serious errors, as the following passage will show:

"In January, 1316, Ala-ud-din died or was murdered, and was succeeded, after the usual interval of disorder and murder which followed the death of a strong ruler, by Muhammad Ibn Tughlak (1325-1347). This eccentric monarch was as fanatical and unscrupulous as his predecessor" (p. 229).

By the word 'predecessor' the author certainly meant Ala-ud-din Khilji, but between him and Muhammad Tughlak, ruled two of his sons, then Khusrū, and lastly Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak who founded the Tughlak dynasty. It may be pointed out that Muhammad Tughlak ruled from 1325 to 1351, not 1347.

I owe an apology to the readers for this long list of errors, but it is necessary in order to substantiate the somewhat unfavourable opinion I have expressed about the quality of the work of an author who enjoys a great reputation for his scholarship.

The author's imperfect knowledge of Indian history and culture is rendered worse by the superiority complex, unhappily so common in European writers. Take for example the following passage:

"But Alexander was no mere casual raider, like Tamerlane or Nadir Shah, intent on nothing but plunder. A pupil of Aristotle he conceived it to be his mission to westernise the East" (p. 62).

There is nothing on record to show that Alexander made any attempt to westernise the East. Rather we know that he fell a victim to the charms of the east. The reference to Aristotle is not quite easily intelligible, and is in any case unnecessary; for have not the modern Alexanders like Mussolini taken up the noble task of westernising the east even without having the advantage of a liberal education? Two thousand years hence a remote successor of Dr. Rawlinson, writing the history of Abyssinia, would no doubt advance the same claim for Mussolini, but he would be in difficulty to cite any source of liberal ideas like Aristotle. As a matter of fact, it is time that this cant about Alexander's civilising mission in the east is definitely put an end to. In this connection we draw the attention of the readers to the very frank discussion in Cambridge Ancient History (Vol. VI, pp. 357-8) as to 'the primary reason why Alexander invaded Persia.' The following passage from this work gives a clue to the real motive of Alexander's invasion:

"Greeks certainly objected to barbarians attacking themselves, but the best thought of the time saw no reason why they should not attack barbarians whenever they liked; . . . Aristotle called it essentially just and told his pupil to treat barbarians as slaves."

The writer of this passage does not associate Alexander's invasion with any pious reforming zeal and has the candour to admit that "to the best modern thought, the invasion is quite unjustifiable."

In conclusion we may draw attention to numerous

printing mistakes in the book such as 'Dandaranyaka' (p. 6) for 'Dandakāranya'; 'Saka Era of 78 B.C.' (p. 93) for '78 A.D.'; 'Bāla (p. 102) for 'Bala'; 'Maghavarmān' (p. 106) for 'Meghavarna'; 'Vidhusaka' (p. 135) for 'Vidusaka'; 'Kādaram' (p. 182) for 'Kadāram'; 'Lokatya' (p. 118) for 'Lokāyata' etc.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY ABROAD: By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D. Litt. (Paris). University of Calcutta. Pp. ix & 125, pls. i—xix & Frontispiece.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), of the Calcutta University, was invited by the International Educational Institute (under the Carnegie Foundation, New York) to deliver a course of lectures on Indian art and archaeology as Visiting Professor to the Institute for the year 1930-31. He was simultaneously invited by several other institutions from Geneva. He not only did ample justice to the various important engagements in the course of his several months' stay abroad, but a great deal more was done by him. To say in his own words, 'he studied the special arrangements and provisions for the collection and co-ordination of the data of arts and archaeology as well as the methods of teaching of those subjects in some of the important centres' of Europe and America. The outcome of these studies undertaken by him is this useful report, which should be of immense help to the students as well as the teachers of this branch of Indology.

It sometimes happens that the Indian students and researchers in this field primarily devote their attention to the study of these subjects in its relation to India alone, their association with the same of various other countries of the world being a secondary one only to that extent which helps them in understanding correctly and evaluating properly the arts and archaeology of their own country. Rarely, however, they take the trouble of acquainting themselves with the progress in the study of the various branches of these subjects in the different countries of Europe, America and the Near and Far Eastern countries. Again, there are many earnest Indian students who are hardly aware of the numerous facilities which the various countries outside India offer for thorough and systematic studies in this respect. They are on no account to be blamed, however, for this, because no good handy book was there which could help them in the acquisition of this knowledge. Dr. Nag's work has thus removed a long-felt want in this respect.

The book is divided into several sections which deal respectively with the art and archaeology in France, the activities of other nations with regard to these subjects in the Near East, in the Mediterranean world and Greece, art and archaeology in Italy, United States of America and Latin America. By far the largest single section in this work deals with the position of the study of these subjects in the United States of America. It, by the way, throws an interesting sidelight on the respective numbers of the Museums in the various countries of the world. We are told that the world altogether possesses as many as 8,000, of which about 6,500 are in Continental Europe, the British Isles and the U. S. A., of which again Germany and the U. S. A. are far in the lead in numbers with more than 1,500 museums each. 'But India with historical and archaeological sites far exceeding in number and importance shows a really poor record of 90 only after five centuries of European contact and over three centuries of relations with Britain.' No further comment on this is necessary. It is a matter of satisfaction that Calcutta University has taken the lead in founding a museum of art and archaeology—the one fittingly commemorating the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee.

one of her most illustrious sons, who did so much for the study of Indology here.

It will be impossible to take stock of all the important features of this book in the short space of this review. However one can not but remark that Dr. Nag's lucid account touches an intimate personal note in many places which is very refreshing. The accompanying illustrations are worthily reproduced and the Calcutta University is to be congratulated on the excellent get-up of this neat little volume.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

THE POETRY OF THE INVISIBLE: By Syed Mehdi Imam. Published by George Allen & Unwin. Price 6s. 6d.

Modern criticism reveals two forms of approach. Discriminating minds in many countries are attempting to compare genuine artistic experience and to arrive at some universal standards of literary evaluation. There are others, again, for whom the application of some provisional scientific theory, or of some formula of faith appears to be the main incentive. This book belongs to the latter school; it is an attempt at occult criticism of poetry. Presumably those who share the author's faith would find justification in discovering concrete symbols and significance in poetry that the merely literary person would not only leave undiscovered but consider it irrelevant to discuss. "Secret Cycles," "The Radiant Body," "The Out Soul," etc. are mentioned, and such diverse poets as Keats, Browning, and Abercrombie,—to name only a few and their productions are diagnosed by the author in the light of such terms. To call this approach Indian or Eastern would not be correct, it would be found in groups, of the same persuasion, in Western countries. The author feels deeply and has saturated himself in poetic lore but his concern is not literary, it is identified with a particular faith. Without in any way reflecting on his convictions, readers of his book can legitimately demand that confusion of categories should be prevented, that poetry be judged by canons of poetic principle and technique. Peculiarly dangerous is the author's handling of science: there again the basis of his arguments lie in special revelations; knowledge of physics or astro-physics rests on occult sanctions, and is free from mathematics and scientific training. The author's enthusiasm is unmistakable, but in this book he has given no chance to most of his readers to share it.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

THE EASTERN CALUKYAS: By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Benares, 1937. Price Rs. 4.

The Calukyas played an important role in ancient India. They were divided into a number of branches. One of them, which settled in the Andhra country, is known to the modern scholars as "The Eastern Calukya Dynasty." Eastern Calukyas ruled the Andhra country from A.D. 615 to A.D. 1172. Subsequently they held sway over the Cola country till A.D. 1272. Dr. Ganguly gives the history of this branch of the Calukyas in his book. He has collected all informations from the epigraphic and literary sources. The usefulness of the book has been more enhanced by the addition of a chapter on the Cultural history. A list of inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas has been given at the end of the book. The subject has been treated scientifically, and the conclusions are well-balanced. It may be, in a sense, called a pioneer work as nobody before Dr. Ganguly has published a complete monograph on the subject.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT: Published by the Royal Empire Society, with a Foreword by the Right Hon. Malcolm Macdonald, M.P., Secretary of State for the Dominions. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1933. Pp. xiii+201. Price not mentioned.

In November, 1937, the Chairman and Council of the Royal Empire Society invited many persons of acknowledged position to meet in Conference to review the problems of Imperial development. Among those invited to participate in the deliberations were Mr. F. L. McDougall, Chairman of the Imperial Economic Committee, The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir George Schuster, formerly Finance Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, Sir Frank Noyce, formerly member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, Sir John Wardlaw Milne, M.P., Sir Henry Page-Croft, M.P., Prof. N. F. Hall of the London University, Prof. N. Bentwich of the Jerusalem University, Prof. F. W. Fetter of Haverford College, U. S. A., Mr. H. V. Hodson, Editor of the *Round Table*, and Sir Firoz Khan Noon, High Commissioner of India. The proceedings of the Conference are now published in book-form under the title, *The Crucial Problem of Imperial Development*.

It appears from a perusal of the proceedings that no resolutions were submitted and none were passed, although the speeches and discussions were planned on a comprehensive scale embracing different parts of the Empire, including India. The main theme developed by all the speakers was that Empire development as well as world economic betterment could be sought not in artificial restriction of production to meet a depressed level of consumption, but in the expansion of consumption to meet the enlarged productive capacities which had, for the moment, run ahead of their markets. Although somewhat divergent views were expressed on the organized restriction of supply, the emphasis on the need for higher consumption was almost unanimous.

To an Indian reader the papers reprinted in this volume will perhaps give the impression that the Empire is a business concern to be developed for the benefit of its Imperial shareholders, and that the welfare of the millions of people in backward countries like India is important only in so far as it can be of advantage to the British vested interests. The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in the course of his address, "We have no desire whatever to make either the individual Dependencies or the Empire as a whole self-sufficient." Will this not mean the perpetuation of Imperial exploitation in some form or other? The pursuit of self-sufficiency may be a selfish, and at times, dangerous policy, but this does not imply that the Dependencies of the Empire should be denied full opportunities for industrialization.

The hard-headed Imperialists should realize that in the relief of poverty through greater industrialization of the backward Empire countries, rather than in preferential treatment or selfish exploitation, lies the best hope for the future growth of British trade with them in the long run. In other words, Britain must, in her own interests, make considerable sacrifices for the economic progress of the subject peoples, because true Imperial solidarity can be secured only by raising the standard of living amongst the half-starved millions who compose the British Empire today.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

SELF-ABNEGATION IN POLITICS : By Late R. B. Lal Chand. Published by the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Second Edition, 1938. Prices annas eight only.

The book was first published in 1909 by way of protest against certain tendencies in the Congress movement which its writer could not approve—specially the attitude of granting concession and making unsolicited friendly advances towards the Muhammadans which Lal Chand pronounces to be disorganizing and vicious. Hindus he found in a disorganized condition and that for their liberality or “self-abnegation in politics,” and the need of the hour was, for him, organization of the Hindus. Hindu press, Hindu Defence Fund, Hindu Sabha—for these he puts in a vigorous plea, and in this way it is a remarkable pamphlet anticipating much of the present Hindu Sabha Movement and emphasizing its faith in the possibility of a real unity only when all the parties desire to make a united stand.

R. B. Lal Chand knew very well how to express his views clearly and with vigour, and the pamphlet is a model of lucid exposition from its own viewpoint at the same time that it is the earliest writing on the subject it deals with: though, it must be said in this connection, that we may combine strength with sympathy and understanding, and the Congress, he it said to its credit (and even the latest, the Jinnah-Nehrur, correspondence shows it), is trying to win the co-operation of the Muslim League without weakening. Nationalism is the need of the hour, but real nationalism tries to see things in their proper perspective and to gain recruits in apparently impossible quarters.

FURTHER UPWARD IN RURAL INDIA : By D. Spencer Hatch. B.Sc., M.Sc. in Agr., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. 1938. Price Rs. 2-8.

Dr. Spencer Hatch's book, “Up from Poverty in Rural India” has been already reviewed in this journal and noted with approbation, which it deserves. He follows his subject further, and his practice has kept pace with the ideals which prompted him to the duty of rural reconstruction, a hackneyed phrase by now. The author's experience of bold leadership in Young India grows; the principles and methods he has advocated are in favour with large-sized Indian states and even across the seas. There is the seed of life in his Rural work centres, for they are multiplying, and we may assure ourselves that the nine hundred leaders trained by him will soon change the face of India. The secret of his success lies in the soundness of his ideas which are open to examination. Among other things he believes in a comprehensive programme, and in the spiritual basis of life, and in many of the items of his creed his viewpoint resembles Mahatma Gandhi's. One may confidently quote from him: “No Rural Reconstruction Centre can afford to accept a government grant if the grant has strings on it which restrict the freedom of the workers.” Again: “For Rural Reconstruction in India we want workers who are rich in the things they can do without.” Another delightful observation: “Toleration of the second rate is one of the most common and serious sins in India, while this persists, people must remain poor. We find little realization of what high quality means.” The experiences are suggestive, the author's way of approach is stimulating, and the reader feels inclined to repeat with a certain visitor: “Well, this is indeed great!”

P. R. SEN

THE GANDHIAN WAY : By Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General-Secretary, Indian National Congress.

Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd. 8, Round Building, Bombay 2. Pages 183. Price Rs. 2.

This is a remarkable book in many ways—remarkable for its grasp of the Indian problems, for the perspicuity and boldness of its exposition and the ardent faith of the author in what he calls “the Gandhian Way,” i.e., the national programme as chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi.

So far as Gandhi's political philosophy is concerned, the exposition given here is both able as well as authoritative. The author points out how the Gandhian way in politics came to capture the imagination of the people and seeks to establish its superiority in comparison with other opposing tendencies, such as socialism or the Congress left wing. The topics discussed are often controversial. It is not for the reviewer to take sides in a controversy, or, to enter into the merits of the views on either side. We can, however, unhesitatingly say that Acharya Kripalani presents his viewpoint in an unambiguous and attractive manner and he is not unfair to his opponents.

So far as Gandhi's hold on the masses is concerned, no one can deny that it is not entirely due to the merits of the way pointed out by him but is largely due also to the unquestionably great, inspiring and magnetic personality of the man. It is difficult to think of Indian politics remaining exactly what they are, with Gandhi off the canvas. Yet one should not be blind to the intrinsic value of the way pointed out by him. Acharya Kripalani tries to establish this point, we would not say, without success. Even the programme of *Khadi*, which according to many, is only a fad of Gandhi, is shown by Acharya Kripalani to be a sound economic proposition, provided of course its meaning is properly understood (pp. 11, et seq.).

His remarks about Brahmoism (p. 2), may possibly be resented in some quarters: and the reason assigned by him for the greater popularity of the Ramakrishna movement may not be accepted by all as sufficient. But some of the propositions laid down by him seem to us to be exceedingly sound. The first problem in India, according to him, “is not a revolutionary programme of reconstruction as is implied by industrialization and socialism, but a radical programme for the capture of power” (p. 81). The division of the Congress into Left Wing and Right Wing, is therefore, premature. Such division bring in their trail a weakening of the national forces, of which a third party is sure to reap the advantage.

People who desire to understand the philosophy underlying the Congress movement will find this book of very great help.

SELF-REALISATION : By B. V. Narasimha Swami. Published by Niranjanananda Swami, Tiruvannamalai (Madras).

This is the story of the life of a Saint of Southern India. Viewed from outside, such lives have few incidents to narrate. There is the usual renunciation of the world with attendant pains in the mind of the relatives, and a wandering in search of a preceptor or *guru* who is at last found, and then the gradual collection of an increasing group of disciples, and, at last, the eventual establishment of an *asrama* or hermitage which wears a wealthy look enough to attract even robbers. The life before us also contains the same series of incidents.

The internal history of the man, bent on self-realisation, for whom no austerity is too severe, is not open to public gaze, and, unless depicted by the man himself, can seldom be known. Though the secret influence of such men on the lives of many others cannot

be denied, it were perhaps greater wisdom not to regard the meagre incidents of their mere physical life as of much historical importance. Such men might well be spared the glare of lime-light. They do not want it and their disciples and admirers ought not to force it on them. To leave them to their quiet solitude would be showing better honour to them.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BRADLEY AND BERGSON—A COMPARATIVE STUDY: By Ram Murti Loomba, M.A. With a Foreword by Prof. N. N. Sen-gupta, M.A., Ph.D. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow. 1937. Pp. xi+187. Price Rs. 2-8.

Metaphysical quests often have a tendency to follow beaten tracks. It is refreshing, therefore, to note that the young author of the work under review has freed himself from philosophical orthodoxy and found a problem worthy of pursuit in a sphere where many would have seen none. Writing in a pleasant and easy style Mr. Loomba has attempted to show that the idealism of Bradley and the mysticism of Bergson are not radically different but that both have a common 'visionic' element. The standpoints of these two eminent philosophers are but two stages in the total idealistic trend of thought, and each standpoint when persistently worked out is found to involve the other. The logic of Bradley, facing the Absolute, turns into anti-intellectualistic idealism, while the intuitionistic view of Bergson, in order to receive a philosophical formulation, stands midway between mysticism and idealism. By judicious selection of relevant passages from texts and by clever interpretation, the author has been able to uphold his thesis. In the Foreword Prof. Sen-gupta clearly states the position of the author in a few words and lends his support to the central idea.

S. K. BOSE

MODERN SWEDEN: Chief Editor Dr. Erik Nylander. Published by the General Export Association of Sweden, Vasagatan 2, Stockholm. Pp. 470. 1937. Printed on art paper and profusely illustrated.

This interesting compilation is a review of the great changes, both social and economic, which Sweden has undergone during the past fifty years. Within this period Sweden has developed from an agricultural country, dependent for its public undertakings and manufactured goods on the capital of richer and more highly industrialised foreign countries, to a country teeming with diversified industries of indigenous development. The establishment of saw mill industry has contributed to the industrial upliftment of the country, while mining and metal, the chief industries of Sweden, have helped her to maintain its balance in foreign trade. Detailed figures are given to show the remarkable progress achieved by Sweden in import and export trade during the period dealt with. Besides a general survey of the people, institutions and natural resources of the country, the book also gives detailed information about all the present-day export industries of the country. Credit is due to the chief editor and the publishers for the compilation and publication of this useful and informative book.

SOUREN DEY

INDIAN COMPANY LAW: By Mr. M. J. Sethna, Barrister-at-Law. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Price not mentioned.

In this book although the learned author has given a full text of the Indian Companies Act 1913, as amended upto Act II of 1938, he has failed to incorporate therein

the provisions under the Government of India (Adaptation of Indian Laws) Order, 1937, as a result whereof several sections have been omitted from the book. We give below a few of such instances, viz. 'trading corporation' has not been defined: Sections 2A, 12A and Section 289A have been omitted from the book. With reference to Section 109, the following important provision has been omitted viz. "In this Section 'British India' does not include Burma or Aden, whatever the date of the mortgage or charge in question."

The book however is on the whole a good exposition of the main principles of company law. The law students will find this book as a help book for their examination. Businessmen as well as lawyers will also find this book useful to them. The book contains a very instructive Introduction dealing with the merits of the Act and showing how it benefits shareholders, members of registered companies, creditors, debenture-holders and all other interested persons. Within the short space of 258 pages, the learned author has very clearly and carefully dealt with all the various topics of company law, with the help of useful cases. The book also contains the rules framed by the Governor-General in Council under Section 151(4), together with the Forms and Tables.

JUDENDRA NATH BOSE

1. MY TRAVELS IN THE EAST 2. ACROSS THE NEAR EAST: By Khsitish Chandra Banerjee. Published by the author from 130, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Rupees Two and Rupees One and annas Eight respectively.

The young author of these fascinating travel notes started on his adventurous career as a "globe-trotter" about five years ago when he chanced upon some books of travel and adventure and was inspired to "do something which would testify to the fact that the adventures and enterprising spirit was not dead in India and that there were young men in India who could brave any difficulty;" and he has amply justified his claim. He started on his first tour (recorded in *My Travels in the East*) in December, 1933, with the princely sum of eleven rupees in his pocket and travelled widely in Burma, China, Manchuria, Japan, Philippine Islands, Bali and Java, and returned to India in March, 1936. After a brief period of rest, he set out on another journey which took him to Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon; impressions of this second tour are detailed in *Across the Near East*.

P. B. S.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

RAJA-DHARMA-KAUSTUBHA of Anantadeva, edited by Mm. Kamala Krishna Smrititirtha, Guckwad's Oriental Series No. Lxxii. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1935. Price Rs. 10.

The work is an extensive compendium, in four Dīdhitis or parts as they are named, of kingly duties, but it includes in its scope a great deal of miscellaneous, though relevant, matters, and devotes practically a whole section to Vyavahara or judicial procedure. It thus shares with Nilakantha's Mayukha the reputation of being a standard work of Hindu religious law and custom in Western and Central India, to which part of the country the author, himself a Mahārāstra Brahmin, belonged in the second half of the 17th century. He was the son of the well-known Apadeva, author of the *Mīmamsā-nysya-prakāsa*, while his great-great-grandfather was no less a person than Ekanatha, the famous Maratha saint. Though a comparatively recent work, it is yet an interesting and important digest of the subject from various points of view, compiled and systematised with great

learning and acuteness. The first *Didhiti*, called *Pratistha*, deals with the building of temples and consecration of images, as well as of construction of forts and royal buildings. The second *Didhiti*, called *Prayoga*, proceeds with the rites and ceremonies incidental to the building and consecration already described. The third *Didhiti*, called *Rajyabhiseka*, contains a detailed account of the coronation ceremony as it obtained in later times, and discusses incidentally such connected topics as succession to the throne, qualifications of the king, queen, ministers and priests, and so forth. The fourth *Didhiti*, called *Praja-palana*, deals with *Raja-dharma* proper, with special reference to *Vyavahara* or administration of justice in its various details. The work has been edited with care and scholarship; but a melancholy interest attaches to it from the sudden death in 1934 of its editor, the veteran Pandit, who could see only a part of it through the Press. There is a synopsis of the contents of the work in English by the editor's learned son who undertook the completion of the work, and an index of citations; but a somewhat more detailed description of the character and value of the manuscript-material utilized would have been welcome.

S. K. DE

PORTUGUESE-ENGLISH

PORTUGUESE VOCABLES IN ASIATIC LANGUAGES from the *Portuguese Original of Monsignor Sebastiao Dalgado*, translated with notes and additions by A. X. Soares. *Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. lxxiv. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1936.*

This work is also written by an Indian scholar and linguist (d. 1922), whose mother-tongue was Konkani and whose ancestral cognomen *Desai* is hidden under the unmeaning and alien *Dalgado*. Of his numerous learned writings, mostly written in Portuguese, his Konkani-Portuguese Dictionary is perhaps better known; but this work, published at Coimbra in 1916, is of much larger interest and is rightly characterized by Sir George Grierson as "a monument of erudition." It is the result of a quarter of a century's intensive study, research and travel, undertaken in the midst of constant physical sufferings, oftentimes of an excruciating nature, but with unflinching zeal and devotion to scholarship and with an inspiring love for India and Portugal. Although the subject has been partially touched upon in such works as Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, it is the first systematic and scientific examination of Portuguese words adapted in a great number of Asiatic languages spoken by peoples with whom the Portuguese came in more or less direct contact, from the 15th century to the present day, in respect of places extending from Ceylon to Japan. Incidentally the work throws a great deal of light on the civilizing influence of the Portuguese, and the author has taken great pains to bring together in the course of his linguistic discussion of the condition and character of the borrowing of the various words a large amount of political, sociological, ethnical and cultural matters which are of great interest. Even the average educated Bengali is perhaps not aware that such commonly used words as

আলাকাঁরা, আনারস, আলমারি, আলপিন, কেদারা, জানালা, কিতা, গিরিচ, গামলা, বাজতি, চাবি, প্রেক, etc. originate from Portuguese. Although learning of a varied kind is displayed on every page, there is no pedantry, and each article on the various words of this brilliant work of 400 pages is fascinating reading. Of the fifty-two languages taken into account, Konkani naturally occupies a larger space, but other Indian languages are not neglected. Although the author stayed

for some years (1887-90) in Bengal, some of the Bengali words listed are hardly Bengali, while one would notice omission of some well-known words. It is really a task which it is difficult for one man to accomplish, but the painstaking scholar has not ignored any relevant source.

The author undoubtedly occupies an honoured place in the rank of Indian Orientalists, but his learned works, being written mostly in Portuguese, are hardly known outside a limited circle. It is a happy idea to translate the work into English and include it in the well-known Series; and the translator, who has supplemented the work with notes and comments of his own, deserves the thanks of all interested students for the conscientious and excellent way in which he has discharged his arduous task.

The above two exceedingly interesting and important publications maintain the high reputation of the Oriental Series to which they belong, and reflect great credit on the editor and the translator respectively.

S. K. DE

HINDI

IS JAGAT KI PAHELI : Translated by Mr. Madan Gopal Garodia. Published by the Sri-Aurobindo Granth-mala, 4, Hare Street, Calcutta. Pp. 124. Price annas ten.

Some papers of Sri Aurobindo on spiritual truths written in English are collected and translated here under the caption of "The Riddle of the Universe". The original is characteristic of Sri Aurobindo. The translation is commendable. The publication of the works of Sri Aurobindo in Hindi, which is the aim of the publisher, is specially interesting. The get-up and the paper unmistakably show that the author has both taste and respect for the topic dealt in the book.

JNAN KI UDYAN MEN : By Swami Satyadevi Paribrajak. Published by the Satya Jnan-Niketan, Jwalapur (U. P.). Pp. 454. Price Rs. 2/-.

The author, who is a well-known traveller, has put together his thoughts on various subjects, education, politics, art, etc. and his experiences and impression in the course of his travels. These latter relieve the monotony of the serious thoughts.

SRI RAMAN CHARITAMRITA : Translated by Pundit Vakatesvar Sarma, Sastri of Kasi Vidyapith. Published by Swami Niranjanandaji, Sri Ramanasram, Tiruvannamalai. Pp. vi+444. Price not mentioned.

The life, teachings and the Asram of Sri Raman Maharshi are described in this book from the viewpoint of a devotee. The sage of the Arunachalam is closely studied and literature is quoted. There are several illustrations in the book.

RAMES BASU

GITA KA VYAVAHARA-DARSANA (PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GITA) : By Seth Ramgopal Mohita. Published by Sri Satyamaryam Printing Press, Freer Road, Karachi. Sent free of cost against ten annas stamps to cover postage.

The charge often laid on Indians in general of being so engrossed with intellectual subtleties as to lose sight of mundane realities, is not totally without foundation. It is characteristic of our genius that even the *Gita*, the world's most remarkable code of practical ethics, has at the hands of our scholars become a forum for the exhibition of metaphysical acrobatics. The countless interpretations and expositions have only served to increase our metaphysical pre-occupations and thus defeated the very purpose of the *Gita*, which was to give us a new ethic of action.

Seth Ramgopal Mohta is not the first to seek to cut through the gigantic mass of the dead structure of pedantry to the living core of thought. He has illustrious predecessors. Lokamanya B. G. Tilak's scholarly treatise is well-known and much respected, though unfortunately not very widely read. Syt. Mohta has written his book for everyman, who rarely has the patience or the capacity to work through a tome of such proportions as Tilak's work. Perhaps it is because of this that there is much irrelevant matter and many unnecessary and even pointless illustrations of the argument: but on the whole the book is very readable and instructive. It will go a long way to restore the Gita to its rightful place as a guide for human endeavour. Syt. Mohta deserves our thanks.

S. H. V.

BENGALI

BANGALA BHASHAR ABHIDHAN, or A Dictionary of the Bengali Language. Second Edition: By Jnanendra mohon Das. Indian Publishing House, 22-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Two Volumes. Price Rs. 10.

In this edition this lexicon has been thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged. In the first edition the number of words explained was 75,000; in the present edition it is more than 1,15,000. An exhaustive dictionary of the Bengali language would include perhaps more than double this number. The number has been kept down to make the volumes handy and suitable for ready reference.

Of all Bengali dictionaries completely published up to date, this is the largest. The introductions to the two editions, the appendixes and the supplement are valuable.

Of the new features of this lexicon perhaps the most notable is the pronunciation of words given in it. The author was the first to introduce this feature in a Bengali dictionary in his first edition. In the second the words explained have been printed in self-pronouncing forms by the use of diacritically marked types specially cast for this work. A key to the pronunciation of the letters so marked is printed at the bottom of the page at every opening. As the pronunciation of many Bengali words differs in different districts, this feature is really necessary and useful. It will be particularly useful to non-Bengali readers of Bengali.

Some of the other features of this work may be mentioned here. It is not a dictionary, for the most part, of Sanskrit words alone used in Bengali; it includes other current Bengali words also, though a very few have escaped his notice. Sentences have been quoted from books and periodicals to illustrate the different meanings of words. In a very few cases, some meanings of words have escaped the author's notice. The system of transliteration adopted has been explained in the introduction and an appendix. Derivations of words have been given wherever necessary and possible. The number of foreign words adopted in Bengali, 'provincial' words, legal and other technical words, proverbs, idioms, synonyms, antonyms, mythological allusions, etc., are large. The transliteration of foreign names is a useful feature.

As the work, practically of one man, the author, it is a very remarkable and splendid achievement. But had the lexicon been the result of team-work, the achievement would have been no less remarkable even in that case.

RABINDRA-SAHITYE PALLICHITRA, or, Village Pictures in Rabindra Literature. By Bijaya Lal Chattopadhyaya. Naba-jiban Publishing House, 195-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Curiously enough there are still some Bengali readers to be found who erroneously think that Rabindra-

nath Tagore, being a city-born and town-bred aristocrat, has written and sung only of fashionable city folk, but has no knowledge of village life and village folk. The author has shown by extracts from the Poet's works in prose and verse how extremely wrong such a notion is. The Poet has loved the scenery and life of rural Bengal and derived exquisite pleasure from them. His sympathy, born of first-hand knowledge, for villagers, has not been merely academic and book-page-deep. It has taken practical shape.

His short stories and many of his poems are veritable portrait galleries of village folk and landscape galleries, too, of village scenery.

All this the author has shown in his attractive and flowing style. He is quite right in observing that "in this democratic age the time has come to study from a new angle the literature created by him who has encircled the brow of Bengali Literature with the garland of victory of democracy."

D.

GUJARATI

SOUNDARYA NI DRISHTIYE: By Gijubhai. Published by the Dakshina Murti Prakashan Mandir. Illustrated paper cover. Pp. 100. Price annas five (1937).

Gijubhai, known in Gujarat and Kathiawad, as the children's friend par excellence, describes in this little book, the most common and every day occurrences of life in his inimitable interesting way, such as would surely please children. A trip in a stream launch, the universal verdure in countryside after the cessation of the rains, a feri and other such matters are most attractively described.

LAGN PRAPANCH: By Narsinhbhai Ishwarbhai Patel. Published by the Prasthan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 644. Price Rs. 3-8 (1937).

The writer is well-known in Gujarat as one who has derived inspiration at Shanti Niketan where he resided with his family. A man of liberal views Mrs. Patel was given perfect independence in family matters by Mr. Patel. Once while husband and wife were talking, Narsinhbhai, who was wholly content with life as enjoyed till then said that he was so satisfied with everything that he did not wish for a rebirth. His wife said, "On the contrary I desire to be reborn as your husband, so that you as a wife may realize what the life of a woman really means." The genesis of the present substantial volume of research in the Institution of Marriage is to be found in this incident. The writer has tried to establish, citing chapter and verse for every statement, that the caveman instinct of the male sex has from the beginning tried to keep the female sex under its heel, and under the influence of that feeling of inferiority and submissiveness, she has seen nothing wrong in being treated as a chattel. He has all along acted as the woman's advocate and he wishes women more than men to read his analysis of the situation and stand up for her rights. Mr. Mashruvala has contributed one whole section and in his moderate language and also from a thinker's point of view, supported many of the conclusions of the author. In short it is a well-preached crusade against the tyranny of men over women.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

BHARATA NAUKA PARISHRAMA: By Karra Sita Ramaya. Pages 147. Price Re. 1. Can be had of the author, Vizagapatam.

The book records the history of the shipping industry, the coastal and the overseas trade in India from the

Vedic times to date. The exhaustive and able treatment of the subject deserves praise.

MOYILU RAYABHARAM: By *Cerla Ganapati Sastri*. Pages 38. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author, Nidavole, W. Godavari Di.

A Telugu rendering of Kalidas's immortal classic "Meghadutam."

BRAHMANIKAM: By *Gudipati Venkatachallam*. Yuva Karyalayam Series No. 7. Pages 132. Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Patapet, Tenali. Price annas four.

The work depicts the life of an orthodox widow, culminating in marriage, poverty, sufferance, and fall from the heights of piety and innocence to the deplorable depths of corruption. An ordinary story from an extraordinary angle of thought.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

BOOKS RECEIVED

LETTERS TO MY SON: By *C. S. Angre*. Published by *D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay*. Pp. ii+82. Price Rs. 3.

MAKERS OF NEW INDIA: By *D. M. Chitre*. With a Foreword by *Principal P. K. Atre, B.A., B.T., T.D. (London)*. Published by *Vasant Vasudeo Bhise at*

370, Jethabhai Building, Parel; Fort, Bombay. Pages 50. Price annas twelve.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS: An exposition of the Problems of Hyderabad from the People's Point of View. Published by *B. A. Rao, Bangalore city*. Pp. ii+112. Price annas eight.

RURAL WELFARE: By *Narendra Kumar Mukerjee, A.M.A.E., M.R.San.I., F.F.Sc.* Published by *N. K. Mukerjee, Yarpur House Patna*. Pp. iv+76. Price annas eight.

BENGALI

PARICHAY: By *Late Dinabandhu Roychoudhury and Satish Chandra Roychoudhury*. Published by *Amulya Chandra Dey, 210/3/2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta*. Pp. iv+202. Price paper cover Re. 1. cloth bound Rs. 1.4.

HINDI

DESHIRAJYA KI SAMASYA (PROBLEM OF THE NATIVE STATES): By *Raghunath Prasad Parsai*. Published by *Deshirajya Sahitya Mandal, Sohagpur, C. P.* Pages 32.

HINDU-DHARMA KI BISESATAE (THE BEAUTIES OF HINDU RELIGION): By *Swami Satyadev Paribrajak*. Copies available from *The Manager, Satyagan-niketan, Jwalapur, U. P.* Pp. 84+4. Price annas five.

WORLD AFFAIRS

EUROPE has for the last few weeks known a period of comparative ease, and that means no doubt that the world too has been allowed a relief from the perpetual high tension in which European politics made it live for months. Of course it does not indicate an end of any of the crises, major or minor. In two parts of the world, July witnessed the anniversary of two wars—on the 7th that of China, on the 18th that of Spain,—which start on another fateful year of bloodshed and barbarism. The problems remain unsolved, the world stands where it was; and, to quote the German phrase on the prospects of the agreement for withdrawal of volunteers from Spain, any settlement arrived at 'can be torpedoed within twenty-four hours.'

FIRST YEAR OF THE CHINESE WAR

On the 7th of July last both China and Japan celebrated the first anniversary of the 'Chinese Incident.' China took the resolve to fight to the finish, Japan published the list of her gains in China, in guns, aeroplanes, and territories, and declared that Chiang Kai-shek can hope for no consideration from Japan nor

Japan would relent until the whole of China has been brought to the heel though that might mean a war for ten years. An anniversary celebration is the occasion for such dramatic pronouncements which the people expect of its Government. But to vow ten years of war is to indulge in heroics. We have on the last occasion noted what a long war would mean to China and to Japan both. Mr. Vernon Bartlett, fresh from the Far East, in the *News Chronicle*, gives a very careful but similar estimate of the forces. China will probably hold out—"but she may lose too," concludes the writer:

But it is quite obvious that guerilla warfare involves the return to power of those local war lords whom the Generalissimo succeeded in displacing after much prolonged effort. A period of intense military centralisation there must give way to one of decentralisation, with all its dangers. Some of the war lords will fight the Japanese, but some of them will undoubtedly go back to banditry. "Unless the European powers and the United States show a little vigour in respecting international law and seeing that others respect it, then the war in the Far East may drag on until Japan breaks into revolution, China reverts to chaos and all those young Chinese who have returned to their country with

western ideas of democracy may sink into oblivion, and all Western financial interests disappear."

I would therefore repeat my conviction that Japan cannot win in this war, but would also add the warning that China too may lose it.

Japan should know as well that she has other enemies, mightier and more dangerous, who would not fail to come down on her when they find Japan weakened by this Chinese war. Are we already hearing the distant rumbles in the Mongolian and Korean border? Soviet Russia has not forgotten the sinking of her gunboat or the Amur islands that Japan forcibly occupied when they were busy with purge of the generals. Is Russia slowly moving now to pay back the old scores?

The atmosphere on the Soviet-Manchukuo border is described in Tokyo as very ominous. It is feared that the alleged violation of the Manchukuo border by Soviet troops occupying a hill in the south of Hunchun may develop into another Liukouchiao incident which led to the Sino-Japanese war.

The Manchukuo and Korean frontier authorities have demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops, threatening determined action in the event of non-compliance.

Meanwhile the Manchukuo-Soviet negotiations for a settlement of the incident on the spot are stated to have broken down.

On the Chinese war front Hankow is being bombed. The army pushes along Yangtse. Japan may wreak her savage fury on the Chinese; but the war must be finished quick if she is to escape the danger from Russia. The preparations of the Soviet in Siberia are known to be amazingly thorough. As noted some time ago by Mr. Mills of the Associated Press of America:

Soviet Russia has an army of 400,000 of its best troops, 2,000 tanks and 900 aeroplanes along the 2,000-mile frontier between Soviet Russia and Mongolia and Manchukuo.

It has also elaborate poison gas equipment at important strategic points for use in emergencies. The entire civil population in towns along the Manchukuo border not only have arms, but are equipped with gas masks.

In anticipation of a possible attack by Japan the Bolshevik defence authorities have constructed hundreds of concrete pillboxes and other fortifications along the border, which the Moscow authorities believe make Far Eastern Russia virtually impregnable.

The Russians have completed the double-tracking of the great Trans-Siberian railroad all the way to Vladivostok, and a steady stream of war supplies is moving over the line day and night.

And Russia is not the only enemy Japan should count;—there is Britain who, if freed from the European complications, might take a strong line too.

EUROPEAN RESPITE—CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

No settlement in any sense is, however, in sight of any of the two urgent problems of Europe—the Spanish War and the Czecho-Slovakian question. Hopes are no doubt entertained of the solution of both. Dr. Hodza's Nationality Bill along with other measures of a similar nature is shortly to be published, and so the German grumble on its delay is to be silenced or awaits only the signal to break forth into a more vigorous denunciation. *The Times* diplomatic correspondent speaks of the measure as 'being a compromise which would give each side 75 per cent of what it is now seeking.' But it is difficult to reconcile the Henlein point of view, as every body knows, with Czecho-Slovak independence. The former certainly demands the Czecho-Slovak State to enter the great German orbit. The latter certainly would not agree to forgo 'connection with Russia' and thereby decree its own annihilation. Even as the talks proceeded Dr. Hesse in the presence of the Fuehrer spoke of the country as a danger, of the 'Bolshevizing tendencies' evident in Czecho-Slovakia, and Germany as a great bulwark of Western culture and Aryan heritage, must disapprove of this. Dr. Hodza has to negotiate not with Herr Henlein but in fact with Herr Hitler, the Fuehrer of the German people wherever they be. Berlin has to be satisfied, otherwise Britain and France would press for more concessions. They are said to be now doing so. The recent *démarche* from London wants the Prague Nationality Statute to widen itself more so as to satisfy Henlein and Hitler. We are already hearing of mobilization in the frontier alleged by the German press against Czecho-Slovakia. It has been stoutly denied by the Czechs. But all this can be hardly a prelude to conciliation and compromise.

There is of course, it is recognised at the same time, less chance of the Nazi army promenading into Bohemia as they prepared themselves to do two months ago under the full flush of their success in Austria. Czecho-Slovak politicians saved their State by a cool courage, determination and statesmanship that have since then raised their stock in the world. British *démarche* also had for once its weight with the Fuehrer; it was wiser, he decided, to leave the situation to ripen of itself through the peaceful gains of the Sudetendeutsch. Moreover, Britain was likely to consider her conscience sufficiently cleared by this step to allow her to witness even Hitler to march into Bohemia against,

what by her standard she would judge, the Czech failure to satisfy the German minority demands. Czecho-Slovakia would any way be disintegrated from within, and Hitler will win his way without risking hostilities with any one. Czecho-Slovakia, Russia and France would otherwise be drawn closer still and British friendship for France be further strengthened. Chamberlain and Halifax serve their Nazi-Fascist friends too well to merit such rebuff. Since then Nazi rashness too is said to have received a little necessary check from the military advisers of the Fuehrer whom he was reported to be consulting during the critical days of May. Of course the Fuehrer works, as he declared after his Austrian coup, with 'divine inspiration' as his sole guide—almost a Gandhian spirit in the 'real politics' path! The gods however have not yet spoken on the Czecho-Slovakian question, and the mortal light of his military advisers was therefore availed of for the hour. Hence, a period of comparative calm in *Mittel Europa*. "But," to quote a French writer, M. Ludovic Naudeau in *L'Illustration* (June 4, 1938), "One should bear in mind that, though delayed, the intention of Germany is not changed; all the acquiescence of the moment that she might give now are of doubtful value, and we are exposed to surprises: the failure of the Agadir coup in 1911 could not prevent the German conflagration that blazed up in 1914."

REICHSWEHR AND AUTARCHY

The Reichswehr may decide if there is to be a blaze so soon. It is gaining power.

One of the effects of the last war, according to some military writers like Captain Liddell Hart, has been the smashing of the claim of military men to all wisdom in matters connected with war. Civilians have learnt to question it ever since. Herr Hitler and his lieutenants who suddenly donned on the glorious uniforms of generals and marshals overnight made the soldiers look still more foolish. The unceremonious dismissal of Von Fritsch and Bloemberg in February last completed the disgrace of that all-powerful body, the German Reichswehr. Perhaps it is being recognised now slowly that these soldiers also possess some gifts worthy of the Nazis to examine. It is believed that the Reichswehr is gaining by little the lost ground, Nazi impetuosity and rashness of Goering could not blow away the counsels of caution and care of General Von Keitel. The Nazi *Drang nach Osten* must rule out all premature and precipitated action in the direction of Ukraine or Roumania, etc., before the *Reichsautobahn*

system of roads across Austria is extended, the General Staff reminded. Divine inspiration must bide time unless it is to end in some Himalayan miscalculation. It is also pointed out that a prize essay of the German Military Academy by Colonel Conrad, Chief of Staff to the 18th Army Corps, concludes that an attack on Czecho-Slovakia to succeed must be so quick and stunning as to complete the capture of Prague in fourteen days in order to release troops to deal with the French offensive on the Rhine at the time. A prize essay in Nazi Germany could not have the honour if its views were not approved by the authorities. And all foreign military experts hold that the German army would require at least six weeks to knock out the Czecho-Slovak army as it stands now.

The recent warning of Major-General Thomas, head of the "Military Economics" section of the German High Command, against the German economic policy of barter and self-sufficiency and open criticism, however mild, of Goering's Four-Year Plan, seem to indicate that the Reichswehr is an influence again in German politics. The speech reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, is a public confession of the weakness of autarchy, which earlier had made Dr. Schacht grow doubtful of its soundness and resign. Maj.-General Thomas said:

The country, must recover her position in normal world trade. Major-Gen. Thomas admitted that, in spite of the Four-Year Plan, Germany was still unable to cover 20 per cent of her food requirements by home production. A large proportion of Germany's profits from exports was therefore required to guard against a food shortage.

This was equally the case with raw materials. Although the Four-Year Plan had led to an expansion of German production of iron and other raw materials, the materials which she lacked could, in case of emergency, only be obtained, if at all, by payment in foreign exchange.

"The world war," he said, "has shown us that the countries playing the most active part in world trade, Germany and England, had a greater power of resistance than countries which depended more on self-sufficiency."

"The effort to obtain the greatest possible degree of independence from foreign countries must not lead to a withdrawal from world trade; otherwise, the products which are unobtainable at home cannot be imported."

Major-General Thomas said that the economic war waged by Britain against Germany in the world war, and the subsequent policy of the victorious Powers, had done much to destroy confidence in world trade and to encourage the belief in self-sufficiency. But the fact remained that, apart from the Soviet Union and the United States, all countries were short of certain essential products.

"A policy of creating reserve," he continued, "is absolutely necessary where foodstuffs are concerned, and also in the armaments industry, so as to bridge the period before the factories have reached their highest war-time capacity."

"How far individual States are going in the storage of food reserves is shown by England, where large

amounts of grain, whale-oil, meat, sugar and other provisions have been and are being set aside."

"The same is true of raw materials. France, England and many other States are storing large quantities of fuel and important metals."

None of these measures, however, would, he added, make it possible to dispense with international trade.

The warning may serve to intensify the Nazi demand for return of the Colonies as Germany requires sources of raw materials.

SPAIN COMPLETES SECOND YEAR OF WAR

On the 18th of July Spanish Rebellion entered its third year of struggle. An agreement just preceding it on the withdrawal of foreign volunteers from Spain, it is supposed, has opened the way for a relief of the European tension on the question. But the Spanish Tragedy has dragged on too long even to continue a strain on the emotions of the people of Europe. Emotion in this case gave room to cynicism; faith in cherished ideals faded, the grim reality of this conflict lost its tragic depth. The terribly big issues involved in this ideological clash received no solemn examination they demanded. Cold misanthropy blankly saw the portends of a struggle in which powers and politicians stand out in all their nakedness to prove that ethics and agreements, patriotism and humanity are of no consequence to the ruling classes when their very power, their profits and interests as the ruling classes, are anywhere, even outside their national borders, questioned by the 'under-dogs' of the present social system. Man's mind has been clouded and confused by the shameless play at the make-believe of non-intervention and the heartless connivance of all violation of the codes of international morality and obligations by the strong. More even than the dictators Britain and France have proved that terrible doctrine of social revolution, that democracy is merely a facade of capitalistic society, a device to hoodwink the masses that the ruling class will throw off the moment it fails to achieve its purpose. If the part that Britain has played in the Spanish tragedy is rightly assessed it would be seen that it has not so much ruined the prestige of the British powers as denuded the British ruling class and the British people of their favourite window-dressings—faith in liberal thought, in democracy and in democratic institutions. Spain these two years has thus really proved a tragedy to the liberals and believers in democracy and in popular rights. Their faith has been gassed out in Abyssinia, bombed out in Spain, undermined above all by the betrayal of Britain. So, as the second year of the war ends and a scheme of withdrawal of foreign volunteers is evolved, no

body cares to set any store by that. For one thing it is clear that really the end of the struggle is known, the 'settlement' demanded by Mussolini can not be refused. In spite of the Non-intervention Commission, the world knows, Italy could defiantly send men and armament, bombs in the name of Franco open towns on the Republican side, and, even after the signing of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, help in the sinking of British vessels to the Republican ports. Italy, therefore,—and Germany too, though less flagrantly, would not hesitate to 'torpedo' the present agreement within twenty-four hours if that impedes the victory of Franco and Fascism. M. Blum in the columns of *La Populaire* lost no time to point out that the scheme, which shut the Pyrenees against the Republicans immediately, leaves the Portuguese coast open for the Insurgents, and is thus unjust to the former. Justice or humanity, in the conflict, the old gentleman knows, it is too late in the day to talk of. And the Spanish Republican note to Britain alleging that Italian troops are to be kept in the Spanish Foreign Legions under assumed Spanish names and Italian General Staff advisers are to remain there to carry out their duties in mufti, clearly foresees a position which everybody anticipates. *The Times* correspondent of Rome supplies from the Italian journal *Stampa* figures, evidently taken from official records, in regard to the activity of the Italian squadrons in Spain:

For example in June, when Castellon was captured, there were 3,103 flights in 5,838 hours, 718 tons of explosives were dropped and 40,542 rounds fired. A total of 291 tons of explosives were dropped in April and 381 tons in May. The correspondent adds that, from the numbers of aeroplanes employed, it is evident that an appreciable section of the Italian Air Force is now engaged in Spain.

Majorca is known to be the base of the Italian air forces, and practically admitted to the position of an Italian port, as it were. It is to remain immune from any attack of the Republicans because of the recent British and French advice to them. That Government had notified Britain of its intentions of reprisals on Italy for the bombing of the Spanish non-combatants. Their objective, not revealed at the time, was likely to be this Italian base in Spanish territory, supposed to be in the Insurgent hands. Britain, however, at once informed Italy of the Republican idea, and Rome was indignant at the prospect of any other party playing its game at its cost. Its reply would be—War. Britain and France quickly therefore tried their influence on the Spanish Government lest the real conflagration is started straight by Mussolini. So the Italian air base at Majorca is to remain safe as if Majorca

belonged to Italy. And Il Duce has no territorial ambitions in Spain, the Anglo-Italian agreement declares.

The third year of the Spanish war begins with celebrations by both the parties and a congratulation from Mussolini to Franco:

"Fascist Italy is proud to have given her contribution of blood and material to your victory over the destructive forces in Spain and Europe," says Signor Mussolini in a telegram to General Franco on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Spanish war.

The telegram predicts victory for General Franco within the next year.

The year is likely to see the victory of the Fascists in Spain. Some of the deep implications of the war of these years as indicated above may be easily read. Events of these two years proved further that freedom of the seas will no longer be accepted as a principle by the power which can flout it, that merchantmen will be subjected to bombing attacks even though they carry only foodstuff to the enemy country; and that even the civil population of a remote town is as much exposed to the bombing operations as the soldiers in the front or fortified areas. These are of vital significance to Great Britain too in case she is thrown into any major war. Mr. Chamberlain, however, by his pitiful attempts at explaining away, or at virtual condoning of all these Fascist war methods, has lent his support to these new standards of military ethics. Britishers of different parties view this as a danger to the general interest, and, worse still, a betrayal of the more sacred thing—the British interests.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

British patriotism or imperialism considers itself humiliated, at what it thinks to be vacillation, surrender to blackmail, and a defeatist pacifist mentality of the present National Cabinet. The opinion gains ground more and more in Britain and the Chamberlain-Halifax (or should we call it the Cleveland group?) policy of armament and appeasement—proves to be unsatisfactory.

More and more British people are waking up to this stern fact. Even *The Times* now admits the necessity under pressure of the forces of reconstructing a National Cabinet with a new combination of efficient members from the ranks of the other parties. *The New Statesman* warns that such a body under the Conservative leadership will prove to be the old National card, which the Conservatives have played too long to be of any service to them any longer. Hence, the trick of a reshuffle to have the old advantage under

a new name. Only the Labour leadership, according to the paper, of such a combination can save the country from war and Fascism.

Peace at any price, it is seen today, means peace nowhere, peace to no one; it means peace at the cost of others.—of Spain, of Austria, of Abyssinia, and possibly of Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkan and Baltic States; finally it means peace at a higher price, through the loss of the Mediterranean Empire route, the betrayal of the League and collective security, and loss possibly of the former German colonies. It results in the weakening of the strategic points of one's own and strengthening the power of the aggressors all the time, until peace at an price leads to war at too late an hour, under too hopeless conditions.

British foreign policy, in view of this proves a puzzle even to the Britishers themselves. No wonder therefore if the Chatham House arranged for lectures and debates on it by Lord Lothian, Prof. A. J. Toynbee and other distinguished students of international affairs. The last two quarterly issues of the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* contain these which show the different facets of the policy and the problems. It may however be noted that in spite of every thing that can be credited to the account of Chamberlain and Halifax the policy can claim no improvement in the European position. The 'realist' policy is at best a policy of drift, if it is not something deeper and more sinister—a strong 'anti-Red' feeling, a conscious Fascist leaning.

In fact liberal Englishmen have themselves made frequent references expressing their fear and suspicion that the Sedition Acts, the Official Secrets Act, measures to put industries on war footing, are already placing so many shackles on British liberty that the passing over to Fascism may be said to have already begun in Britain. For her the democratic screen need not be torn off. It makes the journey safer, smoother.

The foreign policy of the British Cabinet shows its true colour faithfully enough. It is undoubtedly decided on the exigencies of the imperial interests. But that does not disprove the fact that it is Fascist in its leanings and objective. Fascism has no quarrel with Imperialism. On the contrary, Fascism, as the natural growth of an aggressive nationalism, is an ally of Imperialism. "Fascism", as Pandit Jawaharlal reminded his Kingsway Hall audience, "is near relative to Imperialism". Pursuit of imperialistic interests naturally, therefore, emerges in the age of the breakdown of the old system as Fascism.

G. H.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Science and True Religion

It is the scientific method alone that offers hope to mankind and an ending of the agony of the world. Essentially the major conflict is between the method of science and the methods opposed to science. Writes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in *The Indian World*:

Science and academic halls have not known me for many a long year, and fate and circumstance have led me to the dust and din of the marketplace and the field and the factory, where men live and toil and suffer. I have become involved in the great human upheavals that have shaken in recent years this land of ours. Yet in spite of the tumult and movement that have surrounded me, I do not pretend to be wholly a stranger. For I too have worshipped at the shrine of science and counted myself as one of its votaries.

Science has brought all these mighty changes and not all of them have been for the good of humanity. But the most vital and hopeful of the changes that it has brought about has been the development of the scientific outlook in man.

In the early days of science there was much talk of a conflict between religion and science, and, science was called materialistic and religion spiritual. That conflict hardly seems real today when science has spread out its wings and ventured to make the whole universe its field of action, and converted solid matter itself into airy nothing. Yet the conflict was real for it was a conflict between the intellectual tyranny imposed by what was deemed to be religion and the free spirit of man nurtured by the scientific method.

Between the two there can be no compromise. For science cannot accept the closing of the windows of the mind, by whatever pleasant name this might be called; it cannot encourage blind faith in someone else's faith. Science therefore must be prepared not only to look up to the heavens and seek to bring them under its control, but also to look down, unafraid, into the pit of hell. To seek to avoid either is not the way of science. The true scientist is the sage unattached to life and the fruits of action, ever seeking truth wheresoever this quest might lead him. To tie himself to a fixed anchorage, from which there is no moving, is to give up that search and to become static in a dynamic world.

Perhaps there is no real conflict between true religion and science but, if so, religion must put on the garb of science and approach all its problems in the spirit of science. A purely secular philosophy of life may be considered enough by most of us. Why should we trouble ourselves about matters beyond our ken when the problems of the world insistently demand solution? And yet that secular philosophy itself must have some background, some objective, other than merely material well-being. It must essentially have spiritual values and certain standards of behaviour, and, when we consider these, immediately we enter into the realm of what has been called religion.

It is time we brought up our minds in line with the progress of science and gave up the meaningless controversies of an age gone-by.

It is true that science changes and there is nothing dogmatic or final about it. But the method of science does not change and it is to that we must adhere in our thought and activities, in research, in social life, in political and economic life, in religion. We may be specks of dust on a soapbubble universe, but that speck of dust contained something that was the mind and spirit of man. Through the ages this has grown and made itself master of this earth and drawn power from its innermost bowels as well as from the thunderbolt in the skies. It has tried to fathom the secrets of the universe and brought the vagaries of nature itself to its use. More wonderful than the earth and the heavens is this mind and spirit of man which ever grows mightier and seeks fresh worlds to conquer.

Gandhiji as a Psychologist

According to P. Spratt, whether the future of India is to be capitalistic or socialistic, Gandhiji's example of self-training through ascetic renunciation is valuable. Incidentally he compares Gandhi with Hitler and contrasts his method with that of Hitler. He observes in *The Indian Review*:

Any popular leader must be something of an expert at psychology. That great demagogue Hitler evidently is. Hitler and Gandhiji have something in common, but they obviously differ greatly. In particular Hitler is far more deliberate about it. He has that intuitive faculty, which Gandhiji also has, which enables him to know what the masses feel and how they will behave; but unlike Gandhiji he has a general theory of propaganda, and devotes much care to working out his appeal in the light of its principles, laboriously arranging even minor details of party propaganda, slogans, uniforms, badges and what not. Gandhiji's appeal also extends to these things. His khadi, his poverty, his style of speech, all might have been designed to further his purpose. But probably they were not designed. He has not sufficient cynicism. In all these cases he does what seems to him right, and what he thinks right usually not always - happens also to be politically useful.

Gandhiji then, while a supremely good judge of Indian mass psychology, has little to say about it in general terms. He has stated that when speaking to a crowd he can tell how they are reacting by looking at their eyes. But he has never gone into any detail. His spirits are much affected by mass-feeling. When the people are united and agree with him, he is buoyant and confident. When they are divided he suffers a distress evidently more directly felt and more acute than the

regret of more calculating politicians. He then says that he feels a sense of weakness, or has lost power. Similarly when he is separated from the people by jail or going abroad, he loses confidence. Most interesting of all is the idea suggested by some remarks of his that he becomes more sensitive to mass feeling when he fasts.

His moral ideal is attacked not only as impossibly difficult, but as intrinsically wrong. Dr. Tagore voiced this criticism many years ago, and the Marxists, especially Mr. M. N. Roy, have emphasised it recently. The ideal of renunciation, they say, is radically unsound. Life must be accepted, and enjoyed.

Dr. Tagore and Mr. Roy criticise Gandhiji's as an ultimate ideal. I think they are right; but I believe that any ideal acceptable to them would involve a substantial element of Gandhian asceticism. Gandhiji is to be criticised not as ultimately or wholly wrong, but as taking a one-sided or extreme view. He is after all a propagandist.

Indian Federation and Constitutional Unity

'The constitutional unity' wherewith Lord Lothian seeks to hypnotise India into acceptance of an ill-conceived constitution is a solemn sham. Observes K. S. Pathy in *The Hindustan Review* :

Indian Federation is the integration of two compacts, the British Indian Provinces and the feudal princedom. The provinces are autonomous entities functioning on democratic lines, whereas the States are still vestigial of feudal autocracy and just on the threshold of democratic consciousness. The fusion of the two under a unified Federal scheme is as ludicrous an affair as harnessing a pack-horse and a racer. The British Imperialistic constitution, though democratic in its machinery, is yet monarchical in form, and it is beyond question that the compact of the States by its inherent affinity, can ill-afford to keep away from the protective influence of the British Crown. On the other hand, the avowed aspiration of the British Indian Provinces is the progressive achievement of absolute independence. In an all-India Federation, the entire mass of States will be a drag upon the ambitions of the provinces. Prof. Keith says : "If Dominion Status were at once to be enjoyed by the Federation, the Princes would be precluded from entering it. Their adherence is now possible because the Crown retains in respect of executive government and legislation final control over executive authorities."

Lord Lothian, in the course of his statement to the press on the conclusion of his recent visit to India, has said :

"There are very strong arguments against the common proposal that British India should federate first and that the States should be left to come in with a representation to their population when they become democratic. The greatest single advantage which India enjoys today is its constitutional unity. The unity is derived from the fact that the ultimate responsibility both in British India and in the States has rested in the same person—the Viceroy."

Lord Lothian has, perhaps, too numerous arguments to set forth against the supposedly common, but supremely wise proposal of bringing about a Federation of British

Indian Provinces alone for the present. The constitutional unity of India resulting from the residence of ultimate responsibility in one and the same person the Viceroy, which to Lord Lothian, is a mighty factor is, after all, the unity of executive control from Westminster and not the singleness of Indian political endeavour. There need be no fear that if Federal government of British Indian provinces alone were to come about, the constitutional unity of India will be impaired. The Government of British India on the advice of Ministers responsible to the Federal legislature and Paramountcy in Indian States exercised in responsibility to the Secretary of State on behalf of the Crown can subsist side by side without detriment to either. The unity of British India and the unity of Indian States are rendered real and workable by making them separate and self-coherent. The imposition of a formal and fictitious unity by the ultimate centralization of executive and legislative control is a betrayal of all democratic aspiration. An inchoate grouping of unallied entities is a greater impairment of constitutional unity than the clear division of the constituents into organic and homogeneous systems.

'The constitutional unity' which to Lord Lothian is a distinctive merit of Indian Federation, is but the tightening of the fetters from which there is no extrication.

There is already a growing apprehension in the minds of the people of India, at least in the most progressive section of them, that the present-day Congress policy is fast drifting towards a passive constitutionalism. Now that Provincial Autonomy has been rendered workable by the imposition upon it of a sort of change by oral assurances between the Government and the party in power, there is sufficient cause for anxiety that the Federal Scheme also may be set into operation by conciliatory tactics of a similar nature. It is, therefore, the prime duty of the Congress organization to stand firm on its original principles and convictions and not temporize over this momentous issue.

International Understanding Through Education

Principal P. Seshadri concludes his address delivered at the World Conference on Education (as published in *The Indian Journal of Education*) with the following remarks :

One of the great tenets of my own religion is that God is one, though He may be called by many different names. Our scriptures have proclaimed, repeatedly, that just as many roads lead to a great city, many faiths lead to the same God. As the same sun is reflected in many waters, the same God can be discovered in many religions. Like the string running through the many pearls of a necklace, the same God is in all the religions of the world. This is a lesson which must never be forgotten in the class-room.

Travelling in America the other day, I happened to be in a Parlour Car, talking to a Negro attendant on a Sunday morning. He had just said his prayers, and was reading the Bible with a devotion which many of his betters could emulate. I was apparently so nice to him, that he asked me if I was a Christian. I told him

that I was not a Christian, but a Hindu, but the boy said with a happy smile, "But you look like a Christian!" I should be, similarly, able to say when I look at a good Christian, 'you look like a Hindu,' for so long as the qualities prized by mankind are there, it matters very little what religion they profess.

A common mistake which people often make is to imagine that there is some kind of necessary conflict between nationalism and internationalism. Rightly understood, however, it is not so, as true patriotism is only a step in the direction of universal brotherhood. As Rudyard Kipling has said, God gave all men all earth to love, though "he ordained for each, one spot should prove beloved over all." It may be that you and I are very fond of the places and the sights of the places to which we belong, but that does not necessarily mean that we should be incapable of appreciating beauty in other parts of the world. If I am proud of the Taj Mahal at Agra, I can also be fond of the Parthenon at Athens. If I admire the Himalayas of my own land, I need not be lacking in appreciation of the grandeur of the Rockies on the American continent. If I appreciate the grace and charm of the women of my own country, I can also be an admirer of beauty even elsewhere in the world.

I should like to commend to you in conclusion, that it is necessary in the best interests of mankind to instil this sense of international understanding in the young people all over the world. It is a mistake not to love one another, because we happen to be different in colour or feature, or happen to live on either side of a boundary which is sometimes not even a river or a mountain, but an entirely imaginary line. I have no doubt that teachers have an important part to play in this work, and let us hope that when the time comes for a consummation of this ideal, these periodical world-gatherings of teachers will be found to have played no mean part in the achievement.

China and India in the Historical Period

In the course of his article on problems of Chinese Art and Archæology in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Kalidas Nag observes :

The problem of the first definite historical contact of China with India is very complicated, as I discovered while consulting the eminent French Sinologist Paul Pelliot who gave me valuable suggestions relating to the appearance of the name China in the Arthashastra of Kautilya generally assigned to the Maurya period. Pelliot thinks that the Sanskrit form "China" can only be derived from the Chin dynasty (255-106 B.C.) founded by Shih Hwang Ti, a contemporary of Asoka. Dr. Laufer somewhat differs from Pelliot and is inclined to admit the possibility of earlier contacts. Laufer's book *Sino-Iranica* has opened our eyes to many unsuspected facts about China's contacts with the West—a line of investigation which has been carried further afield by Rostovtzeff in his *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922) and by Hirth in his *China and the Roman Orient*. However, there is little doubt today that from Circa third century B.C. to third century A.D., specially during the Hun dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.), India and China vigorously collaborated spiritually as well as culturally for Buddhism, which linked up the two great nations, was the vehicle of spiritual ideas as much as of artistic inspiration. What remains tantalizing and vague, however, is the striking resemblances in the literature of

the two countries, specially in philosophy and political science of the pre-Hun or late Chou period. The diplomatic mission of Chang Kien (130 B.C.) followed by the invitation of the Chinese emperors of the Han dynasty to the learned Indian Buddhist monks definitely prove that the cultural collaboration was in full swing and it was carried on gloriously by the Wei (Turkish), the Tang, the Sung and the Yuan (Mongol) dynasties. Dr. Laufer's *Chinese Pottery of the Hun Dynasty* opened a new vista just as Ed. Chavannes gave us his archaeological findings of inestimable worth.

Two outstanding branches of arts, Sculpture and Painting, which developed under Sino-Indian collaboration have been discussed by hosts of scholars, Okakura and Omura, Fennellosa and Laurence Binyon, amongst others.

In conclusion Dr. Nag says :

Visiting China in 1924, in the company of our national Poet Tagore and of our great painter Nandalal Bose, I had the privilege of being introduced to over so many groups of indigenous Chinese artists and art critics, many of whom could not speak English and who were interpreted by our late lamented friend, the Chinese poet Su Tsumo. I shall also remember with gratitude in this connection the fraternal co-operation offered by our esteemed friend Dr. Li Chi (of the Academia Sinica, founded after our departure). He was my friend, philosopher and guide while I set out with Nandalal Bose from Peking to visit the various historic sites and pilgrimages of Chinese Buddhism. While visiting the various collections and temples of Peking, we discussed now and then of pre-historic China but we never dreamed that within a few miles from our Peking lodge will be discovered the remains of the earliest man of Asia traced so far.

Thus the pre-historic and the historic, the classical and the medieval in Chinese art and culture entered into our being as were led from site to site, monument to monument, revealing through a flash of intuition, as it were, the Eternal China. Sometimes she was great, sometimes degraded, but she never failed to suggest that there was an inexhaustible vitality which will triumph over occasional lapses and temporary degradations. China supplied us with some of the most valuable tools of human material progress. She has given us also a literature, philosophy and an art which will survive the shocks of history and will be cherished as the permanent heritage of humanity. It was China and her culture that civilized Korea and Manchuria and through which regions Japan derived some of the permanent elements of her spiritual and artistic life.

India in World Culture and World Politics

India is as large as the whole of Europe, except Russia; and it has a population of more than 300 millions. Ancient Indian history is contemporaneous with, or perhaps older than that of Egypt. Dr. Taraknath Das writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

Through the researches of Western and Indian scholars and archaeologists, it has been definitely established that some 5,000 years ago, before the pre-Aryan conquest, a great civilization, in many ways

superior to contemporary Egypt, flourished in the North Western part of India.

In his recently published *Creative India*, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the Calcutta University, has dealt with some of the creations of the Indian peoples in personalities, ideas, institutions and movements during the period of approximately 5,000 years (3,000 B.C. to 1935 A.D.). Among other things, he has discussed, literature, art and social philosophy of the Indian people, the influence of Indian culture all over Asia and other parts of the world.

While study of Indian cultural history is receiving attention among scholars, the question of Indian struggle for freedom is one of the great problems of the twentieth century, affecting world politics and world peace. Of course the late Rev. Dr. Sunderland's classic work *India in Bondage and Her Right to Freedom* (New York) should be studied by all students of Indian politics. Mr. Chaman Lal, an Indian journalist of international standing in his recent work, *The Vanishing Empire*, gives his views regarding Young India's struggle for freedom, during recent years. The work is eclectic; yet Mr. Lal's attitude may be regarded as an expression of the younger generation of India and therefore this book will be helpful to those who wish to understand the trend of Indian thought regarding the political future of the land.

India's cultural heritage is a valuable asset to humanity and India's political future is bound up with the progress of the nation and the trend of world politics.

The Buddhist Tantric Literature of Bengal

Dr. S. K. De prefaces his article on the Buddhist Tantric (Sanskrit) Literature of Bengal in the first issue of the recently published *New Indian Antiquary* with the following introductory remarks :

By far the most extensive literature which Bengal produced in the whole course of its literary history, and which has also an importance and interest of its own, concerns itself with the large number of Buddhist writers, whose works, however, are mostly lost in Sanskrit but are preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*. They flourished in Bengal under the Buddhist Pala kings in the 10th and 11th centuries, or perhaps a little earlier. The works belong to the different Yanas which developed out of the Mahayana, and are loosely called Buddhist Tantra (*Rgyud*), as opposed to the Buddhist Sutra (*Mdo*) inasmuch as they teach esoteric doctrines, rites and practices in a highly obscure, and perhaps symbolic, language. That Bengal had been pre-eminently a land of Buddhism even before the 7th century is known to us from the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, who refer to the existence of Buddhist monasteries as centres of later Buddhistic culture; but neither Yuan Chwang nor Yi-tsing makes any reference to Buddhist Tantrism, which could not have developed so early. Taranatha tells us that during the reign of the Pala kings there were many masters of magic, Mantra-Vajracaryas, who being possessed of various Siddhis, performed miraculous feats; and his testimony of the prevalence of Buddhist Tantric culture is borne out by the hundreds of works produced on this subject, not a small part of which presumably belongs to Bengal. It was during this time that the monasteries of Nalanda,

Vikramasila, Jagaddala, Somapuri and Pandubhumi were renowned seats of Buddhist learning, with which the composition or translation of many of these Tantric works are associated. The second of the Viharas named above, which is said to have been situated on the banks of the Ganges, most probably had its location, like that of Nalanda, in Magadha; but the other Viharas, no less distinguished, were probably situated in some parts of Bengal, although their exact situation is a matter for speculation.

Many of these Vajrayanist writers and thaumaturgic Siddhacaryas of medieval cults, whether directly Buddhist or indirectly of Buddhistic origin, belonged undoubtedly to the east and most probably to Bengal in these centuries. Some of them travelled beyond Bengal and were so transformed into deified or legendary figures that all trace of their place of origin and activity was obliterated. Although the descriptions are often insufficient or obscure, the Tibetan sources sometimes definitely mention the locality of some of these works and authors; and of them alone we can be reasonably certain that they belonged to Bengal.

Elizabeth Barret Browning and her Sonnets

Writing in *Triveni* about the premier English poetess whose *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, as the expression of a woman's soul, stands unrivalled in the domain of English poetry, Dr. D. W. Dodwell observes :

"A soul of fire enclosed in a shell of pearl." This is how an American friend described Mrs. Browning, of whose death today is the seventy-seventh anniversary. Another American wrote of her : "She is a great loss to literature, to Italy, and to the world—the greatest poet among women. What energy and fire there was in that little frame, and what burning words were winged by her pen! With what glorious courage she attacked error, however strongly entrenched by custom, how bravely she stood by her principles! Never did I see anyone whose brow the world hurried and crowded so to crown, who had so little vanity and so much pure humility."

That Mrs. Browning is the greatest woman poet among those who have written in English can hardly be disputed, and it is unlikely, I think, that any other literature possesses a woman poet who is her equal. Her finest achievement is probably the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. This series of forty-four sonnets describes with exquisite sincerity and tenderness the development of her feelings towards Robert Browning up to the time of their secret marriage, when she escaped at the age of forty from the tyranny of her barbaric father and her chronic ill-health to a life of freedom, achievement and perfect happiness in Italy. Her love story is like a fairy tale come true.

Browning insisted that the sonnets ought to be published, since they were too good to be withheld from the public. In those early Victorian days his wife thought that to publish such frank expressions of her innermost feelings would appear immodest, so she chose the title *Sonnets from the Portuguese* in order to give the poems the appearance of being translations.

The sonnet is a short poem of fourteen lines with a special rhyme pattern first used with great effect by Petrarch and other Italian Renaissance poets. Mrs. Browning's devotion to Italy makes it very fitting that

her greatest work should be in the form of sonnets. Though it was born in Italy, the sonnet soon became naturalised in England, and has been a favourite form of expression with many of our poets. A few of them in an occasional sonnet reach even greater heights than those of the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, but there is no other great sonnet-sequence in English except Shakespeare's. Sonnet No. 43, the last but one in the series, is a typical example of Mrs. Browning's best sonnets :

How do I love thee ? let me count the ways,
I love thee to the depth and breadth and height
My soul can reach, when feeling out of sight
For the ends of Being and ideal Grace.
I love thee to the level of every day's
Most quiet need, by sun and candle-light.
I love thee freely, as men strive for Right;
I love thee purely, as they turn from Praise.
I love thee with the passion put to use
In my old griefs, and with my childhood's faith.
I love thee with a love I seemed to lose
With my lost saints,—I love thee with the breath,
Smiles, tears of all my life ! and, if God choose
I shall but love thee better after death.

The Modified Crest of the Calcutta University

The Journal of Arts and Crafts discusses the modified crest of the Calcutta University "not from the communal standpoint but purely from the artistic " :

The arrangement of the design of the crest reminds us of the arrangement of circular *Alpana*, which consists of a central lotus, surrounded by a creeper and the *Kalasis* on the other edge. But what a great pity it is to find a gulf of difference between these two things as regards their quality and composition. The woman artist of Bengal achieved a great success in combining the three parts of the design in *Alpana* with bold and simple lines which harmonise the whole by creating a distinct and definite character. On the other hand, the thing which strikes one most in the crest of the University is an eclecticism of motifs of different individual character.

Firstly, the central lotus in the crest is oblong, and with its plastic quality disturbs the whole design, particularly the adjacent stylised lotus-creeper drawn in the flat and the outer band which is nothing but a repeated geometrical motif, perhaps representing the rays of the sun.

Secondly, the combination of black and white in the crest is poorly distributed, resulting in a separation between the outer band of sunrays and the inner lotus

ring and the central lotus. The detailed dissection of numerous black lines lessens the due proportion of white space in the outer band; on the other hand, the inner motifs are profusely enriched by white spaces.

Thirdly, the lettering on the outside with its Sanserit character destroys the unity of the whole design.

So far as the symbolical meaning of the crest is concerned, we are absolutely helpless in getting at its meaning unless we have an explanatory note from the authorities of the University.

The note concludes with an appeal to the University to change the crest once again "for the sake of artistic dignity."

The Pursuit of Happiness

Self-expression is the most active source of mental satisfaction. Writes K. N. Dutt in *The Aryan Path* :

Perhaps the greatest antidote against dejection is self-expressions. Self-expression needs two things the idea and the medium. The painter and the sculptor are essentially similar persons, but their mediums of expression, are different, colour and stone. Music, body-rhythm as in dancing, clay, wood, are all mediums through which ideas can be expressed. We cannot properly say that the plain carpenter who joins a simple chair is expressing an idea, as we cannot say that the garrulous fool who rhymes a ditty has expressed an idea in the way that Byron expressed one in his "Isles of Greece," or the fourteenth century woodworkers have in the Venetian Cathedrals. No work almost wholly mechanical can be called self-expression. Yet it would be foolish to condemn all work which falls short of the standard of Byron and Venice, as non-expression. There are degrees descending into non-expressive, mechanical efforts and also ascending beyond measure.

Self-expression not only counteracts dejection, it produces new happiness. By not expressing something of your own (and this is the way most people go through life), you leave unexplored an active source of satisfaction; if you leave unexpressed something really strong and clear in you, something that is urging for an outlet, like lava in the earth's bowels, then you will be miserable. It is usual for persons with such marked tendencies to discover a medium and use it. Nothing can restrain them. But the plain man must, with conscious effort, try to increase self-expression as he would increase his physical fitness with exercise.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Genius of Indian Sculpture

In Hindu Sculpture, apart from its spiritual and symbolical character, there are certain plastic qualities (observed Sir William Rothenstein in the course of the Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture delivered to the Royal Society of Arts, London, and published in the *Journal* of the society) of breadth, volume and poise which seem to be unique. No people, continued the speaker, has been so profusely inventive as the Indian People: their iconography is the richest, the most exuberant ever evolved from human brain. There is a tendency to pass too lightly over this prolific creation of forms, of gestures and attitudes perfected by the Indian genius, but this creative fertility is in itself an astonishing, a supreme achievement, the more so since the Indians showed, in the forms they conceived for their gods, an equally abundant plastic inventiveness.

Nowhere have the plastic qualities of the human form, both male and female, been better understood and rendered than by Indian sculptors. They are early apparent in the heavy Mauryan figures, and again in the reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi. In all these we see the subtle use the Indian carvers made of jewellery and ornament, which in contrast to their rigidity gave a quality of radiant breadth and smooth roundness to the nude form. This sense of the part which jewelled ornamentation can play is apparent in every phase of Indian art, Buddhist, Brahminic and medieval. I have in mind the enthusiasm of Degas and Rodin when I showed them, late in their lives, photographs of the great Mathura figures. Here was an art which was the reverse of spiritual. Never has the radiance, the unity of form, been better expressed in sculpture than in these strangely fascinating sensual figures. Here, indeed, one gets the sense of volume, so often referred to by writers on art today, but volume combined with grace.

The early carvings of Bharhut and Sanchi, flatter in relief than the Mathura figures though many of them are, show a similar sense of volume. Buddhist art was concerned less in its earlier phases with philosophical conceptions than with episodes of the life and legendary existences of the Buddha. But already in Buddhist art appear the Ariel-like Apsaras, at the same time so delicately spiritual and sensuous, which appear throughout Indian art. In the Apsara figures the artist was able to express the grace of the feminine spirit detached from homestead or household. The Apsaras take an equally important place in the Buddhist, Brahminist and Jain carvings. A conception so racial was not to be changed with the forms of religious dogma.

If the Gupta carvings show less profound sense of form than we see in the figures from Mathura, they

have a peculiar refinement. The grace and subtle charm which they gave to the figures, standing or seated, of the Buddha had a permanent influence on the Buddhist art of Java and the further East.

After the refined art of the Gupta period, a refinement which often accompanies the later stages of a once powerful movement, there was now to arise, with the return of Brahminism, a vigorous religious impulse, which finally drove Buddhism from the continent of India, to find a permanent refuge in Ceylon and to flourish anew in Java, Cambodia and Angkor.

The story-telling of Sanchi and Bharhut, the subtle and complex spirit of Amaravati and Sarnath, are now to give place to a new dynamic conception of the universe. The range and audacity of this movement in sculpture, consequent on the return of the older religion, is astonishing. If ever there was meaning in the legend that images lie hidden in blocks of stone awaiting only the blows of the sculptor's mallet to be set free, then the cave carvings of Elephanta and Ellora show the truest form of sculpture. Not from single blocks of stone or marble, but from solid hillsides complete temples were hewn. Elsewhere, figures have been applied to buildings. In India the entire fabric, with its halls and courts, its roofs and supporting shafts, its sculptured figures and enrichments, was conceived and produced from the womb of the earth itself.

Were today a great expressive art within our compass, there could be no fitter interpretation of our present atomistic conception of matter and energy than these carvings of Elephanta and Ellora.

The Indian craftsmen served many masters, giving permanent form to what was fluid and transient. The same genius which perfected the rapt contemplative repose of the Buddha also evolved the symbol of perpetual movement. These two inventions, with their many variations, have formed the body and spirit of Far Eastern art. Not the least original of these forms were conceived when Tantric ideas were giving a new shape to Hinduism. In the medieval temples the Apsaras become so prolific as almost to overwhelm the gods and goddesses they serve. To me, the mastery displayed in these stone carvings which, on account of their number, must have been executed by ordinary craftsmen, is astonishing. In each of these figures, playing in and out of the light and shadow of the mouldings, there is unflinching plastic beauty, a strange, somewhat disquieting sensuous energy and subtlety of movement; while the sense of design and rhythm concentrated in each of the hundreds of figures used to enrich mouldings, plinths, capitals and door-jambs in a single temple is unflinching.

Soviet Wages

Vera Micheles Dean discusses in the *Foreign Policy Reports* some problems of labour in the U. S. S. R.:

Critics of the Soviet system declare that the Soviet government—sole employer of labor in the country—pays workers and office employees starvation wages.

The Soviet authorities point out that, in addition to his nominal wages, the worker receives "socialized wages," which include social insurance benefits, vacations on full pay and, in some cases, reduced rent and free light and fuel.

While Soviet nominal wages followed a rising curve after 1928, the cost of food rations in government stores and factory "closed shops" steadily increased until 1935, and workers found it difficult to obtain many necessities of life except in the open market, where exorbitant prices prevailed. The real wages of the Soviet worker in terms of purchasing power were thus frequently much lower than his nominal wages. On January 1, 1935, following two excellent harvests, the government abolished bread cards, permitting the workers to purchase bread freely in government and co-operative stores. To counteract the rise in the price of bread, which was fixed midway between the old breadcard prices and those prevailing in the open market, the government decreed an increase in workers' wages. On October 1, 1935 all food cards were abolished, and the prices of many foodstuffs were reduced 30 per cent. The Soviet authorities expect that, with the increased production of consumers' goods anticipated under the third Five-Year Plan, prices will be further reduced, leading to a marked rise in the workers' purchasing power. Some foreign observers contend that, in the meantime, the prices of most consumers' goods are so high that the budget of the average worker's family is sufficient only to cover the bare necessities of life, without allowing any margin for entertainment, education, medical service or expenditures on extra clothing and furniture.

While it is true that some foodstuffs and most consumers' goods remain out of reach of the average worker's family, rents in the Soviet Union are relatively low. Housing, however, is as yet wholly inadequate, both in old cities like Moscow, which suffer from overcrowding while undergoing reconstruction, and in new industrial centers, where housing has not kept pace with the influx of workers. New apartment houses erected for workers are built on utilitarian lines, and furnished with such modern conveniences as baths, gas and electricity.

Expenditures for various forms of social service were estimated at nearly 6 billion rubles under the 1938 plan. Of these 654 million will be spent on the care of children; over one billion on sanatoria, rest homes and health resorts; two billion for temporary disability; and one billion for maternity pensions and subsidies to large families—as compared with 376 million in 1936, when abortion was prohibited. The government also provides free education and medical service, stipends for students, and other benefits. Due to the relatively slow development of construction for social welfare as compared with heavy and defense industries, these benefits are as yet restricted to a small percentage of the workers. Thus, according to the 1938 plan, passes to rest homes, resorts and sanatoria will be issued to 2,700,000 out of about 26 million industrial, office and other workers eligible to social insurance benefits.

Where Japan rules in China

The China Weekly Review publishes a typical account of the misery of the Chinese districts now under Japanese occupation, from which only brief extracts can be made here. Robbery, burning, rape, murder: everywhere it is the same story:

Along the public road (in a rural area of the lower Yangtze Valley), a large number of farmers' cottages were burned as the Japanese progressed. More than a hundred peasants, young and strong, who tried to run for safety upon sighting the Japanese, were indiscriminately shot to death on a length of road about ten miles. In the city, doors, partitions, tables, chairs, and window-frames were the soldiers' fuel. Fires for heat continued day and night, and the soldiers never cared whether the houses they occupied were consumed or not. If one house caught fire, they moved to the next. From a great distance, one could see distinctly the smoke of fire by day and the light of flame by night. Many a time soldiers deliberately put incendiary materials in houses, laughing loudly.

The record of killing is equally appalling. The people of the interior had never before heard that a person might be killed at will by anybody. One ordinary civilian was instantly killed because he gave a military salute to a soldier, intending to show his cleverness and to impress the soldier that he knew the manners of the guild. Two women jumped into the water and were drowned while trying to escape from raping. Three brothers were simultaneously shot because the soldiers saw a picture of a uniformed person in their home. The head of one pao (unit of a hundred families) lost his life because a stray group of soldiers did not succeed in extracting money from the people in a remote village, where there were strong militia units.

Except for one market town in which life and property remained relatively intact, the whole district was thoroughly looted. Not a single house escaped the visitations of soldiers. Many houses were ransacked numerous times in one day. All the bedding with good covers, and the iron kitchen pots, were taken away to other place in heavy trucks. Rifling of pockets was the universal habit in those days. A person who failed to keep some money on his body was liable to be whipped and kicked. The peasants who came into the city with vegetables or rice for sale were many times robbed by the

The China at War publishes an account showing how two Chinese girls avenged the murder of their father, who was bayoneted to death by Japanese soldiers. The story is related by a surviving cousin:

To my great astonishment, the girls acted in what seemed to me the most disgusting way towards the Japs. They acted as if they were their sweethearts. One of the soldiers saw me and wanted to kill me but the girls smiled at him and took hold of his arms before he could strike. I ran back to tell my wife and my cousin's sister-in-law. We all sighed in disgust. We waited till they went away and fled to a neighboring town ten miles away.

On the third day after we had arrived there, I met one of the girls, who was evidently fleeing from danger. I asked her what had happened and what had become of her sister. The story she told me revised all my opinion about her and her sister.

When the girls heard of the tragic killing of their father, they decided on a revenge. So they set their mind on two of the Japanese. They took the Japanese out to a place near the river, where they played all sorts of games. Finally they agreed to play hide and seek by tying their feet to a long string. One of the girls sneaked away the bayonet belonging to one of the Japanese and hid herself behind a tree on the bank of



Japanese atrocities in China: execution of Chinese civilians

the river. When the Japanese came near her, she drove the bayonet through his heart with all her might. She then cut off the string and pushed him into the river. Then followed a struggle between them and the other Japanese who was tied between the two girls. The result was that all fell into the river. When she was rescued by a passing boat, both her sister and the enemy had been drowned.

Workers' Education in France

E. and G. Lefranc, secretaries of the Workers' Education Centre of the General Confederation of Labour, bring out the special aims of workers' education as organised by the Confederation, in a paper contributed to the *International Labour Review*. The workers' education movement of the Confederation has three aims: to encourage the use of leisure for educational purposes, to strengthen trade unionism and to develop a new humanism:

THE USE OF LEISURE FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

The legislation of 1936 introduced the 40-hour week and holidays with pay—advances of inestimable value for the dignity of the working class. The dangers involved in the utilization of the additional spare time, however, rapidly became clear. Efforts must be made to protect the worker against idleness on the one hand, and on the other hand against a false conception of leisure in which the free time is used for odd jobs with a view to earning some additional money. In the choice of recreation also there are many errors to be corrected. The worker is often attracted by entertainments of poor artistic quality or of dubious moral character which are brought to his notice by flashy advertisements. He cannot be expected to avoid this danger if he is left uneducated and with his taste untrained.

Another serious problem is that of combating a craze for sport among the younger generation of workers:

The present writers fully appreciate the value of enthusiasm for sports, which means enthusiasm for health and healthy contact with nature. But this enthusiasm must not be all-absorbing; the sportsman's joy in his own strength must not be allowed to lead to overtaxing that strength and, as happens more frequently than might be thought, to a scornful indifference for every type of intellectual recreation. It is therefore important to counterbalance this craze for physical activity during spare time by a movement in favour of intellectual activity.

STRENGTHENING TRADE UNIONISM

The main purpose of the system of workers' education organized by the Confederation is naturally to strengthen the trade union movement.

DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW HUMANISM

The third, and by no means the least important, of the aims of workers' education is cultural enfranchisement. The workers must be made to understand that they have to fight to abolish the monopoly of knowledge which has in the past made such abnormal differences between individuals. The worker who has been unable to continue his school career as he would have wished, and who has only fragmentary and confused recollections of his school subjects, must be helped to free himself from the resulting sense of humiliation. That is the purpose of the labour colleges, which give the worker an opportunity of developing his personality more completely.

What is true of enfranchisement individually is also true collectively. The working class demands new rights, but there are no rights without responsibilities and duties. The working class cannot hold what it has gained or make further advances unless it shows itself competent to accept new responsibilities—those of the supervision and management of economic life.

Censorship in North China : Suppression of Liberty in Japan

The Japanese military authorities have issued strict instructions to the Chinese press in North China, detailing what is forbidden and what must be published. Some of these instructions are reproduced here from the *Manchester Guardian* :

Setbacks to Japanese troops may not be published in editorials or news.

It may not be published that Japanese soldiers occupying a place are unable to preserve the peace.

It may not be published that Chinese soldiers are victorious.

It may not be published that Chinese airplanes bomb a place.

Defeats suffered by Japanese troops or things connected with them may not be published.

Foreign news telegrams may not be published if they are unfavourable to the Japanese.

It may not be published that peace does not reign, as according to wild rumors.

Financial disturbances may not be mentioned in the press.

No notice shall be taken if attempts should be made to put business men out of work, or if workmen and students should go on strike.

It may not be published if Japanese soldiers living in certain places pay less rent than was paid before, or if workmen receive lower wages, or if persons are dismissed, or if salaries are reduced, or if it is feared that there will be scarcity of food.

Nothing may be published concerning alleged Japanese teaching of licentiousness, reviling in depraved language, acquiring of bad manners, or corruption of good ones.

The press must be guided by the following considerations :

That the Japanese soldiers are fighting for a very high ideal by punishing and destroying Chinese opponents and the Communists. The Japanese want to create peace in the Far East, but decidedly they do not want to be hostile to the good Chinese people. All these points have to be understood clearly by the Chinese.

That the Japanese have come with a patriotic idea, because they are good friends of the Chinese people.

That they have left Japan for the heat and cold of China without their wives and children; that they have to undergo fatigue and all kinds of hardships; that they have to march through the rain of bullets; that they throw their lives away without hesitation.

That they do all this in order to make the Chinese people and future generations happier.

That the Japanese exert themselves for the sake of liberty and that under no circumstances have the Japanese any other intentions.

That, therefore, the Chinese people must co-operate with the Japanese Army. If this sacred duty is fulfilled by our joint efforts, then we will stabilize the Far East for a hundred years to come.

You cannot suppress liberty abroad and maintain it at home, as the following news item about attempts to crush liberal ideas in Japan, reproduced here from the *World Youth*, shows:

Considerable feeling has been roused in Japan by mass arrests of the intellectuals and students during the past weeks. In Nagasaki, last December, 372 persons, mostly writers and professors, were arrested. In February, 32 more suffered the same fate. Among them were Hyoye Ouchi, Professor of Economics of the Imperial University of Tokyo, and eight other professors of the same institution.

In a February session of the Japanese Diet Dr. Kotaro Tanaka, eminent scholar and head of the Faculty of Law at Tokyo University, was accused of "lack of piety" in his book, "Law, Religion, and the Sanctuaries of Shintoism."

In his attack on Dr. Tanaka, Admiral Suesugu, Minister of the Interior, declared, "I shall not hesitate to crush whatever liberal ideas may still exist in Japan. I shall proceed without mercy, above all against the Imperial University of Tokyo, which is a veritable nest of liberalism." Most of the imprisoned professors are graduates of Tokyo University, and enjoy, according to the press of Tokyo, a great popularity among students.

The police maintain a strict surveillance over all the universities of Japan, to the resentment of students.

Recently, due to a considerable resistance among students against being recruited for the war in China, the police raided cafes and other meeting places in Tokyo and arrested 2,800 young men, many of them students. This action was characterized officially as a "spiritual mobilization" intended to "save those demoralized youth who are unwilling to consecrate themselves to the national cause."

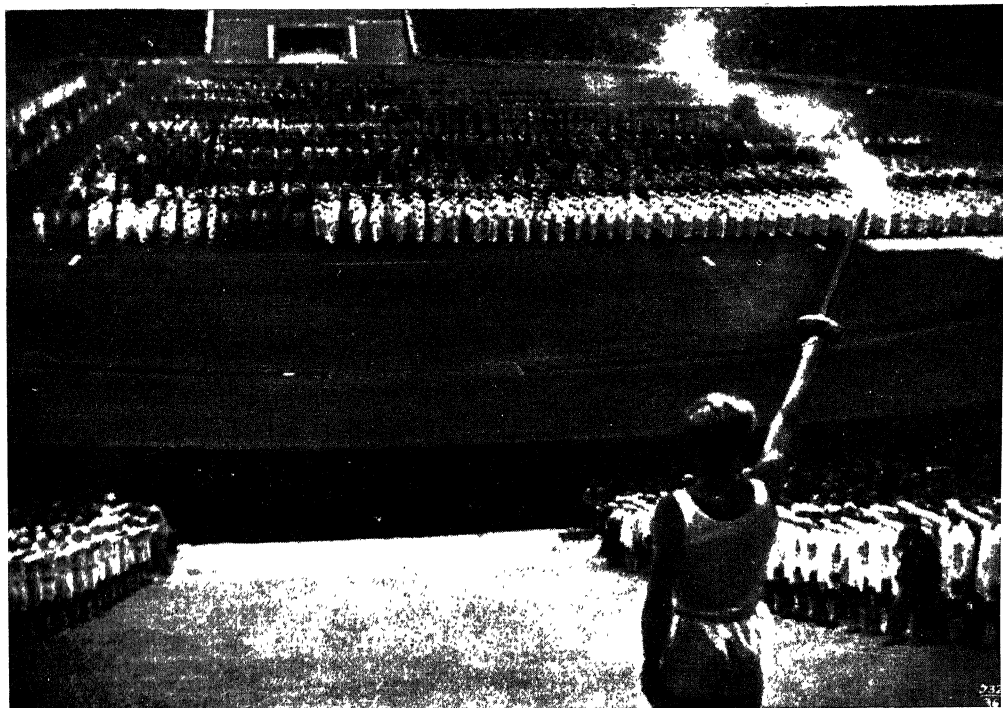
A NEW METHOD OF FILMING

The Pioneer Olympia Film

The great two-nights film of the Olympia Games in 1936, by Leni Riefenstahl, entitled "Olympia, Festival of Nations, Festival of Beauty," was shown in Berlin for the first time in Hitler's presence, on the occasion of his birthday, April 20th, in a thoroughly festive performance. But it was not the brilliance of the surroundings which stamped the performance as unique, but rather the impression of a real work of art, which the film left behind.

Frau Riefenstahl's Olympia film comes to us as a pioneer in a sphere which is hardly opened up, and yet perhaps holds the greatest future—that of the artistic recording of actual facts and incidents.

No higher or more difficult obligation falls on art than to develop the actual reactions of life to external stimuli. No one who sees the Olympia film will doubt that Frau Riefenstahl has fulfilled her task beyond all expectation. The



A scene from the Olympia Film produced by Leni Riefenstahl
 Syring, the last of the relay torch-bearers from Olympia in Greece, arrives at the Berlin Stadium



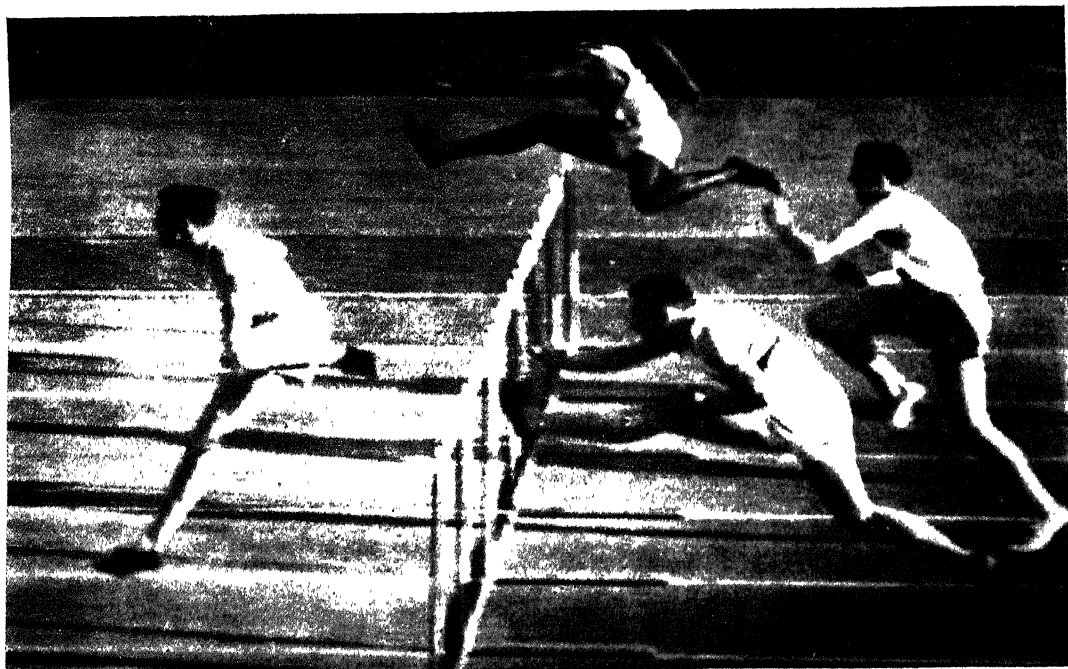
Leni Riefenstahl, the producer of the Olympia Film,
 at work



The "Picque" display by a gymnast
 at the end of the performance



The Italian Valla winning the 83 metres ladies race



The 110 metres hurdle-race in the last Olympic. Towns the American is in the lead and the Negro-American Pollard is clearing the obstacle

Schnitt and travelling film cameras exhibit the Grecian plastics in an entirely new light. The immortal figures of Achilles, Paris, Alexander the Great and Aphrodite, although photographed just as they are, appear to be alive, and it seems to be a sheer accident that the camera shows them in a single pose. Out of the concentrated strength and easy grace of the Disc Thrower of Myron, appears the figure of his modern counterpart—an artistic possibility known only to the film—the transition to present time is there.

The kindling of the Olympia Fire, and the running torch-bearers in their symbolical simplicity are worthy successors of their Grecian prototypes in the lonely valleys of Hellas. Again in very singular trick photos, one follows the succession of torch-bearers through the different countries right up to the Olympia Stadium in Berlin; here the eager expectancy of the assembled spectators is conveyed by a single aerial film.

In this film symbolism and realism are harmonised, and this is perhaps its highest achievement.

We lived through every phase of the 1500 metre race, won by Lovelock's clever tactical husbanding of his strength, as also in the 10,000 metre race where the three Finns, acting as if they were a team, defeat the plucky Murakoso from Japan, and in the officers' exciting contests in the modern five matches, and above all in the Marathon race. Not only the exterior struggle, but rather the inner emotional reaction on the gruelling track of 42.195 kilometres, until the final burst of fanfares proclaim Sieger Kitei Son the victor, while the remaining runners as they arrived, were acclaimed, not indeed for their victory, but for their endurance.

Then again the absolutely beautiful pictures of the gymnasts—of both sexes, and the artistic high diving in the swimming contests, where the tenseness of struggle has been discarded in favour of the rhythmic beauty of a perfect physique. The harmonising of art and technique—of which we have heard so much from the very first—here celebrates its ideal triumph.

AN EXHIBITION OF NAGESH YAWALKAR'S PAINTINGS IN AMERICA

By K

A display of modern Indian art was put on in Boston recently, at Doll and Richards' galleries. This was the one-man show of paintings by Nagesh Yawalkar, 23 year-old Indian artist who has been sent on a world journey by the Maharajah of Gwalior, noted patron and connoisseur, of whom a portrait appeared in the show. James G. Reardon, Commissioner of Education of the State of Massachusetts, formally opened the exhibition to the general public. Mr. Yawalkar had held his initial American display in New York.

The artist is the son of Trimbakrao Yawalkar, a prominent Indian sculptor, who carves statues in stones for temples and other important places. Beginning at the age of nine, the younger man learned drawing, painting and modelling under his father. His studies were completed in Bombay and Paris.

Most striking characteristic of his work is its variety. Of about fifty of his paintings of contemporary Indian Life, portrayals of Hindu

subjects and folklore. The Boston exhibit included thirty-seven oil and water-colors which were mostly appreciated.

"Lasya Dance," an indoor figure study, comes out in enamel-like detail and delicate rhythmic flow. Such panels as "Buddha" and "Dance of Siva" reflect the flat style and pure abstract feeling of ancient oriental art.

Numbered among the Boston sponsors were Sir Herbert Ames; Mr. Hugh Alexander Ford, British Consul, Charles Frederick Weller, Executive of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Charles Hammond Gibson, Arthur F. Musgrave, F. B. A. Rundall, Mrs. Courtenay Crocker, Mrs. Charles R. Codman and Mrs. James R. Hooper.

In his search for true expression, Nagesh Yawalkar has made use of Chinese, Japanese and western tradition as well as his own. Any technique, he feels, becomes natural to the artist who can use it appropriately. "It is in this sense," he said, "that art is international."

WHAT IS BIHAR SOIL?

By P. R. DAS

As it is claimed by the Congress Ministry in Bihar that the Biharis are the children of the soil of Bihar and are entitled to all the privileges which appertain to them as such children, it is necessary to enquire into the question,—what is Bihar soil? I have elsewhere contested the proposition that there is any such thing called the Bihar soil; but I will assume for the purpose of the present enquiry that there is such a thing called Bihar soil of which the Biharis are the children. The question still remains,—what is Bihar soil?

I may point out that for centuries, Bengal and Bihar have been under one government. Maulavi Abdus Salam, the learned translator and editor of *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, has shown that from the days of Bakhtiar Khilji portions of Bihar and Bengal formed one government. In the time of Bakhtiar Khilji and his immediate successors, South Bihar was included in the Bengal viceroyalty. South Bihar was separated from the Bengal viceroyalty by Emperor Altamash in 622 H, and was placed under a distinct Governor named Alauddin Jani. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Bihar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler Ghiasuddin. It continued to be a part of the Bengal kingdom till 1320, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Bihar belonged to the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397. Again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Darya Khan, assumed independence in Bihar with the title of Shah Muhammad at about 1498. South Bihar again became more or less subject to the Musalman Kings of Gaur, Hussain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Under the early Moghul Emperors, Bihar was again formed into a distinct Subah but under the later Moghuls, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the great Bengal viceroyalty. North Bihar appears to have been generally included in the Musalman kingdom of Bengal. (See *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, page 59, footnote). It is clear from the above narrative that it is somewhat difficult to separate Bihar soil from Bengal soil. For good or for evil, the history of Bihar was bound up with that of Bengal for many centuries. Still an endeavour must be made to ascertain what in fact is Bihar soil.

For these purposes, we must obviously go to *Ain-i-Akbari*. My reference throughout will be to Gladwin's edition. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Subah Bihar has been divided into seven Sircars. (1) Sircar Bihar, which obviously included the modern districts of Patna and Gaya; (2) Sircar Monghyr, which included Bhagalpur; (3) Sircar Champaran; (4) Sircar Hajipur; (5) Sircar Saran; (6) Sircar Tirhoot, and (7) Sircar Rhotas. Later, Sircar Rhotas was divided into Sircar Shahabad and Sircar Rhotas. It is clear that we do not find either Purnea or Chota Nagpur or Santhal Parganas in Subah Bihar. So far as Purnea is concerned, there is no difficulty whatever; for Purnea is one of the Sircars in the Subah of Bengal. (See Vol. II, page 198). It is clear that the river Kosi formed one of the boundaries between Bengal and Bihar.

So far as Chota Nagpur is concerned, it is said that it has been shown in *Ain-i-Akbari* as part of Sircar Bihar. So far as I know, this theory is based upon a passage in a learned paper contributed by Prof. Blochmann to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. As I shall have to refer to this paper constantly, I may say that this is to be found at page 111 of Volume 40 of the Journal. Professor Blochmann says at page 117:

"Of Ramgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in Muhammadan historians. It must have been at an early time dependent on Bihar because Chai Champa, according to Ain, was a parganah belonging to Bihar."

It is significant to note that there is nothing in the Muhammadan historians to suggest that the hilly tracts of Ramgarh were subjugated by the Muhammadans. I do not myself find Chai Champa mentioned as one of the Mahals in the Sircar Bihar. I find, however, that Jacy Chempa is shown as a Mahal of Sircar Bihar. What ground is there for suggesting that Jacy Chempa is the same as Chai Champa of Hazaribagh District? I do not think that the reference is to Chai Champa of Hazaribagh for the following reasons:

(1). There is no record at all of the subjugation of Ramgarh by the Muhammadans at all. This is admitted by Prof. Blochmann.

(2). If Chota Nagpur was part of Subah of Bihar, the reference would not have been to

Chai Champa. I do not find Chai Champa even mentioned by name in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI. On the other hand, Chota Nagpur was well-known to the Muhammadan historians as Jharkhand. The domains of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur were also well-known to the Muhammadans by the name of Kokrah. It is quite impossible to accept the theory that Chai Champa, even if mentioned as one of the Mahals of Sircar Bihar, means Chota Nagpur, since the Muhammadan historians knew Chota Nagpur as Jharkhand and the domains of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur as Kokrah.

(3). Chutia Nagpur was over-run by the general of Akbar for the first time in 1585. (See Prof. Blochmann's paper, page 130.) Raja Todar Mull's Settlement of Bihar was in 1582, so that it was quite impossible for Raja Todar Mull to include any part of modern Chota Nagpur as part of Subah of Bihar.

I contend, therefore, that so far as *Ain-i-Akbari* is concerned, there is no pretence whatever for supposing that the modern division of Chota Nagpur was treated as part of Bihar.

Here I must sound a note of warning. Chutia Nagpur as the Muhammadans knew it, must not be confused with the modern Chota Nagpur. This is made clear by Prof. Blochmann at page 112, where he points out as follows:

"The Fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the E. I. Co. by Grant has still Chutea Nagpur. On Rennel's maps, we find 'Chuta Nagpur' and only in modern times, do we find 'Chota Nagpur,' as if it was 'Lesser Nagpur' in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near the modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Raja and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phani Mukuta, 'the serpent crowned,' the legendary ancestor of Chutia Nagvansi Rajas. Abul Fazl calls Chutia Nagpur by its old name Kokrah, which is still the name of one of its Parganahs. . . Kokrah was known at the Moghul Court for its diamonds and it is evidently this circumstance which led the generals of Akbar and Jehangir to invade the district."

It is necessary to remember this, because I have seen in responsible newspapers, the invasion by Akbar of Chutia Nagpur or Kokrah being referred to as the invasion of Chota Nagpur. This is a pure delusion. The Muhammadan emperors had no charm for the hilly tracts of Chota Nagpur. They were attracted to Kokrah or Ranchi because of its diamond mines; and, as I shall presently show, there never was an occupation of Chutia Nagpur or Kokrah by the Moghul Emperors. Their invasion meant the taking away of the diamonds from the dominions of the Ruler of Kokrah. At the present moment, it is sufficient to say that

Chutia Nagpur means Kokrah or the zamindary of the present Maharaja of Chota Nagpur and did not include either Ramgarh or the rest of the modern Chota Nagpur.

I think I am right in pointing out that Bihar, as Emperor Akbar knew it, did not include Chota Nagpur. The following passage on page 447 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI, is of interest:

"The hilly country now comprised in the Chutia Nagpur division remained independent both in name and in fact, during the Muhammadan period, until the Musalman Governors of Bengal and Bihar failed in their attempts to push their conquests farther to the east and therefore turned their arms towards the west and south. Their earliest inroads, however, were directed not against the frontier chiefdoms of Ramgarh and Palamau but against Kokrah or Chutia Nagpur proper, which was celebrated at the Moghul Court for the diamonds to be found in its rivers."

On page 450, it is pointed out that "natives of Bihar were considered foreigners in Chutia Nagpur." It is now said that the Biharis are the children of the Chota Nagpur soil.

It is to be remembered that Chota Nagpur properly belongs to the aboriginal tribes who have nothing whatever in common either with their neighbours of Bihar or with those of Bengal. Sir Hugh McPherson (as he afterwards became) points out as follows in his *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Santhal Parganas* on page 12:

"The striking proportion of the aboriginal elements marks the district out at once as a place apart from its neighbours in Bihar and Bengal. It finds its counterpart in the more retired districts of Chota Nagpur, being more strongly aboriginal than the two nearest districts of that division, Manbhum and Hazaribagh, which connect it with the great plateau of Central India."

Mr. Grand in his celebrated *Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* refers to Chota Nagpur, namely Palamau and Chota Nagpur, as "foreign dependent Government." He says that these districts are inhabited by people "who are an original savage race differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners from the Hindus."

If Chota Nagpur had ever become annexed to Bihar, it could only have become so annexed by conquest, and it would be ridiculous to say that Biharis are children of the soil conquered by the Muhammadans and annexed to Bihar for purely administrative reasons.

I now propose to deal with the different districts of modern Chota Nagpur division. I will first begin with Manbhum. The name Manbhum is of course the creation of Regulation

XIII of 1833. Pacheet was, however, familiar to the Muhammadan administrators. It is not mentioned in Todar Mull's Settlement at all; but Sircar Madarun is shown as the frontier Sircar of Subah Bengal. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, page 179.) Jaffar Khan's Settlement of 1722 shows that Pacheet is in Bengal. As is well-known, Todar Mull's Settlement divided each Subah into different Sircars. But Jaffar Khan adopted a different plan; he divided each Subah into different Chucklehs. Chuckleh Burdwan was formed out of Sircars Sharifabad, Madarun, Peschush, the greater part of Salimabad with a portion of Satgong and included the rich zamindary of Burdwan and one-third of Birbhum and the whole of the tributary districts of Bishenpur and Pacheet. (See Firminger's Edition of Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 189.) At page 198, Pacheet is described as "the large and western zamindary of Bengal, bounded by Chutea Nagpur and Ramgur the southern districts dependent on the Subah of Bihar." Pacheet is throughout shown as part of Bengal (See pages 248 and 259, 2nd Vol. Fifth Report) and situated in Sircar Madarun, Chuckleh Burdwan. (See Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 398.)

It is clear, I think, that Pacheet was part of Bengal in Muhammadan times.

In British times, there is no doubt whatever that Pacheet was part of the Dewanny lands inserted in the Settlement of Mohammad Reza Khan (See Appendix to the Minute of Mr. Shore dated 18th June, 1789, Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 128). It is to be noted that Mr. Shore, as he then was, was dealing purely with Bengal in his Minute dated 18th June, 1789. We then find that Pacheet was included within Birbhum. (See *District Gazetteer*, Manbhum, page 61.) This is distinctly acknowledged in Regulation XVIII of 1895 which brought into existence the jungle Mahals carved out of different districts. Section 2 of the Regulation provides as follows:

"The districts called jungle Mahals constituted in zillas of Birbhum, Burdwan and Madarun shall be separated from the jurisdiction of the magistrates of these zillas and placed under the jurisdiction of a district officer to be denominated 'Magistrates of the Jungle Mahals'."

Section 3 shows that Pacheet was taken out of the zilla Birbhum. It is clear that upto 1833 Pacheet was in Bengal.

Regulation XIII of 1833 placed certain tracts of countries under an officer denominated Agent to the Governor-General. By this Regulation, the District of Jungle Mahals was broken up and the estates of Sainpaharee, Sheergarh and Bishenpur were transferred to Birbhum and a new District called Manbhum was constituted

including, besides the present area of the district, the estates of Supur, Raipur, Ambika Nagar, Simla Pal, Bela Diha, Phul Khusma, Shamsunderpur and Dhalbhum. (See *District Gazetteer*, Manbhum, page 65). In 1838, the headquarters was removed to Purulia described then as "lying in the centre of the jungles." It follows that Manbhum was first created under Regulation XIII of 1833. It included not only Dhalbhum but also a large part of the present district of Bankura and Sheergarh now part of Burdwan. In 1845, Dhalbhum was transferred to Singhbhum. In 1871, Sheergarh with part of Pandra was transferred to Burdwan, and Chatna, etc., were transferred to Bankura. In 1879, Pargana Supur, Raipur, Ambika Nagar and certain other parganas were transferred to Bankura, thus reducing Manbhum to its present limit. By Act XX of 1854, the agency to the Governor-General was abolished and Chota Nagpur was formed and Manbhum became one of the districts of Chota Nagpur division.

I do not think that it can be doubted from the above recital of facts that Manbhum has from the earliest times been part of Bengal. It is said that Manbhum is part of Chota Nagpur. But this again is a delusion. It is a part of Chota Nagpur for administrative purpose by Act XX of 1854. Geographically, it is not part of Chota Nagpur. River Subarna Rekha forms the boundary between Manbhum and Chota Nagpur. The distinction is pointed out by Grant at page 399 and again at page 433, Fifth Report, 2nd Vol. He begins his analysis of the Finances of Bihar at page 432. He says that Subah of Bihar is naturally divided into nearly equal portions of territory, north and south of the river Ganges. So far as the northern part is concerned, he points out, that the Subah of Bihar is bounded on the east by the District of Purnea in Bengal. The other division according to him extends to south of the Ganges, 60 miles to the range of hills, and is divided from Bengal, on the east by a branch of the southern hills which, curving to the north, forms at its extremity near the banks of the Ganges, the boundary pass of Terriagharri on the confines of the district of Raj Mahal. I shall have to refer to the pass of Terriagharri hereafter to show that this was the boundary between Bengal and Bihar. But apart from these two grand divisions, he says, there is a third division, an elongated adjoining region still farther to the south which forms a part of Subah of Bihar, and which includes the modern subdivisions of Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur bounded on the west by Subah of

Allahabad and on the south by Orissa and on the east by Bengal.

I shall have to deal with Mr. Grant's point that Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur form parts of the Subah of Bihar; but it has to be pointed out at once that Chutia Nagpur is not the modern division of Chota Nagpur, as I have already shown. He is clearly referring to the modern district of Ranchi which was anciently known as Kokrah, famous for its diamond mines. The most important point in this statement is that Manbhum is not only not shown as part of Bihar, but is distinctly shown as part of Bengal. Mr. Grant has throughout shown Pacheet as in Bengal, and, in this passage, he says that Bengal is to the east of the highland district of Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur. We know that Manbhum is to the east of Ranchi district.

At page 390, dealing with Pacheet, after pointing out that it is situated in Sircar Madarun, Chuckleh of Burdwan, he says as follows:

"In the gross medium settlement of 1184, Raja Raghoonath Narain, the actual payment of Pacheet with the recent territorial annexation of Jilda stands rated only for 69,027 rupees exclusive of the rental of Sheergauty, Bellaghaut, comprehending the whole or part of the hilly districts of Ramgur, Nagpour etc., being Kokerah of Bihar, and therefore properly belonging to that Subah."

Here again Mr. Grant is drawing a line between Pacheet on the one hand and Ramgarh, Nagore (another name for the domains of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur) etc. on the other hand. According to him, it is clear that Pacheet is a part of Bengal, whereas Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur are parts of Bihar. There is no warrant for the suggestion that Manbhum has at any time been part of Chota Nagpur. As a matter of fact, there is no geographical entity known as Chota Nagpur before the Act XX of 1854. As I have already pointed out, Chutia Nagpur means the domains of the present Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur.

I can find no evidence whatever that any part of Manbhum was at any time part of Bihar. Evidence is conclusive that from the time we find Pacheet at all mentioned, it has always been regarded as part of Bengal. The census of 1931 shows that out of a total population of 18,10,890 in Manbhum, no less than 12,22,689 are Bengalees. Yet a Bengalee living in Manbhum is treated as an alien in Manbhum, whereas a Bihari is regarded as a child of the Manbhum soil. It is significant to point out that the Pacheet Raj family is governed by the Bengal School of Hindu Law. (See I.L.R. 4, Cal. page 91, and 42, C.L.J. at 402.)

As against the mass of evidence to which I have referred, there is in *Padishanamah*, the following passage:

"Bir Narayan the zamindar of Pacheet, a country attached to Subah of Bihar, was under Shah Jehan a commander of 700,300 horses and died in the 6th year (A.D. 1632-33)."

I have however shown that in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Pacheet has nowhere been shown as in Subah of Bihar whereas in all the subsequent Settlements, it has distinctly been shown as in Sircar Madarun, Subah of Bengal. As I have already pointed out, Chutia Nagpur, properly means the domains of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, which is in Ranchi district. This is pointed out in all District Gazetteers that I have been able to consult. For instance, we read in the *District Gazetteer* of Manbhum at page 53 that "Akbar about 1585 sent a force to subdue the Raja of Kokrah or Chutia Nagpur proper a country celebrated for its diamonds". In the *District Gazetteer* of Ranchi at page 59, speaking of the dialects spoken in Ranchi district, it is said that "the dialect is generally known as Nagpuria, or the language of the Chota Nagpur proper. In the Statistical Account of Bengal, dealing with Lohardaga, Vol. XVI, pages 362, it is pointed out that

"with the exception of a few villages belonging to the Ramgarh estate, the revenue payable is paid in Hazaribagh. The only estate in Chutia Nagpur proper paying revenue direct to Government is that of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur."

In Palamau District Gazetteer, at page 35 in dealing with the proposal to constitute Palamau as a separate district in order to secure greater efficiency of administration, the learned author points out

"that the people taken as a whole were as different from the inhabitants of the remainder of the district as the latter from the neighbour on the east and that the land tenures were as different from those in Chota Nagpur proper as the latter were from those in Lower Bengal."

It is clear that Chota Nagpur takes its name from Chutia Nagpur, which was anciently known as Kokrah.

Now coming to Chota Nagpur proper, that is the modern Ranchi district, the land of the Munda and Oraon races, I have already shown by reference to the paper contributing by Prof. Blochmann to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, page 111, that Chutia Nagpur means the domains of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur. Mr. Grant uses the name Kokrah as equivalent to Chutia Nagpur. Neither historically nor geographically nor ethnically is Ranchi a part of Bihar. This, I do not think, will be denied.

It will, however, be contended that Kokrah was conquered by the Muhammadans and was annexed to the Subah of Bihar. Assuming that the contention is correct, Ranchi soil nevertheless remains Ranchi soil. Let me take an illustration. If China is conquered by Japan today and is administratively made a part of Japan, can it be suggested for a single moment that the Japanese are the children of the Chinese soil? I do not think that anyone will answer the question in the affirmative. Let me consider, however, how far it is correct to say that Kokrah was conquered by the Muhammadans and made part of the Bihar Subah?

I turn again to Prof. Blochmann's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, which so far as I can see is the basis of the different accounts we get in the different Gazetteers. We find that in 1585 Shahbaz Khan Kambu sent a detachment to Kokrah which was famous for its diamonds and his men carried off much plunder. The Raja became a tributary. This is hardly a conquest. It was pure plunder and nothing more. We then find that in 1616 Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Bihar, overran Kokrah and took possession of its diamond washings. The quotation is from *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri* and it is said, "this district belongs to Subah Bihar and the river which flows through it yields diamonds." The Governors of Bihar sent frequently detachment into Kokrah but as the roads were fortified and the jungles impenetrable, the Muhammadans were satisfied with a tribute of "two or three diamonds." The exploits of Ibrahim Khan are then given in greater detail. It is said that Ibrahim Khan was preparing to invade Kokrah, and according to custom, the Raja sent a few diamonds, but Ibrahim was dissatisfied and invaded the district before the Raja could collect his men. Ibrahim deprived the Raja of the diamonds in his possession and also captured 23 elephants. Jehangir then says as follows: "The district is now subject to me and the diamonds found in the river are forwarded to Court." From another account in the possession of Col. Dalton and which is quoted in Prof. Blochmann's paper, it appears that Durjan Sal, who was then the ruler of Kokrah, was captured and taken a prisoner; but twelve years later, he secured his release, owing, it is said, to his ability in testing the diamonds and agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 6000. The possession of Kokrah was made over to the Raja and he was restored to his former rank including the right to sit on a chair in the presence of the Emperor. This is all that we get of the conquest

and annexation of Kokrah to Subah of Bihar. We read in the District Gazetteer of Ranchi at page 134 that "the subjection" of Kokrah "to the Moghuls was at first purely nominal. The Moghuls exacted no yearly tribute and were content with occasional raids into the country and carrying off as tribute a few diamonds which were found at the time in the Sankh river." After referring to the exploits of Ibrahim in the reign of Emperor Jehangir, the learned author says:

"Even after this, the Mahomedans exercised but little control over the internal affairs of the district and were content if they received a portion of the stipulated tribute."

In my opinion, it is quite impossible to say on the narrative which I have just given, that Kokrah was annexed to Subah of Bihar. It must be remembered that there was no occupation of Kokrah by the Moghuls but they merely imposed a tribute just as the British Government imposed tributes upon the feudatory states in India. In fact there was great doubt at one time as to whether the position of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur was not that of a feudatory Chief. This is dealt with at page 188 of the Gazetteer. The claim was based on a Resolution of 1789 which exempted the District from the Regulations and also on the fact that in the early days of the British administration, the Raja was given a free hand in the internal affairs of the district, the only interference being by the despatch of small detachments to secure the arrest of a criminal or to assist the Chief in realizing his dues from his subordinate tenure holders. The question was finally disposed of by the orders of the Government issued in 1824 in which it was held that the District had only been exempted from the Land Revenue Regulations and that the General Regulations applied to Chota Nagpur in the same way as to other parts of the Province.

There is no evidence at all that Kokrah was made an administrative Mahal of Subah of Bihar. Indeed from the admitted history, it could not have been so made. Admittedly the Moghuls did not occupy Kokrah nor did they interfere in the internal administration. They were at first satisfied with "a diamond or two" and later imposed a tribute and they were wholly satisfied if they could exact a portion of the tribute. I do not think that it is possible to argue that Kokrah ever became a part of Bihar so as to give the children of Bihar the right to claim Kokrah soil as Bihar soil.

But at the same time, it has to be admitted that the tribute was payable to the Governor

of Bihar and that, in this sense, it was "dependent on the Subah of Bihar". I have already said that Mr. Grant regarded Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur as parts of Subah of Bihar; but it is clear that he regarded them as parts of Bihar in the sense that they were tributary States and that the tributes were payable to the Governor of Bihar. They are throughout referred to as "foreign dependencies." For instance at page 198 (Fifth Report Vol. 2), he describes Chutia Nagpur and Ramgarh as "dependent on the Subah of Bihar." At page 399, he describes the hilly districts as "being the Kokerah of Bihar and therefore properly belonging to that Subah." He clearly used the word "Kokerah" as implying a foreign dependency. The word "therefore" is significant. The fact, according to him, is that it is a dependency of Bihar. He draws the inference that it properly belongs to that Subah. At page 433, he describes it as "a foreign dependent Government." The position is clear beyond doubt. Both Chutia Nagpur and, as I shall presently show, Palamau had to pay tribute to the Governor of Bihar; but the Governor had nothing to do with the internal administration, which throughout was in the hands of the local chief. This is the fact. If from this, it is legitimate to infer that the soil of Chutia Nagpur and Palamau became Bihar soil, then the inference can be made. But I do not think that it is possible to draw this inference.

I now come to Ramgarh. We read in the paper contributed by Prof. Blochmann at page 117 that

"Of Ramgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in Muhammadan historians. It must have been at an early time dependent on Bihar, because Chai Champa, according to Ain, was a parganah belonging to Bihar."

I have dealt with the argument of as to Chai Champa and I do not think that it can be said that the reference is to Chai Champa, as it is not even mentioned in Vol. XVI of the *Statistical Account of Bengal*. But it is most significant that there is no record that Ramgarh was ever conquered by the Moghuls and annexed to Bihar. If there is any such reference, I should like to hear of it. In my opinion, Ramgarh could at no time attract the Moghuls for the reason they never made any attempt to subjugate these hilly tracts. It is pointed out by Sir Hugh McPherson in his *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement in the Santhal Parganas* that the Moghuls made no impression on the hilly country. Kokrah attracted their notice because of the diamonds it possessed, but Hazaribagh possessed no diamonds and coal was not

thought of at that time. At any rate, if there was any attempt made by the Moghuls to subjugate Ramgarh and to annex it to Bihar, there must be records of it somewhere. If Prof. Blochmann is right that there is no record at all of any such subjugation, then I think, it must follow that Ramgarh retained its independence and was saved by reason of the fact that it was situated in a hilly and somewhat inaccessible part of the country.

We get a clue as to the true position from the manner in which Hazaribagh was dealt with directly after the Dewanny. We read in Vol. XVI of the *Statistical Account of Bengal* that in 1755 Mukund Singh was the Raja of Ramgarh and the recognised chief of the country (See page 18). His relative Tej Singh had the control of the rural levies which made up the local army. If this be a correct account, then it is hardly possible that Ramgarh was administratively a Mahal of Bihar in 1755. We read at page 18 that in 1771, Tej Singh "turned a traitor" and asserted his claim before Capt. Camac. Traitor to whom? If Ramgarh was a Mahal of Bihar and was transferred to the E. I. Co., by the Dewanny, then there was no question of treachery to Mukund Singh. The narrative proceeds to say that Tej Singh returned with a force under Lt. Goddard. Mukund Singh fled and Ramgarh was made over to Tej Singh for a tribute of 40,000 a year. This is the first time that we hear of the subjugation of Ramgarh in history. I think it is clear that Capt. Camac took advantage of the feud between the two cousins and succeeded in imposing his authority in Ramgarh. In Mr. Shore's celebrated Minute dated 18th June, 1789, respecting the Permanent Settlement of the land in Bengal Province, Ramgarh is treated as part of Bengal (See Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 92, paragraph 428). Ramgarh could hardly have been dealt with as part of Bengal if prior to Dewanny of 1765, it was part of Subah Bihar. Then there is a celebrated Regulation dated 23rd November, 1773, only a few years after the date of the Dewanny. This Regulation is of the utmost importance in determining what was regarded as part of Bengal and what was regarded as part of Bihar. By these Regulations, the Provinces were formed into certain grand divisions. The first grand division was to be managed at Calcutta. We are not concerned with it. The second grand division was to be managed at Burdwan and was to consist of, amongst others, Pacheet, Ramgarh, etc., the districts under the management of Capt. Camac. We know that Capt. Camac had much to do with the subjugation

tion of Ramgarh. In my opinion, this important State paper is conclusive upon the question that Pacheet and Ramgarh were both regarded as part of Subah of Bengal directly after the Dewanny. I do not for a moment contend that this shows that Ramgarh was part of Bengal. It cannot be part of Bengal because obviously it was conquered by Capt. Camac in or about 1771 and was annexed to Bengal purely for purposes of administration. I proceed with the Regulation. The sixth grand division under these Regulations was to be superintended by the present Chief and Council at Patna and to consist of the whole Province of Bihar with the exception of the separated districts as above mentioned. This is important. The fourth grand division contained amongst others Bhagalpur "including the annexations lately made to the latter from Monghyr." It is quite clear that the famous Regulation of 23rd November, 1773 considered that all the territories mentioned in the grand divisions first, second, third, fourth and fifth, appertained to Bengal except "the annexation made to Bhagalpur from Monghyr", which was part of Bihar although it was administered from Murshidabad. I must not be misunderstood. I am not for a moment suggesting that all the different districts shown as part of Bengal are in fact Bengal soil. That is not my point. It is obvious that the territory conquered and annexed to Bengal merely for the purpose of administration cannot be regarded as Bengal soil. But I rely upon it for the purpose of showing that neither Pacheet nor Ramgarh could properly be regarded as part of Bihar. This is, in my opinion, conclusive on the Regulation of the 23rd November, 1773, which will be found at page 200 of Colebrooke's Supplement. To sum up the position as to Ramgarh:—

(1). There is no record anywhere that Ramgarh was at any time conquered by the Moghuls and annexed to Bihar.

(2). On the other hand, we know that in 1755, Mukund Singh was the Raja of Ramgarh and the recognised chief of the country.

(3). We know that Capt. Camac took advantage of the quarrels between the two cousins and succeeded in imposing his authority upon Ramgarh.

(4). We know that directly after the Dewanny, Ramgarh was treated administratively as part of Bengal.

This is important. It could not have been so treated if it were part of Bihar.

I now come to Palamau. Sheista Khan marched upon Palamau in 1641-1642. Partab,

the Ruler, submitted. He offered to pay a tribute of 80,000 rupees. Sheista Khan accepted it and returned to Patna on the 12th February, 1642. In 1643, the tribute not having been paid, Zabardast Khan attacked Palamau. It is quite clear that up to 1643 notwithstanding two invasions, the Muhammadans had exacted nothing but promises from the Rajas. This will appear from Col. Dalton's note annexed to the paper submitted by Prof. Blochmann. (See Vol. 40 of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, page 31.) The third invasion in 1660 by Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar, was more complete. Daud Khan left Palamau in charge of a Muhammadan Fouzdar. The latter was removed in 1666 and Palamau was placed under the direct control of the Viceroy of Bihar. The Muhammadan influence did not last long having regard to the inaccessible nature of the country. The Muhammadans treated the country as a fief and did not interfere so long as the tribute was paid. To the south, the Chero Chiefs retained their independence, the north-west was controlled by the Muhammadan nobles (See *District Gazetteer*, Palamau, p. 24). There is an interesting passage quoted from *Sair-ul-Mutakharin* in the Palamau Gazetteer at p. 25. Nawab Hedayat Ali Khan, the father of the author of *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, was at one time Deputy Governor of Bihar. The Nawab undertook in 1740 to subdue the chieftains of the hilly country. The quotation is as follows:

"As he sought to raise his character and to acquire a renown, the Raja of Ramgarh became, of course, the object of his attention. This Raja was the most powerful Gentoo zamindar of the hills and so considerable and warlike, that the Viceroys of the Province had hardly any control over him. He was joined in that design by Raja Sundar Singh and Raja Jai Kishun Rai, both zamindars of the Palamau country as well as by some other zamindars of Siris, Kutumba, Shergati. Supported by such a confederacy, he laid siege to the fortress of Ramgarh and at last took it, after which he advanced some journeys more into the hilly country, and having settled it, he was taking some rest from the fatigues of that expedition, when on a sudden intelligence was brought by some trusty persons that Raghuji Bhonsla Pandit had sent his own Pradhan at the head of 40,000 horse to conquer Bengal, and that in a few days, they would pass close to him through the hills on their way to that country. He held consultations with his friends, as the forces he had with him were by no means equal to the task of barring the passage to such invaders. They all advised him to quit the hilly country, and he accordingly descended and encamped at the foot of that chain."

From this, it is quite clear that Ramgarh had never been subjugated by the Muhammadan and they treated Palamau as a fief. The tribute was paid to the Governor of Bihar

and if from this, it can be argued that Palamau became a part of Bihar, then the argument must prevail. I do not myself take that view. Palamau soil remained Palamau soil. It had its own chiefs who were virtually independent so long as they paid the tribute to the Muhammadan Governor of Bihar. The position of Palamau with reference to Bihar Government differed in no respect from the position of the feudatory chiefs in India to-day with reference to the Government of India.

At the date of the Dewanny, Palamau was practically independent. We read in the District Gazetteer of Palamau at page 26 that for a long time, the country had been in a state of disturbance owing to the struggles between the rival factions for the chieftdom. In 1722, a rebellion broke out in which the ruling Chief Ranjit Rai was murdered and his place taken by Jai Kishun Rai. A few years afterwards Jai Kishun was shot in a skirmish with some of Ranjit Rai's relatives. Jai Kishun's family fled to Gaya district and took refuge with one Udwant Ram, but in 1770, he took Gopal Rai, the grandson of the murdered Raja, to Patna and presented him to Capt. Camac as the rightful heir to the Palamau Raj. Capt. Camac promised the assistance of the British Government and it happened that about the same time, Jjunath Singh, Dewan under Chatrajit Rai, had declared before Mr. Bellam at Aurangabad that the Raja of Palamau would neither become a vassal of the British nor grant supplies to any British troops that might pass through the country. This declaration reaching Capt. Camac's ears, considerably hastened matters, and shortly afterwards, the British force appeared before Palamau forts. Palamau was formally taken possession of as a British Province in 1772.

My reading of the history of Palamau is this: it remained independent until 1772, although it had been conquered three times by the Muhammadans. It no doubt came under the sphere of influence of the Governor of Bihar. It never became annexed to Bihar. The utmost that can be said is that it was a tributary state in Bihar.

I now come to the position of Santhal Parganas. Santhal Praganas, as a district, came into existence in 1855, as a result of Act XXXVII of 1855. It was carved out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts.

Rennel's map of jungle terry of 1779 shows that the jungle terry district of 1772-79 as administered by Capt. Brooke and Brown included almost every portion of the present

Santhal Parganas and in addition a considerable tract to the west and north-west. Sir Hugh McPherson in his Settlement Report at page 12 says:

"The striking proportion of the aboriginal elements marks the district out at once as a place apart from its neighbours in Bihar and Bengal."

In Santhal Parganas, we find a historical boundary between Bengal and Bihar, Teliagarhi, 7 miles east of Sahibganj (See District Gazetteer, Santhal Parganas, page 284). Maulavi Abdus Salan points out in his translation of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* that the passes of Teliagadhi Sakrigali were considered the 'key' to Bengal (See page 139, foot note). In *Aini-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, page 28, we read that "in Sircar Monghyr, is a raised stone wall extending from the Ganges to the mountains and this wall is considered to be the boundary between Bengal and Bihar." There is reason to suppose that this wall referred to in *Ain-i-Akbari* is the pass of Teliagadhi. In the Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 373, we read that

"Raj Mahal was an important military Government, on the confines of Bengal towards Bihar commanding some of the mountainous passes into either country, particularly the famous barrier Terriagully, the possession of which was deemed of so much consequence in times of the hostile independence of the two neighbouring Subahs."

Raj Mahal as we know was the capital of Bengal for some years up to 1606 and it again became capital of Bengal when Shah Sujah became Governor of Bengal in 1637. In every financial statement that we get in the Fifth Report, Raj Mahal is shown as part of Bengal; and it could hardly be otherwise, because we know that Raj Mahal was for many years the capital of Bengal. The Regulation of 23rd November, 1773, to which I have already drawn attention is almost conclusive upon this point. We have in this important State document a complete definition of what was Bengal and what was Bihar. As I have already said, the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar were formed into grand divisions. The first grand division was to be managed at Calcutta. We are not concerned with this. The second grand division was to be managed at Burdwan and was to consist of, amongst others, Pacheet and Ramgarh districts under the management of Capt. Camac. The third grand division was to be managed at Murshidabad and was to consist amongst others of Raj Mahal and Bhagalpur including the annexations lately made to the latter from Monghyr and Jungle Terry districts under the management of Capt. Brooke. The fourth grand division was to be

managed at Dinajpur and was to consist of amongst others Purnea. The fifth grand division was to be managed at Dacca and we are not concerned with this. The sixth grand division was to be superintended by the present Chief and Council at Patna, and was to consist of the whole Province of Bihar except the separated districts of Monghyr as above mentioned.

My point is this. We have here a complete definition of the Province of Bihar which included all the territories except those mentioned in the grand divisions number one to five; but it included the separated districts of Monghyr, etc., although for administrative reasons, they were to be managed at Murshidabad. It is clear that Bengal included Pacheet, Ramgarh, Raj Mahal, Jungle Terry districts under the management of Capt. Brooke, and Purnea. Sir Hugh McPherson's Settlement report at page 9 tells us that the jungle terry districts included almost every portion of the present Santhal Parganas and in addition a considerable tract to the west and north-west. Sir Hugh McPherson points out that Renne's map of Jungle Terry prepared within a few years of the assumption of the Dewanny is a most valuable index to the condition of the country in the first years of the British administration. I ask with all humility, how can Santhal Parganas be regarded as Bihar soil?

It is unnecessary for me to pursue the point, but I respectfully ask anyone interested in the question to peruse Sir Hugh McPherson's Report. He points out that the south of Raj Mahal was

the division of Kalikapur, which coincides more or less with the present sub-division of Pakur and that the northern portion of Kalikapur coincide with Pargana Ambar and that the south with Pargana of Sultanabad and that Ambar and Sultanabad formed part of the zamindari division of Rajshahi (See page 25).

He also points out that southern and south-western portion of the district formed part of the zamindari of Birbhum which was included in Sircar Madarun, which as we know, was a Sircar in Subah Bengal. Sir Hugh sums up the whole position in these words at page 24: "Of the district as we know it, five-sixths appertained to the Subah of Bengal", and yet the whole of this territory is considered to be Bihar soil to which Biharis have a natural right.

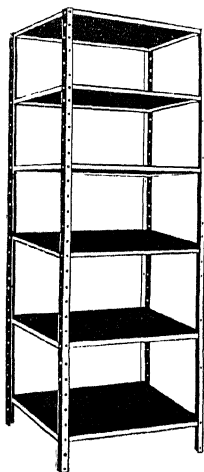
From a reference to the different authorities to which I have referred, we can draw the historical boundary between Bengal and Bihar. In the north, River Kosi was the boundary, Purnea belonging to Bengal. Lower down, Teliagadhi pass was the boundary, and five-sixths of the modern Santhal Parganas was within Bengal including the important places like Raj Mahal, Pakur, Dumka and Deoghur; and lastly river Subarna Rekha was the boundary between Bengal and Chutia Nagpur. My conclusions are that Purnea, five-sixth of modern Santhal Parganas, and the whole of Manbhum were parts of Bengal, and that the rest of the modern division of Chota Nagpur and one-sixth of modern Santhal Parganas did not belong either to Bengal or to Bihar.



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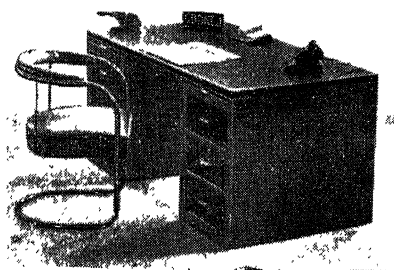


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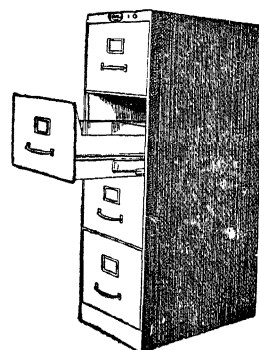
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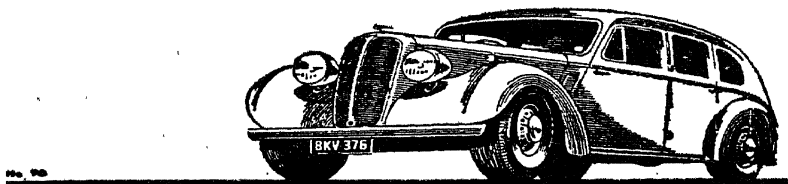
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THE TRAGEDY OF THE INDIAN MATCH INDUSTRY

By X

THE match box—a very common article of necessity in our modern life—will after some time be supplied to the people in India entirely by foreign concerns. Perhaps, the statement sounds surprising but if the course of events in the Indian Match Industry is examined a little more carefully, the truth of the remark will be evident.

It was in March 1922 that the Government of India increased the revenue duty on imported matches to Rs. 1-8 per gross. The duty amounted to 100 to 200 per cent *ad valorem* and Indian industrialists were quick to perceive the advantage it held out if an indigenous match industry was started in India. Machinery was soon imported and genuine match factories began to work at various centres in the country. Since pre-war days, however, the large Indian market for matches was supplied by Japan, Sweden and various other European countries. In 1912-13 out of the total imports of 15.12 millions gross of boxes in India, about half *i.e.*, 7.29 millions were supplied by Japan. In the years of war, imports from European countries practically ceased and Japan consolidated her position in the Indian market by claiming 10.74 millions out of the total Indian imports of 11.11 millions in 1918-19. Sweden, however, could not afford the loss of the Indian market and the several Swedish Companies which combined and formed the Swedish Match Company in 1917 soon prepared for the grim struggle to recapture the Indian market from Japan. The year 1923-24 found Japan losing much of the ground covered during the war years, for imports into India from Sweden had risen to 5.15 millions whereas those from Japan stood at 5.55 millions gross—the proportion of both the countries being nearly equal. The imposition of the revenue duty by the Government of India in 1921 and its increase to Rs. 1-8 in 1922 gave a filip, as observed above, to the Indian Match Industry which came as a powerful rival both to Japan and Sweden. But it was not long before Sweden found out the way, usually followed by manufacturing countries, of circumventing the protective duty by establishing factories within the tariff wall. Between 1924 and 1926 six factories were started at various

places in India by the Swedish Match Company. In 1926-27, the total market secured by Sweden by way of imports was about 50% while imports from Japan were reduced to about 6% of the Indian demand. The 44% of the demand lost by Japan was supplied by the factories of the Swedish Match Company in India and of the Indian Match Manufacturers, who had only recently entered the field. It will be evident that the Indian Match Manufacturers had therefore, now to face competition principally from the Swedish Match Company.

The name of Ivar Kreuger needs no introduction. It was through his efforts that two of the largest and the oldest of the match factories in Sweden known as the Jongkoping Company and the Vulean Match Works formed a combination and absorbed also five more concerns. Eleven other companies formed a second combination called the United Swedish Match Factories. In 1917 when Sweden had lost much of its foreign trade, the two combinations united under the name of the Swedish Match Company with Ivar Kreuger as its Chairman. It will be interesting to form an idea of the huge resources and the political influence, this company can wield. In 1927, the capital of the Company stood at £15,000,000. The Swedish Match Company with its subsidiary company—the International Match Corporation, incorporated in U. S. A., have acquired a dominant control over the capital invested in the manufacture of matches in more than 30 countries of the world. Not only are some of the most powerful Banking organisations in London and New York interested in the Swedish Match Company and the number of subsidiary companies brought into existence by it, but Governments of various countries also take loans from them. About 80 million dollars have been advanced to the French Government at 5% by the Swedish Match Company and in the balance sheet of the International Match Corporation for 1926, it was shown that advances to various other Governments amounted to about 22½ million dollars. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Company enjoys a number of privileges, concession and monopolies throughout the world. It is estimated that about 70% of the total world's

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| S. S. "Jalapadma" | 6500 |
| S. S. "Jalamani" | 6500 |
| S. S. "Jalabala" | 6000 |
| S. S. "Jalatarang" | 4900 |
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demand has been supplied by the Swedish Match Company. In more than 25 countries, the Company has either a complete monopoly granted by the Government or a virtual monopoly acquired in different ways. It may be mentioned here that the Western India Match Co., and its allied concerns working in India are the subsidiary companies of the Swedish Match Company.

The Indian Match Manufacturers had therefore now to contend against these Swedish concerns and one Japanese concern established in India called the Calcutta Match Works Ltd. With their vast resources and experience of over 80 years, the competition from these concerns which the Indian Manufacturers have had to face is decidedly formidable. The Swedish Company claims that it has a moral right to extend its operations in the Indian market. The late Mr. Ivar Kreuger in his memorandum regarding the match trade in India said :

"For half a century the Swedish Match Industry has had a firmly established trade in India. Under such conditions it seems that the Swedish Match Company has a strong moral claim to participate in the Indian Match trade and the efforts made by the Swedish Match Company to maintain or strengthen its position in India ought not to be regarded as unjustified or aggressive."

The measures adopted by the foreign companies in India, however, appear to be directed more towards killing the Indian Industry than towards a fair participation in the Indian market. It was as far back as 1935 that Indian commercial bodies drew the attention of the Government of India to the unfair competition and the price-war waged by the foreign match concerns in India. The undercutting of prices has been such as would leave no margin of profit to the Indian Manufacturers. Match boxes containing sixty sticks have been sold at Rs. 2/1/- per gross and if the Excise Duty of Re. 1/8/- per gross paid to the Government of India under the Act of 1934 is deducted, it can be seen how the sale price has been reduced to the lowest margin. Both the Western India Match Co., and the Calcutta Match Works have undercut the prices so much that the Indian Factories have found the competition practically ruinous. Moreover, several rebates and discounts are offered by these concerns to the dealers and vendors of matches, if they undertake not to sell matches manufactured by any other factory. Such rate or discount is generally paid at the end of the year. Moreover, when a further reduction in price is effected, the same is calculated on the stock

already sold and at times such a refund is given to the dealer only if he undertakes to buy more cases. This procedure induces the match dealer to confine his orders only to these concerns. It needs hardly be added that only on account of their vast resources the foreign concerns can afford to give so many concessions. It will be interesting to note here that in a recent circular issued by the Western India Match Co., even prizes are offered to the match dealers. For instance any person who buys 25 gross of the 'sea fisher' matches—one of the labels of the Company—is deemed to have secured half a point and is awarded a silk *chaddar*. Similarly a person buying 500 gross i.e., 10 cases would be entitled to 13 *chaddars*. Moreover, the propaganda carried on by these foreign concerns by means of circulars, cartoons, etc., is surprising. The Tariff Board on the Match Industry remarked in their report :

"At the same time we have seen advertisements of the Swedish Match Co., which in some cases explicitly, in others by implication, condemn the products of all Indian Match Factories without reserve. We must confess that it strikes us as curious that a foreign firm should repay the hospitality offered to it by India by belittling the quality of Indian Manufacturers as a class, or indeed that the Swedish Match Company considered that its interests were best served by methods of advertisement which could not but stir up animosity".

This unfair competition which the Indian Match Manufacturers have to face has already resulted in about 25 to 30 Indian Factories having been closed. About 17 Indian Factories have been closed in Bengal alone. The following figures would give an idea of the growing production of the Western India Match Co.:

| (In cases of 50 gross) | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| Year. | | Indian | | Percentage, | |
| | | Factories. | Wimco. | Wimco. | Indian |
| 1935 | .. | 50,860 | 61,311 | 45% | 55% |
| 1936 | .. | 39,113 | 38,694 | 50% | 49½% |
| 1937 | .. | 58,743 | 28,888 | 67% | 33% |

The remaining Indian factories also find it very difficult to face the unfair competition and the relentless price-war from such powerful rivals. Moreover, the Match Excise Duty Act, 1934, has fixed the minimum duty as Re. 1/- per box of not more than 40 sticks. The result, however, has been that the foreign concerns have got an additional advantage. Indian manufacturers hitherto sold two half-size boxes for a quarter of an anna. But the duty being the same now, the purchaser whether he buys half size or full size match box has to pay the price of one pice and the full size boxes are

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1. Our Marble Factory is the biggest and the only concern of the East which is equipped with the up-to-date machineries for Sawing, Cutting Polishing, Chipping and Air machine for ornamental work, and therefore surest guarantees it holds for first class workmanship.

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3. **Economic point of view :—**

- (a) Sawing machine saves the duty on the sawing charges of Italy as well as helps in employing Indian labour.
- (b) Chipping machine is to utilise even the smallest broken pieces.
- (c) Even the dust is sold. So the Company has no wastage whatsoever.

4. **Our employees are all Indians and the capital is also Indian.**

5. The quality of our work is shown by the work at Nawab Sir K. G. M. Farouki's house at Store Road, Ballygunge, the Alipore house of Mr. P. R. Das, Patna, Mr. H. C. Ghose's house at Rash Behari Avenue, etc.

International Marble Co., Ltd.

Office :—2, MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA.

Phone : Cal. 1020.

Gram : "Marblite"

Works : 5, Braunfled Row (Alipore)

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Phone : South 1162

consequently sold in larger number than half-size boxes, which the Indian factories manufactured. In order to comply with the public demand the Swedish Match Company floated a subsidiary enterprise a couple of months ago. Even in this concern, only half the issued Share Capital has been offered to the public in India for subscription while the controlling interests and the management are retained in the hands of the Swedish Match Co. But as clearly pointed out in the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee in April last, no company can be considered to be genuinely Swadeshi unless, not only its capital but also its management and controlling interests are in Indian hands.

It cannot be gainsaid that the time has now come when the Government of India should examine the whole position created by such unfair competition. As early as 1927, the Tariff Board stated :

"We do not think that in the present circumstances any action is called for against the Swedish Match Company on the ground of unfair competition. But taking into account the vast resources of the company and the policy pursued by them in other countries, it is necessary that future developments of the company in India should be watched. Should such developments indicate that the company is acquiring undue control to the detriment of the Indian Industry, we recommend that Government should take steps to safeguard the Indian Industry."

The avowed object of the Swedish Company is to secure a position in every possible market of the world, which would enable it eventually to regulate prices. It is natural that the acquisition of merely a major part of the demand of a country will not enable it to achieve this object. If no measures are taken to check the unrestricted competition offered by the foreign concerns, it is clear that the Indian concerns operating in the field would soon be eliminated. The severe competition entered into by the company in Belgium before it acquired a virtual monopoly in that country should serve as a reminder to the Government of India. The President of Belgium Match Manufacturers stated in 1927:

"The price-war which the cartel (meaning the Swedish Match Co.) is capable of carrying on during years in all countries to which Belgium can hope to export matches is formidable. It is a matter of public notoriety that last year a Belgian Factory was compelled to go into liquidation on account of the price-war; the assets realised in the liquidation were not enough to pay even 10% to the shareholders."

The Indian Tariff Board has also stated that

"it must be admitted that the resources of the Swedish Company are sufficient, if it is so desired, to crush for a time all competition from Indian firms and capture for itself the whole of the Indian market."

The need for intervention of the Government to help the Indian Manufacturers to carry on their legitimate activities can therefore no longer be doubted.

An important aspect of the question which should not be lost sight of here is the production of matches as a cottage industry. Though the Tariff Board dismissed the matter perfunctorily the question needs to be examined and carefully studied.

What Indian commercial bodies had proposed to the Tariff Board was that

"a Central Sale Organisation should be started which should be entirely Indian in management and capital and that it should control the manufacture and sale of matches, both local and imported. This sale organisation should fix a price for the purchase of the products of manufacturers such price being fixed separately for each manufacturer on the basis of his cost price plus a percentage of depreciation etc., provided such price shall not be unreasonable having regard to the average cost of manufacture by Indians. All the match factories should be licensed and a quota should be fixed according to the capacity and output of each factory. In the case of the Swedish Match Co., provision should be made for the reduction of the quota so as to ensure the cessation of production within five years".

Only if some such bold and comprehensive scheme is adopted can the Indian manufacturers hope to survive.

Meanwhile factories after factories being unable to withstand the relentless competition of these foreign concerns are closing. But is their cry heard by the Government? One wonders.



TATA AIR LINES

serve

Karachi

Bhuj

Ahmedabad

Bombay

Hyderabad

Madras

Trichinopoly

Colombo

Goa

Cannanore

Trivandrum

Indore

Bhopal

Gwalior

Delhi

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AVIATION DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY.

GROWTH OF AN INDIAN AIR LINE

It is interesting to trace the growth and present position of the Tata Air Service.

KARACHI-MADRAS AIR LINE

The Aviation Department of Tata Sons, Limited was created in the middle of 1932, in which year the Company entered into an agreement with the Government of India to operate a weekly air mail service between Karachi, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Bellary and Madras.

The progress of this service has been a rapid one. In 1932, the Aviation Department operated the whole Karachi-Madras service with two light aeroplanes, two pilots, one Ground Engineer and a few unskilled assistants. From this small beginning has grown the present network of air services operated by the Company today, totalling a route mileage of about 3,600, entailing the ownership of a fleet of 14 aeroplanes ranging from 4-seaters to 8-seaters, capable of speeds of 160 miles per hour, and a staff of over ninety men.

In January 1935, the frequency of the Karachi-Madras service was doubled. In the same month this service was diverted from Bellary to Hyderabad by arrangement with H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. Later with the assistance of the Government of Kutch, Bhuj was included as a regular halting place on the line.

BOMBAY-TRIVANDRUM AIR LINE

With the collaboration of Travancore State, a weekly air service between Bombay and Trivandrum was established in October 1935. The service shows a remarkable saving in time over surface transport—as much as 48 hours being saved by an air journey between Bombay and Trivandrum—and offers special attractions to tourists. This line is now extended from Trivandrum to Trichinopoly, thus forming a complete link round South India.

BOMBAY-DELHI AIR LINE

In November 1937 a bi-weekly air service was established between Bombay and Delhi *via* the States of Gwalior, Indore and Bhopal.

The service, which was made possible by the support of the States served, provides the first regular air link between Bombay and the Capital of India, and the timetable has been prepared to allow passengers to make a quick return visit or a more leisurely trip between Bombay and Delhi and intermediate points, or *vice versa*.

The service also provides through air travel between Delhi and South India in connection with other Tata services.

EMPIRE AIR MAIL SCHEME: COLOMBO-KARACHI AIR LINE

The Tata Air Lines are also participating after long preparation in the Empire Air Mail scheme.

The frequency of the Colombo-Karachi Service is four

times a week in each direction and later will be increased to five times a week in each direction.

As regards the future, it is hoped, at a not too distant date, to establish a regular nightly air service between Bombay and Calcutta for passengers and mails, thus linking together the two largest centres of commerce in India.

The progress made up to now in the development of these air services is largely due to the constant support which Tatas have received from the public as users of their Air Mail, Passenger, and charter services.

The Colombo-Karachi route is 1,900 miles long, as far as from England to Egypt.

The Bombay-Trivandrum route is 780 miles long, further than from London to Vienna.

The Bombay-Delhi route is 800 miles long, as far as from London to Madrid.

The total route mileage in regular operation by Tatas today is about 3,600, as far as from Paris to New York.

Tata aeroplanes have flown 1,500,000 miles (a distance equal to sixty times round the world), carried 3,28,000 lbs. of air mail, and have maintained during five years an average regularity of 99.4%.

The growth and progress along the lines of efficiency of this service holds out hopes that given the requisite support it may gradually develop into a continental service of a calibre comparable with the great air-lines of Europe and America, as the beginnings most certainly compare favourably with them.

Undoubtedly there are great handicaps in the way of such progress, and the greatest of them is the conflict of interest with all-powerful "Empire" concerns. Just as road transport has been most unfairly crippled by the retrograde policy advocated by the short-sighted advisers to the Railway Board of the Government, it is to be feared that outside influences may considerably affect the development of really Indian air-transport concern.

The question of aviation and that of road transport brings to the fore that of fuel. In the case of military exigencies consequent on war, the problem of finding sufficient sources or reserves of petrol and other fuel oils near at hand becomes very acute. In certain countries in the West, the governments are providing subsidies and grants for the industrial production of synthetic petroleum from coal. But so far as can be gauged from latest reports, the cost of petroleum from such sources is so high that it can only be used when the natural product is unobtainable in quantity. The petroleum production of India and Burma is as yet not adequate to meet the peace-time demands of the country, although the Burma Oil Co. is undoubtedly doing its level best to further its reserves.

In view of the enormous scope for expansion of road and air traffic in this country there is no doubt the market will expand rapidly in the near future.

Progress

Progress to-day is the key-note of the economic wealth of the Indian and the British Empire. Great commercial organisations have played their part in bringing the necessities and amenities of life to every corner of the land, and amongst these organisations the Burmah-Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Co. of India, Ltd., and its Associated Companies, have for nearly half a century played a prominent part. Petroleum products ranging from Aviation Spirit through Motor Spirit, Kerosene and Industrial Oils, right down to the heaviest Petroleum products, such as Asphalt, can to-day be obtained in every province, district, city and village of India, and the Burmah Oil Co., Ltd., and SHELL trade marks carry everywhere with them a guarantee of quality and service.

The Burmah-Shell organisation keeps ahead of the times, and, in meeting efficiently the Petroleum requirements of India, will, as in the past, continue to be closely identified with the prosperity of the country.



INDIANS ABROAD

ON HIS return to India Sir Raza Ali, lately the Agent-General for India in South Africa, gave an account at Simla of the condition of the Indians in that part. It is highly informative and a fair description of the social and educational improvements that have been slowly secured by the Indians during many years of patient struggle and suffering.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Twenty years ago Mahatma Gandhi said in a speech in Madras,

"The hotels refuse us admission. Indeed, there are cases in which respectable Indians have found it difficult even to procure refreshments at European places." In Mr. Gandhi's time 'the railway and tram car officials treated the Indians as beasts.'

But, according to Sir Raza Ali, no first class hotel in Durban, Johannesburg, Capetown or Pretoria, would refuse to admit Indians, nor Indians travelling in any municipal bus or car should be interfered with now.

In respect of their education the Indians have today better facilities and can show better results than before. This we hope will be followed by more vigorous efforts in the coming years and thus ensure a secure position of the settlers in the body-politic of the Colony. We should recognize, as *The Leader* of Allahabad reminds in taking note of the speech editorially:

This improvement in the position of Indians socially and educationally is mainly the result of the efforts of the Agents-General, specially Mr. Sastri, and Sir Maharaj Singh. And yet there is a section of Indians in South Africa who express the opinion that the Agent-General far from being of any use to the community is a source of danger to their interests, and that the post should be abolished. Fortunately the majority of the community and the Government of India do not agree with that opinion. And it is to be hoped that the post will be maintained and that the Agent-General will continue to receive all the support and encouragement that the people and Government of India can give him.

"A VOTELESS COMMUNITY"

"I have no doubt that most of the disabilities from which we suffer in South Africa arise from the fact that we are a voteless community," said Sir Raza Ali on his arrival in Bombay, and, at Simla he could not relate any encouraging or assuring facts regarding the economic or political condition of his countrymen in South Africa. The Indian demand for franchise is neither unjust nor extraordinary; it only signifies a return of the right they have been deprived of during the last forty years as race prejudice became stronger day after day when the economic need of the

Indian to the development of the colonies diminished. But the just demand of the Indian community is not likely to be conceded so early or so easily. On the 15th instant last, Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior in the Union Government, came out with the statement, in reaction to some talks in India, that he "was not aware of any intention on the part of the Union Government to give the Indian community in South Africa some form of Parliamentary representation." Sir Raza Ali, therefore, pleads for the grant of a limited franchise, to begin with in Transvaal, where, the Indians form a small community, and, the concession may therefore evoke less jealousy. He argues:

"Let me at the same time make it clear that it will not be practical statesmanship for our people to insist on adult franchise. It is true that even in Natal if adult franchise is conceded to Indians, the quality of the electorate in point of intelligence will not be far inferior to the general level of intelligence displayed by some of the existing electorates in the Blackveldt of the Transvaal. But, even so, it is up to us to disarm hostility by not putting our demands too high. If Indians are admitted to the common electorate on the basis of property, educational or other qualifications, it will not be open to the most rabid European to say that the demand of the Indian voters would constitute a threat to European predominance."

Bitterly as any demand for reforms in the racial relation of South Africa is bound to be resented, any broad vision of Imperial relation as *The Statesman* (July 25) insists, would call for the concession of many.

One of the ways in which the domiciled Indian community in the Union can be retained as loyal and peaceful citizens of South Africa is to concede some of the minimum legitimate demands put forward on its behalf.

The indigenous African has three European elected representatives each in the House of Assembly and the Senate of the Union Parliament to specifically represent his interests. Important amendments are now contemplated by the Union Government to the Representation of Natives Act to make its provisions more effective.

The Natal Indian Congress has recently petitioned the Provincial Administration to have the 1924 Ordinance so amended as to restore to Indians the municipal franchise which they had long enjoyed. The National Liberation League of Non-Europeans has also reiterated the demand for citizenship rights. The Cape Indian community possesses a restricted form of franchise, and the least which the South African Government could do is to extend it to the other three units of the Union.

Eighty-five per cent Indians in South Africa are local-born. They possessed the franchise at one time. They are law-abiding and useful citizens. These are qualifications of an eminent order, meriting the grant of civic and parliamentary franchise. It is still not too late to hope that the Government of South Africa would recognize the necessity for making minimum concessions

to the nationals of the future Sixth Dominion of the British Commonwealth resident in its territory for nearly one hundred years.

These are hard facts which call for patient and united action of Indians. But unhappily the situation is further complicated by the disunity of our people, which will be evident from the following account of *The Leader* as it closes its notice of Sir Raza Ali's account :

Economically and politically however the position of Indians has deteriorated. Sir Raza Ali said that the number of Indians employed in industry had gone down during the last 20 years. This he ascribed to the 'aggressive racial policy which is being pursued in that country.' So also politically while there were formerly only two laws, *viz.*, Law 3 of 1885 and the Gold Law of 1908, which discriminated against Indians, now a number of them have been placed on the Statute Book and they are more stringently applied than used to be the practice formerly. Sir Raza Ali thinks that no substantial improvement in the condition of the community is possible unless they receive the right to vote. 'Having granted representation to the natives,' he said, 'I fail to see how the Union Government can indefinitely continue to keep our people deprived of the same.' Of course, the demand for the vote has our full support, but we do not believe in separate electoral rolls for Europeans and Indians and Africans. There should be one common roll. 'One thing,' said Sir Raza Ali, 'is most important. India should take a keen and active interest in the fate of our people whose grievances are very real and substantial.' That the people and Government of India have been taking keen interest in the question cannot be denied. But it is also very important that the Indian community should maintain unity and not quarrel among themselves. Mr. L. W. Ritch who has been one of the oldest friends of the Indian community says, 'The unhappy truth is that since Gandhiji ceased to hold the people together and to inspire them, their morale has steadily deteriorated.' Let us hope that the present Agent-General will succeed in bringing about unity among the members of the community.

The sad story of this fissiparous tendencies fills many of the pages of the South and East African papers to hand. Mr. Rama Rau, Sir Raza Ali's successor, should not console himself with the idea that the Indians stand united because most organisations joined in welcoming him to the Colony. All efforts at effecting a unity between the South African Indian Congress and the Colonial Born And Settlers' Indian Association, another Indian body, failed though the Congress has for its President Swami Bhawani Dayal and its Secretary Mr. I. Kajee, two very sincere and energetic workers in the cause of their fellow Indians.

IN EAST AFRICA

In East Africa, too, as the East African Delegation that visited India told us some time ago, the Indians politically or economically are in no better plight. Their future, we learn from a member of the Delegation, Mr. Amin,

speaking at Lucknow, is likely to be darker still:

If in the next ten years the Indians in East Africa did not obtain the support of the people and press of India, all the ground covered by the efforts of the Indians there was likely to be undermined, and once the position was lost it would not be possible to retrieve it or advance further—warned Mr. Amin.

POLITICAL CONDITION

Referring to the standard of living of the natives in East Africa he said that natives were helpless, could not even build up their own homes at present and though something in the way of education was being done they could not stand on their own legs. If Indians did not fight for their betterment not only would they betray their own cause but also that of the natives, who were not strong enough to safeguard their own interests. Continuing Mr. Amin said that the natives were not elected to the Kenya Legislative Council but were represented by two Europeans.

Indians, who numbered 40,000 had only 11 seats. Their existence was hardly recognized except in the case of difference between the Europeans and the Government when Indian opinion was valued.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Dwelling at length on the economic policy, he said that steps were contemplated that would drive all Indians out of profitable trade. The Transfer Control Bill, the Dairy Control Bill and similar other measures were likely to be introduced which would be detrimental to the interests of the Indians. The chief object of the policy of the Government was to make life more expensive for the Indians.

He referred to retail trade which, he said, had been mainly in the hands of Indians so far. But a Marketing Bill was now being introduced by which Indians would be forbidden to purchase goods from natives direct. This would ultimately place the natives at the mercy of the Europeans.

THE HIGHLANDS

Mr. Mehta, another member of the delegation spoke on the Highland problem. He said that in 1903 Europeans launched a move to secure all cool and fertile lands for themselves. And it was after a very strong opposition put up by the Indians that an assurance was given to them that nothing of the kind would be done.

But that pledge was broken in 1906. No Indian was allowed to purchase land from Europeans. Concluding Mr. Mehta remarked that it was the duty of Indians to see that the native population of Africa was not exploited by Europeans and if Indians rose to power care should be taken that they in their turn did not exploit the natives.

The new danger of reserving the Highlands for the European settlers has indeed to be countered by all means, as we have been maintaining always. Mr. Isser Dass, a member of the Kenya Legislative Council, who came to India as a delegate of the East African Indian Congress in a joint statement with Mr. C. F. Andrews suggests a London Deputation on the question.

KENYA LEADERSHIP IN INDIAN BUSINESS

At a meeting of the Kenya Indian merchants, they requested Mr. Ismail, the Agent

for Dar-es-Salem, for a united leadership for themselves in business over the settlers in Uganda and Tanganyika. The *Tanganyika Opinion* strongly pleads against the same on the ground that such leadership has been really of economic disadvantage to the Indians in general. Says the journal:

"The economic position of the Indian community today is distinctly weaker than it was in 1927. Everywhere the leadership of Kenya has resulted in a monopolistic organization of commerce and the elimination of the small Indian trader and middleman. There has been no corresponding adjustment in the economic life of the country for hundreds of Indian businessmen and traders who have been thrown out of work and employment owing to monopolies and marketing laws. The leadership of Kenya has resulted in the organization of local and intermediate civil services, in the emasculation of the Indian dhow and transport trade, in the elimination of Indian storekeepers and produce buyers in the hinterlands, in the unemployment of the Indian cotton store-owners in Uganda and the mandated territory and in the attrition of the railway and harbours of Tanganyika. No, Mr. Ismail has eyes wide open to see all this and we have the fullest confidence in him and are quite sure that he will singlemindedly devote himself to his great task of building up a highway of commerce and exchange of culture between the two great continents of the world that Nature designed for one another.

INDIAN LABOUR IN BURMA

Burma is now separated from India, and the twelve lakhs of Indians over there are now "abroad" from India. Vast numbers of them are, as elsewhere, labourers who left the overpopulated Indian villages in expectation of a more hospitable land. Perhaps they are not altogether disappointed. They manage to get a living. But this cannot go on long, the unrestricted labour emigration is to continue only up to 1940. *The Statesman* Emigration Correspondent points out in an informative article some of the problems that the labour situation in Burma has already shown. The strikes in the Yenangyang and Chauk Oil Fields as well as that at Syriam refinery of the B.O.C., have focussed public attention on the labour situation and the Burma Oil Fields Labour Bill of 1938 proposes to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Whitley Commission with regard to housing, hours, wages, etc. The writer refers to the unhomogeneous character of the Indian labour and its disunity as well as to the question of the restricted vs. unrestricted labour, and concludes:

The major problems awaiting Mr. Sattinadhan's (the Agent nominee for Indians in Burma) scrutiny need to be emphasized here, since he is expected to take over his office in Burma in a few days' time. In the first place, he has to properly advise the Government of India on the manner in which the Indian Emigration Act is to

be extended to that country. Secondly, he has to make up his mind on the question whether restricted or unrestricted Indian labour emigration is justified in the circumstances prevailing in that country. Thirdly, the *moisture* system, industrial and social legislation and other important issues have to be examined by him. It is hoped that the establishment of the Indian Agency in Burma, prior to the lapse of the *status quo* period, will operate for the benefit of Indian emigrant labour, while meeting the need of Burma herself.

LEASE OF LAND IN FIJI

The following statement from Mr. C. F. Andrews on July 9, refers to the trouble of the Indians in Fiji.

"News has just reached me from Fiji that leases which had been obtained by the Indians during the years 1917-1921 are now beginning to fall in and the Fijian chiefs with their tribes are unwilling to renew them except on extravagant terms.

"These leases were obtained by the Indians with the consent of the Government either for the cultivation of sugar or else for the building of premises for retail trade close to the Fijian villages.

"Land in Fiji is very difficult to obtain because the greater part of it is owned by the Fijians themselves on a tribal basis. The Government rightly protect their land ownership. But since the Indian population now numbers about 45 per cent of the whole of Fiji it would be unjust to prevent the Indians from purchasing land and it would be very unwise to do so: for they are born agriculturists.

"The colonial sugar refining company owns some of the best alluvial soil and Indians have obtained short leases from this company, but these are not sufficient for them. The problem therefore has become acute. Indians who have given their best energy and industry to the cultivation of the soil of Fiji are now likely to be thrown out of employment unless some remedy can be found. It is necessary therefore, for a commissioner to be sent out to Fiji as early as possible in order to get better terms with regard to the renewal of Indian leases. He should at the same time take up the question of higher education.

INDIANS IN MALAYA

An A. P. I. message from Madras of July 24, reads:

"The suggestion that an organization should be started in Malaya and another in India to look after the interests of Indians in Malaya, was made today by Mr. T. A. Ramalingha Chettiar, a member of the Madras Legislative Council, in a talk on his impressions of his tour in the Dutch East Indies and Malaya, at the Cultural Association of the Central Co-operative Institute.

Mr. Chettiar said that Indians had been responsible for developing the mines and estates in Malaya, which was the most suitable place in the world for Indians to settle.

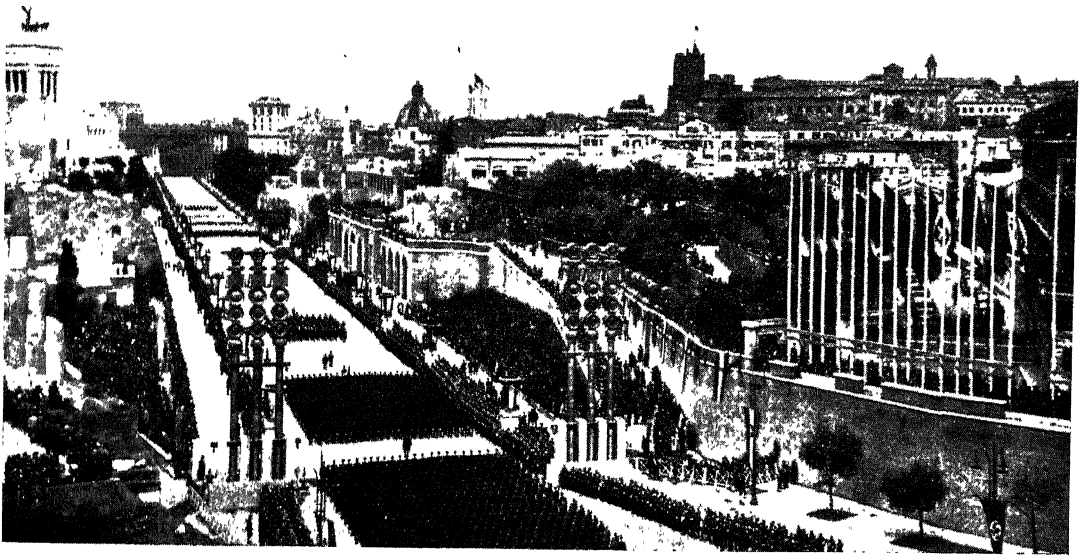
The speaker condemned the wage reductions that had been effected in Malaya.

Referring to the policy pursued by the Government of India, he said it was not enough to stop emigration of State labourers. Recruitment of all kinds of labour must stop.

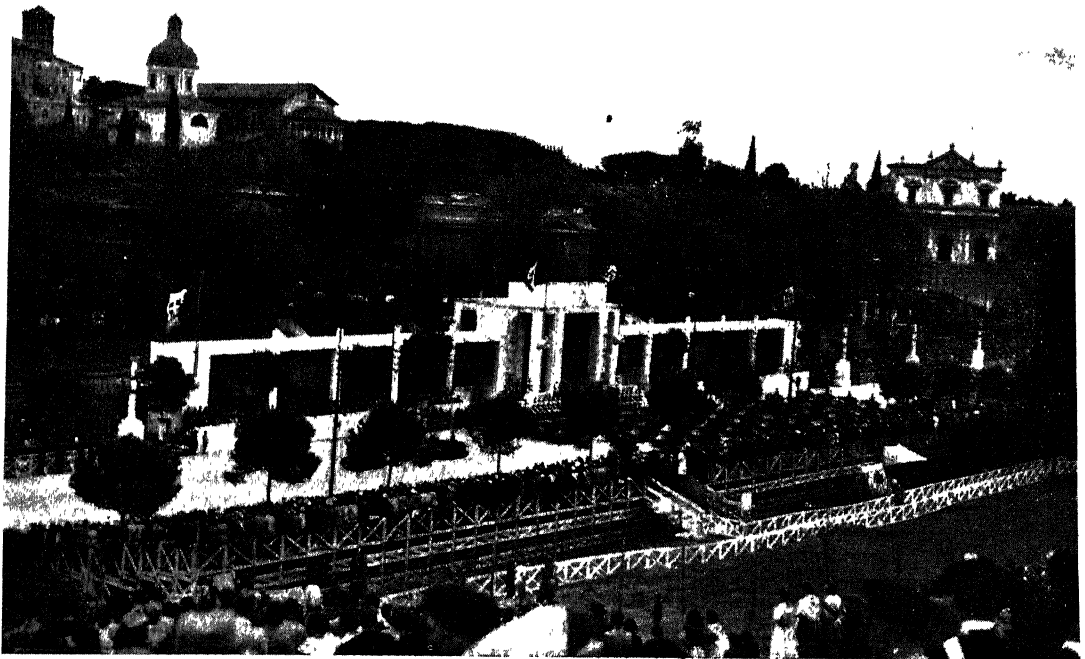
The s.s. *Rohna* which arrived in Madras harbour yesterday from the Straits Settlements landed 447 repatriates from Malaya.

G. H.

HITLER'S VISIT TO ITALY



Army review on the occasion of Herr Hitler's recent visit to Italy. More than 50,000 men took part



All the latest weapons of warfare were shown in the course of this review

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SREEMATI BIBHA MAJUMDAR, M.A., Professor of Mathematics, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, has been awarded the Premchand Roychand studentship of Calcutta University, this year, on the merit of a thesis on Astrophysics. She is the first lady to achieve this distinction, by dint of an original research work, in Science.

She is the daughter of Mr. Dwijendra Mohan Sen Gupta, retired Headmaster of Barisal Government High School and is the wife of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.Sc., P.R.S., Ph.D., of Bose Research Institute.

She stood first in Sanskrit in I.A. Examination and secured the Nagendra Medal, being the best lady-candidate securing highest number of marks in Bengali, and the Pachete and Saradaprasad prizes for standing first in Sanskrit. She obtained first class honours in Mathematics in the B.A. Examination, standing second, and secured the Bankimchandra Gold Medal for the best Bengali composition at the examination. She also obtained the Padmabati Gold Medal in that examination having stood first among the successful lady-candidates taking up honours in different subjects.



Sreemati Bibha Majumdar

NOTES ON INDIAN ENTERPRISE

WHILE the development of Key-Industries is the most essential factor in the economic progress of a country, it is at the same time extremely important that the far broader field of everyday necessities of a civilized nation be economically and efficiently produced within the country.

This is the age of steel, and steel is penetrating in all directions in industry, commerce and the household of the people. The firm of Godrej is a bright example of what can be achieved in this line by Indian enterprise and skill. It was founded by the late Mr. A. B. Godrej about half a century ago. At the beginning the personnel consisted of one mistry in search of employment, and the "works" of a diminutive shed. Now the works can boast of being the largest of its kind in the east and it provides employment for over 1,200 workmen. The production ranges from locks to vast safe-deposit vault doors, covering in its scope steel furniture and equipment, of a number of varieties for household, office and factory use, of a quality that challenges foreign competition.

Another example of the organizing capacity and enterprise of Indians is the manufacturing concern producing electrical goods under the

name of India Electric Works Ltd. This concern also started from very small beginnings in 1924, when it was a private concern. At present they are employing over 900 persons and are producing highly finished and very efficient electrical utility goods, such as fans, telephone and telegraph instruments, etc. A special feature is that almost every part of these articles, from the tiniest nut to the largest part is manufactured, finished and finally assembled by Indian labour under Indian supervision. The fans specially have proved to be highly efficient and reliable and are rapidly taking the place of the imported article.

Talking of imports, until very recently one item that went largely into the construction of the houses of wealthier Indians, was (and still is) almost entirely imported in bulk from abroad. This article, namely, marble, was not only imported from abroad, but the handling of the imported article in bulk as well as the cutting and finishing was in the hands of foreign firms. Recently however, Indian commercial enterprise has extended to this section of imports also and is making good progress on the lines of developing the business to its utmost.

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NOTES

Political Subjection and Length of Life

From the number of persons, male and female, who die at particular ages in different countries, statisticians have prepared tables showing how long on an average persons of particular ages in those countries may expect to live ordinarily. Actuaries who are concerned with life-insurance business prepare such tables and are guided by them in fixing rates of premium. Many statistical year-books publish such tables of expectation of life at different ages in those countries in which records are kept of births and deaths. The latest of such tables available is to be found in the *Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations* for the year 1937-38, published in July last. It supplies figures for expectation of life of males and females at birth and at the ages of 1, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, and 70 years of age in many countries. It will suffice for our purpose to quote the figures of expectation of life at birth in these countries for males and females.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN YEARS

| Country | Males | Females |
|------------------------|-------|---------|
| Egypt | 31 | 36 |
| Canada | 58.96 | 60.73 |
| U. S. A. | | |
| (white population) .. | 60.72 | 64.72 |
| (non-white population) | 50.82 | 53.74 |
| India | 26.91 | 26.56 |
| Japan | 44.82 | 46.54 |
| Germany | 59.86 | 62.81 |
| Austria | 54.47 | 58.53 |

| Country | Males | Females |
|-------------------------|-------|---------|
| Belgium | 56.00 | 59.83 |
| Bulgaria | 45.92 | 46.64 |
| Denmark | 62.00 | 63.8 |
| Estonia | 53.12 | 59.60 |
| Finland | 50.68 | 55.14 |
| France | 54.30 | 59.02 |
| Ireland | 57.37 | 57.93 |
| Italy | 53.76 | 56.00 |
| Latvia | 55.39 | 60.93 |
| Norway | 60.98 | 63.84 |
| Netherlands .. | 61.9 | 63.5 |
| England and Wales .. | 60.13 | 64.39 |
| Scotland | 56.00 | 59.5 |
| Northern Ireland .. | 55.42 | 56.11 |
| Sweden | 61.19 | 63.33 |
| Switzerland | 59.25 | 63.05 |
| Czecho-slovakia .. | 51.92 | 55.18 |
| Soviet Russia in Europe | 41.93 | 46.79 |
| Australia | 63.48 | 67.14 |
| New Zealand | 65.04 | 67.88 |

It will be seen that the expectation of life in all European and American countries and in Australia and New Zealand is very much higher than in India. It is much higher in Japan than in India. Even in Egypt it is higher than in India. Most of the countries where it is higher than in India are independent. Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand are practically independent. Even Egypt, which is not fully independent, is much freer than India, and is autonomous in almost all internal affairs.

This shows that length of life depends to a very great extent on political freedom.

independence, autonomy, or whatever other word may be used to denote the desirable political condition of a country. Why so?

Some of the things which make for long life are sufficiency of nourishing food, house and clothing conducive to health, knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation and the economic competency to observe them, satisfactory maternity conditions, availability of medical treatment in periods of illness, power to prevent and combat epidemics, &c. Most of these things depend on the nation and the nationals being well-to-do. The economic condition of no country can be even tolerably satisfactory unless it possesses at least a substantial measure of freedom. Unless the people of a country are literate and educated they cannot know the laws of hygiene and sanitation. Practically universal literacy can be attained only if the country is free. Imperialist governments of subject countries try every direct and indirect means to keep their people ignorant. And even if these people have some knowledge of some hygienic and sanitary rules, their poverty stands in the way of their following all of them. The sanitation of villages and towns and the country as a whole depends on the people of the country having full control over its revenues through their elected representatives. This presupposes political freedom.

We do not mean to say that if a country possesses political independence that itself will make its inhabitants long-lived. What is meant is that political freedom gives the people of a country the power to secure all those conditions which make for their longevity, and that without such freedom those conditions are not all attainable.

So we want to be independent, because we want to be long-lived. Of course, there are other reasons why we want to be free. In fact, no reason need be assigned for the desire for freedom. Freedom is everyone's birthright, and it is natural for everyone to be and remain free. Even tiny tots do not like to be constantly carried in the loving arms of their fond parents and caressed. They would prefer to totter, fall down, and get up and totter repeatedly. We do not mean to suggest that the imperialist rulers of the people subject to them are fond parents of the latter!

Why Wish Long Life

If life is at all desirable, long life also is desirable. A miserable life, whether short or long, is not desirable. Freedom is a *sine qua non* for escape from misery.

Those who do not consider life desirable need not live, bond or free.

But those who think it is desirable prize life for the attainment of some object, either consciously or unconsciously. And that object, whatever it be, can be attained to a greater extent in the course of a long life than in the course of a shorter one.

Bose-Jinnah Unity Correspondence

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, president of the Indian National Congress, has, with the consent of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, president of the Muslim League, released through the United Press of India the correspondence which passed between them in relation to the problem of communal settlement.

We have already said in a previous issue that, as there are other Muslim organizations, the Muslim League cannot be considered the sole and exclusive Muslim body representing all Indian Mussalmans. As for Mr. Jinnah's claim that in all negotiations the Muslim League should be considered equal in standing and status to the Congress, it cannot at all be admitted. Even if it represented all Indian Mussalmans, which it does not—the Shiah and many Sunni organizations having repudiated its claim to represent them, it would not be equal to the Congress. The Muslim League's membership is confined to Mussalmans, whereas anyone belonging to any Indian community, irrespective of the religion one professes and in spite of one's not professing any religion, may join the Congress. Both the actual and possible numbers of members of the Congress are vastly larger than those of the Muslim League. The Muslim League is concerned only with the interests, as it understands them, of Mussalmans alone. The Congress works according to its lights for the welfare of all Indians, irrespective of creed, colour, caste or race. Congress has been actually fighting for the freedom of the whole country and of all sections and classes of the people, numerous members of the Congress of both sexes having already made immense sacrifices for the purpose and undergone great sufferings. The Muslim League has never actually fought for the freedom of even the Muslim community. What the Congress has done even for Muslims alone, *e.g.*, for those of the N.-W. F. Province, and for Zanzibar Muslims engaged in the clove business, the Muslim League has not done. So any equality of status between the two bodies is out of the question. The only equality which can exist and does actually exist is that the

Muslim League can negotiate with the Congress, not as a suppliant or a subordinate body, but as a separate and independent organization perfectly free to suggest its terms and consider the terms offered by the Congress and to accept, if need be with agreed modifications, or reject them.

Mr. Jinnah says in his letter to Mr. Bose, dated the 2nd August :

"The Council is fully convinced that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative political organization of the Mussalmans of India. This position was accepted when the Congress-League Pact was arrived at in 1916 at Lucknow, and ever since, till 1935, when the Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad conversation took place, it has not been questioned."

Assuming, without admitting, the correctness of what Mr. Jinnah says, it must be borne in mind that the Congress of the present-day is not what it was in 1916. In 1916, all Congressmen, including the so-called 'moderates' and the so-called 'extremists,' jointly did what they thought proper. The Congress of the present-day is not substantially the body which existed in 1916. It has a different constitution, a different political goal, and different methods. After or about the time of the declaration of Non-co-operation, many Congressmen combined to establish the Indian National Liberal Federation. If a continuation of any express or implied understanding of the year 1916 be insisted upon, the assent of these secessionists also will have to be obtained. Just as the Indian National Liberal Federation, which came into existence after 1916, will have to be consulted, so those Muslim bodies which have come into existence since 1916 will also have to be consulted. What is more, the Muslim League will have to observe all the terms of the Lucknow Pact of 1916. The Communal "Award" is a direct infringement of that Pact. It has given the Mussalmans more than they were entitled to according to that Pact and taken away from the Hindus much of what they were entitled to according to it. Evidently, Mr. Jinnah wants to invoke the aid of the Pact only when it suits him and his party, and at the same time welcome its breach also when it suits them! The Communal "Award" has buried the Lucknow Pact a hundred fathoms deep with the gleeful consent of all or almost all Mussalmans, including the Muslim League. Nevertheless Mr. Jinnah must needs invoke its ghost!

Mr. Jinnah continues :

Besides, the very fact that the Congress approached the Muslim League to enter into negotiations for a settle-

ment of the Hindu-Muslim question, pre-supposed the authoritative and representative character of the League and as such its right to come to an agreement on behalf of the Mussalmans of India.

The Council are aware of the fact that there is a Congress Coalition Government in N.-W. F. P. and also that there are some Muslims in the Congress organization in other provinces. But the Council is of opinion that these Muslims in the Congress do not and cannot represent the Mussalmans of India, for the simple reason that their number is very insignificant and that as members of the Congress they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community.

Not being in the confidence of the "high command" or low command, or rank and file of the Congress, we cannot say why the Congress *approached* the Muslim League—or why, for that matter, Mahatma Gandhi decided to *wait upon* Shri Jinnah. Evidently the English words 'approach' and 'wait upon' have had an unsettling effect upon Mr. Jinnah's mind and deprived him of his sense of humour—of which we hope he had a sufficient quantity before the 'Unity Talks' with him started. But it cannot be denied that the fact of the Congress having approached him and that of Gandhiji having waited upon him have increased the plausibility of his claim. Let us pass on, however.

We presume, and it is not improbable, that the Congress wanted to tackle all the Muslim organizations one by one, and began first with the Muslim League because perhaps it was the most anti-national, or perhaps because its leader was once believed to be a nationalist, or because—well, we do not really know what. The Congress does not deny, nobody denies, the representative character of the Muslim League: it does represent its members and probably some other Mussalmans. What is denied is that it represents all Mussalmans and that no other organization represents any Mussalmans.

Mr. Jinnah gives two reasons why the Muslims in the Congress "do not and cannot represent the Mussalmans of India." One is that "their number is very insignificant." The other is that "as members of the Congress they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community." It has been claimed on behalf of the Congress—by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru among others, that the Congress claims a hundred thousand Muslims as members and that this number is much larger than that of the members of the Muslim League. The correctness of this statement has not been disproved. Neither the Congress nor its Muslim members claim that

they represent the entire Muslim community of India. But they certainly represent a section of that community, and, therefore, they have as much right to speak on behalf of that section as the Muslim League has to speak on behalf of the section which it represents. That Muslim Congressmen are members of the Congress no more disables them from representing and speaking on behalf of the section to which they belong than the fact that some Muslims are members of the Muslim League has disabled them from representing and speaking on behalf of the section to which they belong.

If Mr. Jinnah really believes that membership of the Congress disables Muslims from speaking on behalf of the Muslim community, he ought also to believe that the Hindu members of the Congress are also disabled from speaking for the Hindu community. But he has all along asked the Congress, which consists mostly of Hindus, to negotiate on behalf of the Hindu community!

As we have said in a previous issue, the Congress should have referred the claim of the Muslim League to be the sole representative of the entire Indian Muslim community to that community itself for acceptance or rejection. If it be decided to revive the "Unity Talks," the first thing that ought to be done is either for the Muslim League to make all other Muslim organizations explicitly or implicitly accept its sole representative character, or for the Congress to refer the claim to the whole Muslim community organized under various names. If neither of these two methods be adopted, parleying with Mr. Jinnah is bound to be a more futile endeavour than ploughing the sands.

As the Congress does not represent the whole Muslim community, so does it not represent the whole Hindu community. If the Congress desires any possible settlement with the Muslims to be accepted by the whole Hindu community, the numerous Hindus outside the Congress fold—particularly those who are absolutely opposed to the Communal Decision, should be consulted beforehand. And, of course, all other minorities besides the Muslims should also be consulted.

As we have stated in previous issues, there are two logical courses open to the Congress. (1) As a national organization, it may lay down the terms of a communal settlement without consulting any community; (2) it may do so after consulting the representative bodies of *all* communities.

Muslim League's Attitude At the Time of the Lucknow Pact

In our foregoing note on the Bose-Jinnah correspondence, we have assumed but not admitted the correctness of one of Mr. Jinnah's statements. Here is a statement, contradicting Mr. Jinnah's assertion, made by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.L.A. (Central), who has a first-hand knowledge of matters relating to the Pact:

"The publication of the Bose-Jinnah correspondence reveals the fact that Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League urged certain conditions precedent which were to be agreed to by the Congress before actual negotiations for settlement should be commenced.

"I do not wish to enter upon a discussion as to whether the Muslim League was justified in insisting on these conditions or whether the Congress was right in declining to accept them. But I wish to point out that the statement made by Mr. Jinnah in his letter, dated August 2, 1938, namely 'This position (that is, the Muslim League is the only authoritative representative political organization of the Mussalmans of India) was accepted when the Congress-League Pact was arrived at in 1916 at Lucknow,' is not correct.

"The Muslim League in 1916 did not lay down any conditions precedent to carrying on negotiations with the Congress. It did not insist on the recognition by the Congress of a status of equality. Nor did the League object to the inclusion on the committee appointed by the Congress of any Muslim member. As a matter of fact there were several Congress Mussalmans, including Mr. Hasan Imam and Mr. Abdul Rasul, present at the meetings of the Joint Committee set up by the Congress and the Muslim League.

"Mr. Jinnah was member of both these bodies. What really happened on that occasion was that the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League met together without any preliminary undertakings on either side and went on with their work in a spirit of friendship and goodwill.

"I was a member of the All-India Congress Committee and also the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at that time and as the deliberations of the Joint Committee took place in Calcutta, the task of recording the proceedings devolved on me. Three resolutions have now been put forward by the Executive Council of the Muslim League, (1) asserting 'that it is not possible for the All-India Muslim League to treat or negotiate with the Congress on the question of a Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative representative organization of the Mussalmans of India, (2) expressing the view that 'It is not desirable to include any Muslim in the personnel of the proposed committee that may be appointed by the Congress; and (3) declaring 'that the Muslim League is the guardian and spokesman of the interests of all other minorities.'

"I am absolutely certain that in 1916, no such resolutions were passed by the Muslim League or placed before the All-India Congress Committee. Many of the persons who participated in the deliberations of the Joint Committee are now dead or have retired from public life. But two of the distinguished gentlemen who took a very prominent part in the deliberations of the Joint Committee on behalf of the Muslim League are still alive, namely, Sir Wazir Hasan and Mr. Samiullah Beg, and I hope that they will either corroborate or refute my statement.

"I may add that I am and have always been in favour of a Hindu-Muslim settlement and I earnestly trust and pray that all communities in this country will unite and march together towards the goal of India's freedom."—(*United Press*).

Second World Youth Conference in America

The first World Youth Conference was held at Geneva in 1936 under the auspices of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. This world organization of youth now has about 40,000,000 members on its roll. According to an interesting article in *The Hindu* of Madras by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa,

The Second World Youth Conference meets at Vassar College, which is situated near New York, on the 15th of August, and the session will continue for ten days. Fifty-two nations of Asia, North America, Europe, Australia and South America have agreed to send representatives to this important Congress of youth. But Japan, Germany and Italy, it is reported, have not so far accepted the invitation of the Conference; perhaps they do not believe in making their youth peace-minded. All the same, more than five hundred delegates from the different parts of the world are expected to be in attendance at this session, India being represented by Mr. Prabodh Chandra. Twelve International bodies are also sending their representatives. On their arrival in New York on the 15th of August, the City will welcome the delegates by staging a grand pageant at Randall's Island. Over 1,000 young actors, dancers and athletes, specially trained for the purpose, will take part in this pageant to present the most colourful cultural tendencies in the different countries represented at the Congress.

Vassar College, America's great women's college, is situated in Poughkeepsie, where the late Rev. J. T. Sunderland, America's greatest friend of India, passed many years of his beneficent life.

The writer observes,

the Conference will be an all-American gathering in one particular, and that is in respect of food. American edibles, including corn on the cob, baked beans, codfish balls, will be served to the delegates in order to give them not only a taste of native food but also an insight into American ways of living.

In order to enable Americans to understand the manner of dressing in foreign lands, the foreign delegates will wear their national costumes and thus make the Conference picturesque. Though we use the future tense in this note the Conference will have been over by the time this issue of *The Modern Review* reaches the hands of its readers.

Discussions at the Second World Youth Congress from August 16 to August 24 will be on the political and economic organization for peace, the economic and cultural status of youth and its relation to peace, and the ethical and philosophical bases of peace. The delegates from Brazil, Belgium, British Guiana, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, India, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries will present the peculiar aspects

of the regions they represent. This is an important function of the Conference as it is hoped that this method would enable the delegates not only to learn to know themselves and to find out the truth about their own nation but also to learn the truth, the good and the bad, concerning other countries, their national character, their strength and weakness, vital interests and outstanding grievances. To get the most of this form of discussion, and to avoid the Conference being overweighted by Americans, the United States delegation has been limited to the small number of fifty.

Apart from the above, general questions,—questions such as: Have nations any obligation to co-operate in maintaining peace, even if their immediate interests are not threatened? Can there be any international system for the maintenance of peace if all the countries do not participate? Is world disarmament essential to lasting peace? What immediate steps can be taken in international agreement to stop the arms race? What measures can be taken immediately toward the international and national control of arms manufacture and trade? Should one consider a reconstruction of world economy on the basis of international co-operation, or through economic nationalism?—will be discussed from different angles.

Acquittal of Persons Accused of Crimes Against Women

Though crimes against women have been occurring in many or most provinces in abnormal numbers, Bengal has acquired a disgraceful prominence in this respect owing to causes which need not be investigated in this note. The previous government, before the introduction of "provincial autonomy," did practically nothing to combat this menace to society, and, the present government has done even less—if there can be anything less than zero. And the public as a whole has been irresponsible to the cry of womanhood.

Quite recently in at least three cases persons accused of heinous offences against women have been acquitted by the Calcutta High Court on appeal. In many other similar cases the accused have been acquitted by the district courts.

The most sensational case in which the accused have been acquitted on appeal to the High Court is that known as Bindu Goalini's case, in which the men brought to trial were accused of having ravished and committed unnatural crime upon the unfortunate young widow. They were convicted by the trying lower court and exemplary punishment was inflicted upon them. Appeal to the High Court has resulted in their acquittal.

If in such cases the court of appeal believes the cases to be entirely false, acquittal is no doubt the only order that can be passed. But if there be technical flaws in the procedure of the trying courts, such as misdirection to the

jury, misjoinder of charges, and the like, and if the appellate court believes that some offence has been committed, retrial should be ordered. In Bindu Goalini's case the High Court Bench wanted to know whether the accused would have any objection if retrial were ordered. The reply was in the negative. But when judgment was delivered, it was found that the accused had been acquitted. If they deserved to be acquitted, if they had not committed any offence, if the Honourable Judges believed that the unfortunate widow, Bindu Goalini, had not been wronged in the least by anybody, then of course nothing can be said against the order of acquittal. But in that case it becomes very difficult to understand why the accused were asked whether they would object to be retried.

When acquittal follows in consequence of misdirection to the jury, misjoinder of charges, and the like, the woman victimized, assuming that the case is true, obtains no remedy, and society is seriously injured. No society can exist if crimes against women go unpunished merely on technical grounds. In such cases, it should be obligatory on the part of the appellate courts to order retrial. If the law as it stands does not make such order obligatory, the law should be amended. We are not lawyers, and write as mere laymen. But what we want is that no case of abduction, criminal assault, outraging the modesty of a woman, and the like, must end in the acquittal of the accused merely on technical grounds. If the lower courts trying such cases have been guilty of misdirection to the jury, etc., it is these courts which ought to suffer. The woman grievously wronged—perhaps ruined for life, ought not to be deprived of the poor consolation of justice, merely because some magistrate or some sessions judge does not know the law or the correct legal procedure; nor should society be deprived of the protection against the wrongdoers which the law provides in the form of condign punishment for them.

Some cases there have been and may or will be again in which the evidence is not sufficient. If the trying magistrate or judge thinks in such cases that the police or the executive have been remiss in their duty or can still collect sufficient evidence, fresh investigation ought to be ordered.

We do not, of course, want that the accused should be punished even if there is little or no evidence, or if there is only insufficient evidence. But in such cases direct evidence other than that of the complainants cannot be generally expected and may not be available. But many

a man has been hanged on circumstantial evidence, and rightly, too, as the law stands. In cases of ravishment, 'gang-rape,' etc., the state of mind of the complainant at and after the time of the occurrence must be taken into account in judging of the trustworthiness of their evidence. Minor discrepancies and flaws should not be made too much of. In their disturbed state of mind they cannot be expected to be quite logical and to stand searching cross-examination. It ought to suffice if their deposition be substantially true. In Bindu Goalini's case the evidence of Rahiman Bibi proved that owing to very serious injuries Bindu was in hospital for a long time. There is not the least doubt that she had been ravished.

The honour of women, and sometimes their life also, is not safe in Bengal—particularly in rural Bengal. It is not Hindu women alone who are victimized in large numbers. According to figures placed before the Bengal legislature some years ago by the high officer who is now officiating Governor of Bengal, more Muslim women are victimized in Bengal than Hindu women. If Muslim society and Hindu society had been in a healthy condition, if their moral sensibility had not been atrophied, a single case like many of those which occur every week, if not every day, would have convulsed them. And in free countries such cases would have led to the fall of governments if they failed to take adequate preventive and remedial measures.

It is apprehended that some of these acquittals will embolden the miscreants and deter the wronged and their friends from seeking justice, and may even produce an undesirable effect upon the lower courts.

Is It Shameful Not To Have An Indian Lingua Franca?

Recently in the course of a speech delivered by Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose at Wardha he is reported to have said:

Last year when the speaker was in Vienna, some of the Indians, including Mr. Bose, were invited to dinner by a European friend. There, they began to speak in English among themselves. The European friend was rather surprised, and asked them why they conversed in English, and they had to hang their heads in shame.

We fully appreciate the burning love of independence and the strong desire for national unification of which such sentiments are born. But we are afraid, Mr. Bose and his Indian friends in Vienna felt ashamed rather unnecessarily. People can be naturally and logically expected to be ashamed of some state of things

which is discreditable and for which they themselves are responsible—but not otherwise.

If it be discreditable not to have an indigenous *lingua franca* in India, surely Mr. Bose and his Indian friends were not responsible for its absence; nor are any other Indians responsible. From ancient times India has had many languages. The present generation of Indians did not create them. In ancient times among the educated perhaps Sanskrit served the purpose of a *lingua franca* over a great part of the country, and among the common people perhaps some form of Prakrit. These have ceased to be current. Sanskrit is still cultivated by many educated persons, but rarely spoken.

It is very often said that India equals in area the whole of Europe *minus* Russia. Now in this large area of Europe *minus* Russia the number of the principal languages spoken is larger than that of the principal languages spoken in India—we mean those which have alphabets and literatures of their own. In this large European area, there is no *lingua franca* which is indigenous to each and every country of Europe. This may be inconvenient to Europeans but is not discreditable to them. Many Europeans who are neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen converse with one another in French or English. They are not ashamed of doing so. No doubt, if Europe *minus* Russia did not have so many languages but had only one, or had a common language in addition to the mother-tongue of each country, or if the mother-tongue of some European country had been understood by all the inhabitants of all the other countries, that would have been more convenient for ordinary and commercial intercourse. But Europeans are not ashamed that the state of things is different.

It may be objected that the big area of Europe *minus* Russia is not one state or one country, but consists of many separate independent countries, and it is these separate countries which have different languages; whereas India is one country, one state, and different parts of India, called provinces, have different languages. But considered from the standpoint of the whole of humanity, this difference between Europe *minus* Russia and India is not a fundamental difference. What is a province in one age, century or generation, may be a separate country in another. What were provinces of the vast ancient or mediæval Roman Empire became separate countries afterwards. But such historical argument and speculation need not be

resorted to. Only some two decades ago, Vienna, where Mr. Bose felt ashamed of conversing in English with fellow-Indians, was the capital of one State, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the then provinces of which are now separate countries. But neither then when they were parts of one State, nor now when they are separate countries, did they or do they have an *indigenous* *lingua franca*—if any. They did not and do not think such a state of things shameful.

Mr. Bose spent part of his exile in Switzerland. In this small country and state three languages are spoken in different parts, German, French and Italian, none of which is spoken or understood by all the Swiss. Besides these Romansch and other languages are spoken there. This is inconvenient, but the Swiss do not consider this state of things a disgrace.

We are not here arguing against our trying to have a common language. It would be convenient if we had one. What we mean is that we need not be ashamed of having no common language. Nor need we be ashamed of using English, the language of the foreign rulers of India. Perhaps, even if India did not come under British rule, many of us would be using it as the independent Chinese and the independent Japanese use it. A Chinese lady, Rose Quong, writes in the *Asiatic Review* for July,

“In the hotel [in China] where I stayed I had a regular procession of boys coming to my room offering to fill up my teapot or water-jug, all in the hope of learning a word of English. Everywhere I found this eagerness to learn what is, as you know, the secondary language in China.”

At one stage of their school education Japanese boys and girls learn English.

We know, of course, the difference between the Chinese and the Japanese learning and using English and the people of India using it. They use it of their own free will and for their own convenience. We have to use it because it is the language of the foreign government. It is this feeling of being obliged to use it which hurts our self-respect. But nothing is gained by being too sensitive.

And after all, are Congressmen really ashamed of using English? Or is it somewhat of a sub-conscious Hundred Per cent Swadeshim pose? When and if the shame becomes deep-seated they will cease to write books, pamphlets, bulletins, newspaper articles, addresses, and the like in English, and cease to converse with one another in English—whether in Vienna or in any Indian town or village.

Will Hindustani Oust the Other Provincial Languages

President Subhas Chandra Bose is reported to have said further:

The public in the Madras Presidency is opposed to the introduction of Hindustani in the secondary schools on the ground that Hindustani will oust or crush the provincial languages. This is a grave misunderstanding. Hindustani is to be introduced only in place of English, as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse.

If we remember aright, it was to the same audience which Mr. Bose addressed that Mahatma Gandhi sent a message to the effect that the object of the Congress was to give to Hindustani the position which has been attempted to be given, without success, to English.

Perhaps extreme Indian advocates of English—we doubt if there is any appreciably large number of them—may desire that it should become the medium of inter-provincial intercourse even among the masses. That desire—if cherished by anybody—can never be fulfilled. At present English is used for the following purposes: as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse among English-knowing persons; as the language of commerce between different parts of India and often of commercial transactions in the same town or province; as the medium of intellectual and cultural intercourse with foreign countries; as the language of law-courts, legislative bodies, law-codes, government offices, etc.; as the language used in the proceedings, discussions, debates, etc., of our own political, social and other associations and organizations; as the language of many of our newspapers and periodicals; and as the cultural language in almost all our colleges and universities.

As Mahatma Gandhi's message was very brief, it did not specify whether Hindustani was meant to be used for all but one of the purposes for which English is at present used, the exception being its use for intellectual and cultural intercourse with foreign countries.

We have tried to show in our note on "The Language of Universities Under Congress Rule" in our last number, page 133, that the logical and natural outcome of making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule would or should be to make it the cultural language, too, of those universities in India of which English is at present the cultural language, and they are the majority. If what we have said be correct, the development of the Hindustani language would receive a very great impetus, and at the same time the development

of the other provincial languages would be arrested. For, as we have said in the aforementioned note, "no language, no literature can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture."

So, if our anticipation be correct, making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule will be very favourable for its growth.

Of course, so far as one can peer into the future, Hindustani will not oust the other provincial languages as media of ordinary intercourse and of elementary school education, though it will stunt the growth of the latter.

But as the Congress has not placed all its linguistic cards on the table, prognostication is very difficult, if not impossible.

As the Congress is against secret diplomacy, secret conspiracy, and other secret methods, it should tell the public in detail what position it wants Hindustani to occupy under Congress rule.

Restriction on Advertisement of Medicated Wines

MADRAS, AUG. 16.

In the Legislative Assembly today the Bill to amend the Madras Prohibition Act which was moved by the Premier, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, prohibiting all advertisements of medicated wines and the like, except in medical journals, was passed into law.

Mr. C. H. Hodgson on behalf of the European group said that prohibiting advertisements would seriously affect the revenue of newspapers of this province.

The Premier in reply admitted that newspapers would lose some revenue, but the Premier thought, it would be negligible in comparison with the loss incurred by the Government on account of prohibition.

Similar legislation is necessary in the other provinces also.

Some Biharis Claim Darjeeling and Maldah

A Patna paper has said that as before the repartitioning of the province of Bengal in 1912 the districts of Darjeeling and Maldah were under the administrative Division of Bhagalpur, these districts should again come under the Bhagalpur Division. This desire has been echoed in some other quarters in Bihar.

The cry for the *status quo* appeals to many. But then why not go the whole hog, instead of only part of the hog? A whole-hogger would say: Before 1912 Bhagalpur Division was in the province of Bengal; so it should go back to Bengal. Or, better still, before 1912 Bihar was included in the province of Bengal, and, therefore, out of whole-souled respect for the

status quo Bihar should again be included in the province of Bengal!

Removal of Depressed Classes' Disabilities in Madras

MADRAS, AUG. 17.

The non-official bill moved by Mr. M. C. Rajah to provide for the removal of civil disabilities of Harijans in regard to appointments to any public office or in regard to access to public well-, ponds, roads, etc., was passed into law today by the Madras Legislative Assembly. Both the Government and Opposition benches welcomed the measure as a great piece of social reform long overdue. Kumararaja Muthiah Chettier, leader of the Opposition, congratulated the Premier and the Ministerial party for accepting the Bill. He hoped this reform would be greeted with whole-hearted approval by the general public and there would be no difficulty in putting it into execution.

The Premier S. J. C. Rajagopalachariar, said, he was glad that much enthusiasm was not exhibited over the measure. That negative phenomenon itself was proof of the stage to which the country had advanced. He hoped, not only would this bill be getting into the Statute Book, but the general public would give it the fullest effect.—A.P.

There should be similar legislation in all other provinces where the depressed classes suffer from similar disabilities.

"Unfortunate Lapse From Correct Democratic Practice"

LONDON, AUG. 13.

The Congress Working Committee was entirely out of its rights in the Khare affair, opine the *Manchester Guardian* in the course of a leader. The paper says: "The Congress, as its leaders frequently affirm, is a democratic organization. Under Congress (and only thus) will India become a democratic State. But the fact that the main goal of the Congress—Independence—has not yet been reached means that the party discipline is severe and the recent incident in the Central Provinces has shown to what exaggerated and dangerous lengths this severity can be carried."

After recounting the circumstances of Dr. Khare's going out from the premiership and the Working Committee's criticism of the Governor's "ugly haste," the paper says:—

"This normal incident of a constitutional procedure is regarded as a shameful act of indiscipline by the members of the Working Committee. It is natural that experienced leaders of the Congress should be anxious to keep a controlling eye on the activities of some of their less experienced supporters in the provinces, but no amount of anxiety can give the Working Committee any constitutional status. To put it bluntly, the Governor was perfectly within his rights and the Committee out of its rights and the incident was an unfortunate lapse from what politicians in India as elsewhere should accept as the correct democratic practice."—*Reuter*.

Resolution for Bombay Assembly Against Communal "Award"

POONA, AUG. 15.

Mr. S. L. Karandikar, M.L.A. of the Democratic Swarajya Party, has given notice of the following resolution—

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tion on the Communal Award to be moved by him in the forthcoming session of the Bombay Assembly:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government the Assembly's considered opinion that the Communal Award is anti-national and undemocratic and as such it should be immediately replaced by an arrangement which recognizes the equality of all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or colour."—*United Press*.

Similar resolutions ought to be moved in all other provincial legislatures and in the central legislature. It would be an acid test of the nationalism of the members.

Girls' Education in Hyderabad Through Their Mother-tongue

HYDERABAD, (DECCAN).

An important innovation in regard to the medium of instruction in schools for girls in the Dominions, in the shape of imparting instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue of the students, has been introduced by the Government on the recommendation of Mr. Syed Mohammad Hussain Jaffary, the Director of Public Instruction.

While accepting the point raised by the D. P. I., the Government have approved of the introduction with immediate effect of the imparting of instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue in Middle Schools for girls throughout the State. In fact, a start has already been made in this direction in all the districts where girls are being taught in Marathi, Telugu and Canarese. In all these places parallel classes in Hindustani are also being conducted.—A.P.I.

It is to be presumed that previous to this "innovation" girls in Hyderabad had instruction imparted to them through the medium of some language other than their mother-tongue!

Through the medium of what language are the boys in the Nizam's Dominions taught?

"Manchester Guardian" on Frontier Policy

LONDON, AUG. 17.

The *Manchester Guardian* in a leader on Government's double problem in North-West Frontier, namely, where to draw the frontier and what policy to adopt towards the hill tribes, counsels a return to the principles enacted by Lord Curzon, namely,—“the withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions, employment of tribal forces in the defence of the tribal country, concentration of British forces in British territory behind them as a safeguard, and improvement of communications in the rear.”

The paper says:

"Unless the present policy is changed, similar wasteful wars like that dragging on for nearly two years in Waziristan are not likely to be avoided in the future. The policy of troops and subsidies combined has failed and we are left with the necessity for diverting the money at present spent on subsidies to purposes which will achieve some lasting improvement of the tribesmen's lot."

"There are good reasons for trying a new programme now. Firstly, one excuse for a heavily fortified frontier—an aggressive Russia—has disappeared. Moreover, Afghanistan is now peaceful, independent and friendly. Secondly, there is an Indian Government in Peshawar related by religion and race to the neighbouring tribes."

The paper concludes, .

"Emphasis in the immediate future should be on economic improvements, for the problem of tribal areas is primarily economic. A Tribesman may be unlovely and bellicose, for his surroundings made him so, but there are only two possible futures for him. He can either be civilized or exterminated and no one has dared to suggest extermination."—*Reuter*.

Non-Muslims in Frontier Province

In spite of Congress government in the N.-W. F. Province non-Muslims continue to suffer from the predatory raids of the trans-frontier tribes. Non-Muslim women and men continue to be kidnapped, and plundering also goes on. Frontier-Congress fine words do not butter the parsnips of the victims; in fact they have no parsnips to butter.

Bengal Assembly "No Confidence" Motions

Ten motions of "no confidence" had been tabled for being moved in the Bengal Assembly against the ten Bengal ministers, one a piece. Three were moved. But as they were lost, the remaining ones were not moved.

The 25 seats enjoyed in the Bengal Assembly by the British exploiters of India saved the *dal-bhat* ministry from defeat. But though these seats saved the ministry, it would be rather blasphemous to call them a *God-send*. They were a "—send."

If these British birds of passage had no seats or if the voting had been confined to the persons elected by the people of Bengal as their representatives, the Opposition would have had a clear victory. These British members of the Assembly have become the arbiters of the destiny of Bengal and will continue to be such so long as we do not have a really democratic constitution.

But such a constitution cannot be had unless the Congress gives up its "sitting on the fence" attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision.

There is British Raj in the whole of India, no Swa-Raj. In Bengal there is (1) British Raj, (2) British Bania Raj under it, and, under that again, (3) Muslim Raj à la Fazlul Huq.

Renewal of Agitation Against Communal "Award"

It was on the 18th August, 1932, that the late Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald gave his so-called award on the communal question. Agitation against it was renewed on the 18th August last in Bengal. This was quite in the fitness of things, as this accursed decision of the British imperialists has done its worst to wipe out the intelligentsia of Bengal from the political map of India. The shrewdest and the most sinister imperialist blow has been struck at them, but they have not been killed. Nor are they hors de combat yet. The revivers of the agitation have received support and congratulations from outside Bengal, some expressing the opinion that the Congress ought to have taken the lead in this matter. Officially the Congress in Bengal is not in the fight. That is patent. But many Congressmen have openly supported the renewal of the fight, all pro-Congress organs have written enthusiastically in support of it, and one would have to search in Bengal with the opposite of a Diogenes lantern for the Hindu Bengali Congressman who is not in favour of the absolute rejection of the Communal Decision.

We write, "Hindu Bengali Congressman," in order to be strictly accurate. There are many Mussalman Congressmen also who are against this Decision, and the defeat of the recent "no confidence" motions in the Bengal Assembly must have opened the eyes of many other Mussalmans to the sinister significance of this most effective of imperialistic weapons forged during the whole period of British rule in India. One recalls in this connection that on the 21st August, 1932, the Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League passed the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved that the Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League most emphatically protest against the Communal Award of the Prime Minister, inasmuch as,

(a) it does not recognize and give effect to the principle of joint-electorate, without any reservation of seats in Bengal, as demanded by the Bengal Presidency Muslim League in its last annual session,

(b) it gives unfair weightage to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, out of all reasonable proportion,

(c) it retains and creates constituencies for special interests, such as landlords, commerce, etc., which are inimical to the growth of democracy in the country,

(d) it deliberately holds in abeyance the questions of representation in the Central Legislature, of separation of Sind, and of unicameral legislatures in the provinces, all of which make it almost impossible to properly the award,

(c) it is silent over the question of personal laws and fundamental rights.

2. The Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League strongly disapproves of the conduct of the Mussalmans who accept the mischievous Communal Award and specially of those Mussalmans of Bengal who accept the statutory minority in the Bengal Legislative Council. *The Mussalman*, August 25, 1932.

On the 18th of August last there were three separate meetings in Calcutta, all with enthusiastic audiences. That held at the Albert Hall under the presidentship of S. J. Narendra Kumar Basu was attended and addressed by the writer. He found the main body of the hall, the dais and the galleries filled to capacity. The president made a very effective speech. He did not speak for Hindu Bengalis alone but for the whole people of Bengal, of all communities and classes, as the following extract from his speech will show:

"Gentlemen, when the award was published, one of the great things that was pointed out was the danger, the corroding effect it is bound to have upon our national consciousness. We, the Bengalee Hindus and Mahomedans, if we are to govern our own province we must do it as Bengalees first, Bengalees last, Bengalees every time. There is no question of Hindu interests in Bengal or Muslim interests in Bengal. The interest of the Hindu peasant is the same as that of the Muslim peasant; the interest of the Hindu merchant is the same as that of the Muslim merchant, the interest of the Hindu zemindar is the same as that of the Muslim zemindar. I do not know how, except in the matter of religion, there can be one set of interest for Hindus in this province and another set of interest for the Mahomedans."

That Mahomedan interests in religion are not affected he showed in the second of the following paragraphs:

"The Chief Minister was very anxious to prove to the Britishers in the country that he was carrying on the administration according to the British principles. That, I submit, is a direct effect of the so-called Communal Award. That, I submit, is one of the baneful results of the Communal Award.

"The other result is the cry of religion in danger. You have already had examples of it during the last 16 or 17 months that the present reformed administration has been in existence. That is a false cry, that is a cry which goes beyond the realms of truth. That is a cry which has no place in political administration. But that is also one of the inevitable results of the so-called Communal Award.

Mr. Basu concluded by observing:

"I submit that it is unnecessary to point out to you in any further detail the inequities of this award and the necessity of having it repealed as quickly as possible. I will not talk of amending it. We have had enough of amendments and tinkering. We want it to go lock, stock and barrel. I hope young men will remember the immortal words of Bankim Chandra, 'Who but Bengalees can save the Bengalees?'"

The only resolution placed before the meeting and carried unanimously was moved by S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee.

S. J. Hirendra Nath Datta, S. J. Sanat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri, ex-mayor of Calcutta, S. J. Jogendra Nath Mandal, M.L.A., and Prof. Batukeshwar Bhattacharya also addressed the meeting.

Outside Calcutta and Bengal many meetings were also held in many places on the 18th August to condemn the Communal Decision.

Simla Meeting Against Communal Decision

SIMLA, Aug. 18.

S. J. Akhil Chandra Dutt, Deputy-President, Central Assembly, presided over a crowded meeting of the citizens of Simla organized by the Congress Nationalist Party this evening to protest against the Communal Award. Bhai Paramanand, Mr. M. S. Aney, Pandit Lakshmikanta Maitra, Sir Gokulchand Narang, Doctor Pramatha Nath Banerjee and Sardar Sant Singh spoke at the meeting.

The following resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously:

"The citizens of Simla assembled at a public meeting are of definite opinion that the Communal Award is unjust, undemocratic and anti-national. It has divided the nation into warring camps and destroyed the solidarity in the movement of nationalism which has been established by the Indian National Congress. Experience of the working of the Provincial Governments based on the Communal Award particularly in Bengal and the Punjab has clearly demonstrated to what length the communalism can go and injure the cause of nationalism. The meeting therefore expect that all the patriotic elements will put forth united and combined efforts to fight this great evil and danger to the progress of Indian people to the status of a free and democratic nation."

Correspondent of "The Times" on "Divided Bengal"

The correspondent in India of the London *Times* writes thus on the intelligentsia of Bengal under the heading "Divided Bengal":

"Developments in Bengal under Provincial autonomy are apt to intensify communalism, to aggravate political antagonisms, and to emphasize the curious constitutional subjection which the reforms have imposed upon the caste Hindus of the Province. Notwithstanding the slight numerical supremacy of the Moslems in the area, few in the past have regarded Bengal as a Moslem Bengal; but today, by an unusual combination of circumstances, those Hindus who have played so prominent a part in the economic, cultural, and political evolution of the Province have been almost relegated to political insignificance.

"Geographically, linguistically, and racially Bengal is more homogeneous than the other Provinces of British India, but politically it is now bitterly divided along communal lines, which, however, tend to dialectics rather than violence. Moslems, supported by representatives of the scheduled castes, are in political power, and those Hindus who fought valiantly and even violently for constitutional reform, in the hope that they would

man the bureaucracy and control the administration, find themselves faced with what looks like the permanent political predominance of the Moslems. Although the Ministry in power is a coalition, composed of six Moslems and five Hindus, the Hindu representative are not generally thought to reflect that political philosophy which Hindus as a whole have brought to the fore. Thus the Bengali Hindus are in the main despondent over the situation, and view with extreme bitterness the Communal Award and the Poona Pact, which they regard as mainly responsible for their present political degradation."

Killing Communal Decision With Weightage-walas' Consent

There seems to be a fond belief in some quarters that the Communal Decision can be done away with with the consent of those whom it has placed in an advantageous position. *Credat Judaeus Apella!* We are sceptical.

In Sir N. N. Sircar's speeches and pamphlets there is a leaflet on what he calls "A 'Temporary' Permanent Arrangement." It relates to the Communal Decision. Sir N. N. Sircar returned to India after his work as delegate to the Joint Committee in London on August 19, 1933. He sent this leaflet to the members of the committee by post on 27th October, 1933. We take the following passages from it:

I put a question to the Secretary of State (Q. 7223, p. 818 of the Reports of the Proceedings of the Committee) :

Q. "I was going to ask the Secretary of State, if he will permit me: As the communal decision stands it means this: Assuming for the sake of argument one party has got more than it ought to have, it must assent to that being given away *before there can be any change at any time. You have got to get the assent of somebody who has got more than he ought to have?*"

Ans. "If Sir N. Sircar makes that hypothesis, it is so."

On this question and answer Sir N. N. Sircar observes:

Purporting to make a decision, which holds good for ten years only, the authors have shown remarkable ingenuity in making it in effect, and in fact, good for all times.

The leaflet ends with the following passage:

If I were told that I was giving a temporary lease, I would object to the expression if it was a condition that the lease could not be terminated at any time unless the tenant agreed.

But then I am merely a lawyer and not a statesman having the destiny of a community of 22 millions [that is, the Bengali Hindus] in my hands.

Some British statesmen have succeeded in drafting a lease of Bengal for ten years to a community insisting on special electorates—and after ten years the lease cannot be terminated without magnanimous renunciation on their part.

Who can say that this is not a remarkable achievement?

China's Appeals for Help

We are grateful to the China Information Committee of Hankow for their News Releases, which supply abundant information relating to the situation in China and all movements for her rehabilitation. From before we began to get these releases we have been receiving pamphlets and other material from an American lady who at great risk to her health and life remains as near to the front as possible. We cannot be too grateful to her. She sent us successively three packets containing appeals, photographs of Japanese atrocities, and papers bearing on the kind of medical and surgical material which China requires, with a request that we should send them on to the Congress authorities. One batch of these we sent to S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose at his Calcutta address and two to the Foreign Department of the Congress at Allahabad. Though we did not get any acknowledgement of the receipt of any of the three, we hope they reached their destination and were used to good purpose.

China's Appeal for Books and Periodicals

Mr. T. L. Yuan, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Library Association of China, at Hong Kong in the course of an appeal to Dr. Wali Mohamad of Lucknow University, president of the All-India Library Association, says:—

Today the scholarly world in the West must have learned with great sympathy of the wanton destruction of a great number of cultural institutions and libraries in those parts of China which have been devastated by the aggression of the Japanese militarists. Institutions that have been affected cover a large area extending from Suiyuan in the north to Canton in the south. The total loss sustained through Japanese aggression is a hundred times greater than that inflicted by nature on Tokyo in 1923.

According to a survey up to the time of writing, 54 national and private Universities were either totally destroyed or disorganized in addition to a large number of cultural institutions and libraries. The valuable libraries and laboratories of many institutions have been laid waste. Finding themselves unable to function properly, many institutions have been forced to remove away from Japanese domination, leaving behind all their books and apparatuses. We are, therefore, obliged to start the work entirely afresh.

As the Chinese libraries are now compelled to start collecting books entirely out of nothing, we are in urgent need of books and periodicals of all kinds, old or new, specially of institutions working in various fields. Collected and bound periodicals of the type to build reference files are most welcome. Publications of various learned institutes in India would be gratefully received. Fiction, children's literature and magazines of non-scientific type may, however, be eliminated.

As the Library association of China has established an office in Hong-Kong these books and periodicals from

India can be sent to Hong-Kong which is free from Japanese aggression. In order to save you of the trouble of posting these to China, we may suggest that you forward them to the Chinese Consulate in Bombay which would arrange their shipment to us at our Hong-Kong address. The current issues of your serial publications, however, should be sent by mail so that Chinese scholars will be able to keep themselves in touch with your scientific work.

The slogan "Reconstruction while Resisting" is most popular and can be heard in every Province. Taking advantage of the presence of trained personnel from war zones construction work is being carried on in those parts of China which are away from maelstrom of war.

May we hope that the generous spirit on the part of members of your Association will enable libraries in China to carry on with renewed vigour and increased impetus in the time of national crisis.

We cordially commend this appeal to all who can help China in any of the ways mentioned therein.

Medical Mission to China

It is deeply gratifying that India has been able to send a medical mission to China with a small contingent of medical men and with medical and surgical appliances. However humble this token of sympathy, it is sincere, and will be, it is hoped, appreciated by China as such.

Indian Periodicals and Indian Newspapers

Indian newspapers conducted in English do not generally take any notice of Indian periodicals conducted in English. That is not because the conductors of the newspapers dislike the periodicals, but perhaps because they think that notices of periodicals will not serve any useful purpose or interest their readers. Whatever the cause, as our newspapers do not generally notice periodicals, we have to place some facts about our monthly before our readers.

A very small number of our newspapers notice some Indian periodicals. Some of these very few Indian newspapers which notice some Indian periodicals ignore the existence of *The Modern Review*.

There are some Indian newspapers which reproduce entire articles from *The Modern Review*, sometimes without any acknowledgment and sometimes with the name of our monthly printed in small type in the same line with the last sentence of the article, which readers may take to mean that that sentence alone is taken from our journal!

A certain daily of Calcutta, which has

sometimes reproduced, on its leader page, our articles without any acknowledgement, recently performed a remarkable feat. It reproduced on its leader page on the 31st July Professor Dr. M. N. Saha's article on "The Philosophy of Industrialization" in our last (August) number which was published on the first August! It printed the name of our monthly at the end of the article in small type. Subsequently some of its correspondents gave this daily the credit for publishing Dr. Saha's article, and the daily, of course, did not say that the credit belonged to *The Modern Review*!

Some Features of "The Modern Review"

We have said above that very few Indian newspapers notice Indian periodicals and that some of those which do, ignore the existence of *The Modern Review*. Those, again, which notice *The Modern Review* ignore two of its features, namely, its editorial notes, regularly contributed to its pages by the editor month after month during the last thirty-one years and eight months, and its illustrations.

Regarding the editorial notes it would not be proper for us to say anything. If we mention them at all, it is not because we have any exaggerated idea of their value, but because they are perhaps a distinctive feature of *The Modern Review* alone among Indian monthlies.

As regards the illustrations, we are not under any delusion in relation to their quality. Nevertheless a few facts may be mentioned.

So far as our knowledge goes, *The Modern Review* is the only English monthly in India which publishes every month a reproduction in colours of some original painting. We say nothing as regards the quality either of the reproductions or of the paintings themselves. But it is a fact that we sometimes receive requests for reprints or for the blocks of some of these from some Indian editors outside Bengal. What is of greater significance, some of the artists whose paintings we have reproduced have received requests from the office of a famous American illustrated monthly for some of their works. Our readers may also be interested to learn that one of our readers in Brazil, who is not a native of India, asked us to name some of our artists who may be able to supply him with the design for his seal with an Indian philosophical motto.

Our black and white illustrations, too, have not gone unnoticed abroad. To mention

a few facts: We had to supply to a famous American illustrated monthly, at its request, photographs of Jawaharlal Nehru's reception in Barabazar, Calcutta, and of his interview with Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, published in our journal. The same monthly cabled to us for a copy of Satyendranath Bisi's portrait of Mahatma Gandhi published in our journal in May. An American News Service also asked for a copy of this photograph. Rabindranath Tagore's portrait in our last June number was reproduced from a photograph by S. Saha which had been awarded the first prize in an International Photograph Competition in London.

Another fact may be mentioned here. *The Modern Review* supplies a far larger quantity and a greater variety of original contributions than any other English monthly published in India. But as those very few newspapers which notice *The Modern Review* devote to its notice generally the same amount of space as they devote to the notices of other periodicals, they thus unintentionally lead their readers to infer either that our journal contains no more reading than other monthlies, or that, except the few articles mentioned in these newspaper notices, the other contents of our monthly are entirely unworthy of notice.

Bengali Newspapers and Bengali Periodicals

We exchange *Prabasi* with some Bengali newspapers and more Bengali periodicals. Some of the Bengali newspapers which we get notice some Bengali periodicals, but not *Prabasi*. Some of these periodicals are also noticed in some English dailies of Calcutta. But all these Bengali and English newspapers regularly ignore *Prabasi*, as they regularly ignore *The Modern Review*.

How To Stop Crimes Against Women

Bengal has acquired a disgraceful prominence for the number and frequency of crimes against women and for the diabolical character of many of these atrocities. How to prevent these outrages and thus make the persons, the honour and the lives of women in Bengal—particularly in villages, safe and make them feel at ease in their homes and outside, is the gravest social problem in Bengal. From the fact that it is the Hindu public men and the Hindu journalists who carry on agitation—

in a very ineffective and inadequate manner, it must be admitted—against the evil, it should not be inferred that it is Hindu women alone who are victimized. Readers of newspapers who read the news of these outrages cannot fail to have noticed that Mussalman women, too, suffer, and that there have been some cases in which Christian and Brahmo women also have been grievously outraged. Some years ago the Home Member of the Bengal Government, now the officiating Governor of Bengal, placed some statistics before the Bengal legislature which showed that among the women offended against Muslim women were larger in number than Hindu women. There is no means by which the accuracy of these figures can be tested. But it is plain that the evil is a great problem for the Muslim community also.

There are a few organizations in Bengal whose object is to protect women, to bring about or help in the prosecution of the offenders and their conviction, and either to restore to their families the women who have been wronged or to provide for them a home in Ashrams where they can be educated to be self-supporting.

One of these organizations, perhaps the oldest, is the Nari Raksha Samity, or the Women's Protection League. It is no doubt a disgrace that such organizations should be required in any country; but, circumstances being what they are, it would have been more shameful if there had not been any. The Women's Protection League is a thoroughly non-sectarian society which helps women of all communities who require its help, to the best of its ability. It is greatly to be regretted that its funds are inadequate and the number of its workers very small. For this reason it has not been able to render as much help to as many women in distress as is desirable.

In order to call public attention to the evil, to point out and consider the preventive and remedial measures needed, and to appeal to the public to give adequate help to the Women's Protection League to enable it to carry on its beneficent work a public meeting was held in the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 19th August last under the presidency of S. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Indian National Congress. It was very largely attended. Many ladies were present on the dais. Besides the president, Mrs. Kumudini Bose, Secretary to the Women's Protection League, Mrs. A. K. Saha (a Russian lady), Professor Abdur Rahim, a Vice-president of the League, S. Srimanta Kumar Das Gupta, retired district magistrate

and joint-secretary to the League, Sj. Tarak Chandra Ray, retired district magistrate, Sj. Jatindra Kumar Biswas, additional presidency magistrate, Sj. Sachindra Prasad Basu, and Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee were among those who addressed the meeting.

The president made a powerful and very outspoken speech. He spoke quietly, but the strong feeling and intense conviction which underlay his address could not be mistaken. He said that formerly he thought the problem which they had met to consider was a communal affair. But ten years ago, when he was confined in Mandalay jail, regular perusal of the news relating to crimes against Bengal in the *Sanjibani* convinced him that it was not a communal evil and that both Mussalman and Hindu women were victimized by hooligans. He had travelled abroad and was otherwise acquainted with the state of things in many foreign countries, but he was not aware that in any of them organizations existed for the protection of women. It was a shame that any such organization should be required here. In his opinion the people of this country had in their midst a larger number of men with a larger degree of bestiality in their character than in any other country, and yet we boasted of being a "spiritual" people. There was greater bestiality here than abroad, he asserted. "Do we get indignant, does our blood boil, when we hear of these atrocities?" he asked. Some individuals there may be whose blood boils, but there was no national indignation, no social conscience. If it were not so, how is it that the brutes who are guilty of these heinous crimes are tolerated in society—nay, treated as if they had done nothing wrong, whereas the women who are ruined receive the opposite kind of treatment. He said he did not know that the diabolical crime of 'gang-rape' existed in any other country. He referred to the fact that in Calcutta tram cars there were benches labeled "Reserved for Ladies." These would be quite unnecessary if we were a people who really respected womanhood. He exhorted our young men to see to it that all women could move about freely and to teach a lesson on the spot to any one who dared to annoy or molest any woman by look, word or deed. He exhorted the women-folk, too, to be strong and courageous. Gymnasiums should be opened in all villages and towns for teaching girls and women the arts of self-defence and the use of the dagger and the lathi for defensive purposes. They should reform their dress also, shorten their veils, and walk boldly with firm steps—not as

if their feet were about to be entangled in their clothes and they might fall down any moment. Ruffians would not dare face such women. It is not a mere political revolution that was needed. True revolutionists were out to destroy all bondage, every obstacle to men and women leading free and fearless lives.

As for Ashrams for helpless women, it is not one Nari Kalyan Ashram (Women's Welfare Home) that we require to maintain, but very many of them.

President Bose said that he was opposed to whipping offenders, but made an exception in the case of the scoundrels who ruined women. He would have them soundly flogged in addition to being punished in other ways. He referred to the laws and ordinances meant to crush political agitation and political workers; but where were the laws and ordinances to rid society of these pests?

We have given above the purport of only parts of his speech, which was in Bengali. It were much to be wished that his speech had been reported in extenso exactly as delivered.

Some of the other speakers narrated heart-rending tales of women who had been ravished, and some also incidents in which women had killed their assailants to preserve their chastity. The directions in which the law ought to be changed to make the conviction of offenders surer and casier were indicated. Women who have not completed their 16th year are considered minors. But this age ought to be raised. In extra-marital relations, those below 18 ought to be considered minors. They cannot dispose of any property before they are 18, but the law thinks that they can consent to part with their most precious possession even when they are 16! One speaker suggested emasculation of rapists.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the late Mr. Justice Syed Amir Ali suggested in the eighties (as far as we remember) of the last century that capital punishment ought to be inflicted on the offenders in cases of "gang-rape." The frequency of such crimes in those days in the Rajshahi district led him to make this suggestion. But his colleagues in the High Court did not support him, and so his proposal was not even considered by the government. He cited a precedent for such legislation. There was a time when in the British colony of Australia hooligans, known there as "larrikins", used to commit such crimes. Australians being a self-governing people and their own women being the sufferers, they enacted a temporary law for pronouncing

sentence of death on these offenders and executing them. As the result of such drastic but necessary legislation these crimes completely disappeared in no time, and the law was then repealed.

It has been also suggested that there should be special tribunals for the trial of offences against women, and special and urgent steps should be taken to make the police do their duty in these cases to the limit of their ability and legal powers.

One of the speakers said that wicked men were able to terrorize others and gain their object because they banded themselves and were prepared to take risks and face danger, whereas good men, or those who are considered and consider themselves good, did not combine and did not face danger to frustrate the evil designs of the wicked. He suggested that in all villages in Bengal there should be bands of defenders of womanhood and branches of the Women's Protection League. They should work in their villages and their neighbourhood like the knight errants of Europe of days gone by.

The Women's Protection League has all along extended its help to women in need of it irrespective of the religion professed by them. The secretary and joint secretary mentioned facts at the meeting in support of this statement.

Nari Kalyan Ashram

During the five years 1932-1936 this home has given shelter to and helped in various ways 1,125 women. On an average every month the Ashram gives shelter to, educates and helps in other ways 113 women. The figures given below show how many women from what provinces found refuge here: Bengal 1,012, Bihar 45, Orissa 12, Assam 9, United Provinces 24, Central Provinces and Rajputana 18, Madras 2, Bombay 1, Panjab 2. It is very much cramped for accommodation, and requires a commodious building of its own. Funds are also urgently needed. Sir P. C. Ray is the president of this institution.

Tata Contributions to Indian Charities

We have been asked to publish the following statement, and gladly do so:

"A statement recently prepared by the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, the Trustees of the Sir Ratan Tata Charities and the Lady Tata Memorial Trust, shows that during the years 1933-1937 inclusive, the combined Tata Trusts distributed Rs. 24,63,815 for charitable purposes.

"Because of the press publicity attending the awards of foreign research scholarships by the Lady Tata Memorial Trust, the criticism has been made that the Tata Charities distribute a disproportionate amount of their income abroad. The fact is that the Lady Tata Memorial Trust, for a reason personal to the founder, was established with particular reference to the encouragement of study and research in diseases of the blood, with special reference to Leukoemias. Grants for this purpose are made to scientists, in any part of the world, whose work appears to give promise of obtaining the desired results. The amount of foreign scholarships awarded by this Trust during the five year period is Rs. 1,56,332 as against Rs. 57,001 awarded to Indian scholars.

"Leaving the Lady Tata Memorial Trust out of consideration, because of its specialized character, the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and the Sir Ratan Tata Charities have, within the years 1933-1937, given Rs. 22,25,057 or 99 per cent of their total donations, to Indian charities. Education, medicine and social work have been the chief beneficiaries."

Burma Riots

In writing of or referring to the riots in Burma one should be as dispassionate and impartial as possible. So we shall say nothing relating to the origin of the riots. A friend in Burma who knows all the facts has supplied us with definite information on the subject. We do not intend to publish this information. Another friend who, at great risk to his life and limbs, did rescue work, gave relief and rendered medical and surgical aid has sent us a harrowing account of what he has seen. He will not publish his experiences—they may inflame passion; nor will he publish any of the 40 photographs which he has managed to take. When his report is ready he will send a copy of it to the Government of Burma—perhaps with copies of the 40 photographs—and another copy to the Indian National Congress. He desires wholeheartedly to establish peace and amity between Burmans and Indians so that there may not be such riots again.

We transcribe below some passages from Mahatma Gandhi's article on the riots in *Harizan*:

"If the Buddhist of Burma have little regard for Islam and Muslims for Buddhism, the seeds of dissensions are there. They will take little watering to sprout into the savagery such as we saw the other day. I would, therefore, suggest a mutual understanding of these great religions":

Thus says Mahatma Gandhi in an editorial in "*Harizan*" on "Recent Riots in Burma."

"My fear is" continues Mahatma Gandhi, "that at the bottom of the riots there is an anti-Indian feeling due, perhaps, to economic causes. For, though Muslims seem to have suffered most, Hindus too seem to have come in for a fair share of the Burman fury. Therefore, Indian settlers must see to it that their dealings with the Burmans are fair and above board."

Mahatmaji concludes:

"To the Burmese friends one word. When I was in Burma some years ago, Burmese priests were good enough to invite me to their conference and honour me with their address under the shadow of the mighty Pagoda. They were good enough, as Buddhists, to claim me as one of them. It, therefore, hurt me when I read of the mob fury which knew no distinction of sex or age and wreaked vengeance on persons who could never have had anything to do with the offending pamphlet. I have the greatest veneration for the Buddha. He is one of the greatest preachers of peace. The gospel of the Buddha is gospel of love. It passes comprehension how representatives of that faith could give themselves up to savagery, and that on an apparently flimsy pretext. The pity of it is that if the newspaper reports were true, even priests, the repositories of the Buddha's gospel, were to be seen among the mob, not stilling its fury, but actually taking part in loot, arson and murder. Would that the wise men among them would do a little heart-searching and take steps to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy which all right-thinking persons must deplore!"
—A.P.

It is to be noted that, according to Muslim spokesmen, regret was expressed and apology tendered in Burma on behalf of the Muslims there for the book which inflamed the Burmans. It is to be hoped that this reasonable attitude will be in evidence among all communities even when not confronted with the overwhelming fury of antagonists.

London Muslim Procession Against Mr. H. G. Wells

What is called religious toleration can be practised in two ways. One is, not to attack the faith of the sacred books of other communities or the persons and objects revered by them. The other is to bear with such attacks directed against one's own religion. There ought to be reciprocity in these respects among the different religious communities. Reasoned criticism is not attack. But even attack upon one's religion should either be borne patiently or met with facts and arguments.

We have not seen the sentences in Mr. H. G. Wells's book which are considered offensive by Muslims. But the deputation of 200 Muslims in London which marched in procession to Sir Feroze Khan Noon to request him to lay their case against Mr. Wells before the British Government appears to show that what that famous British author has written has thrown them off their balance. In modern times it is only or mostly Muslims who were thought to be hypersensitive in religious matters. But the recent Burma riots have shown that there are others who are not prepared to take the second place in this respect.

These riots ought to teach all communities not to give way to excitement.

The Importation of British Experts

In reply to a question asked in the Central Assembly by Mr. Satyamurti, Sir G. S. Bajpai has stated on behalf of the Government that ten British experts have been imported into India for our benefit. And more will come hereafter. The excuse for bringing them into India is that such specially qualified persons are not to be found in India. But Indians do not admit two things: one is that the services of every one of them are at all required for the good of India, and the other is that the like of any one of them is not to be found in India. Moreover, it goes without saying that India cannot afford to pay the high salaries and allowances fixed for them.

Mr. Ogilvie's Bill Relating to Army Recruitment

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie has introduced a Bill in the Central Assembly which, if passed into law, will be known as the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1938. Its preamble runs thus:

"Whereas it is expedient to supplement the criminal law by providing for the punishment of certain acts prejudicial to the recruitment of persons to serve in, and to the discipline of, His Majesty's Forces."

The statement of objects and reasons is quoted below:

A large number of public speeches designed to dissuade persons from enlisting in the Defence Forces or, in the alternative, to incite would-be recruits to commit acts of mutiny or insubordination after joining those Forces have come to notice during the past eighteen months. The object of the speakers is clearly not the spread of pacifism, but to dissuade would-be recruits from taking part in any war in which the British Empire may become engaged. The Bill is designed to penalise these activities.

We have not heard or read any speech like those described in the first sentence quoted above, and hence are unable to say whether such speeches have actually been made or, if made, whether they are objectionable. Pacifistic writings, mostly extracted from British papers, are sometimes met with in Indian newspapers. We have read of anti-war speeches delivered in India on the Anti-war day. The Indian National Congress stands openly for the principle that India has every right to refuse to take part in Britain's wars, just as the Dominions have. Congressmen have made speeches

and pro-Congress newspapers have written articles in support of this right. It would, we think, be quite easy to make use of the principal section of the Bill, quoted below, to penalize pacifistic writings and speeches and writings and speeches upholding India's right to participate or not to participate in Britain's wars.

2. Whoever—

(a) wilfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering the military, naval or air Forces of His Majesty, or

(b) without dissuading or attempting to dissuade any person from entering such Forces, instigates the public or any person to do, after entering any such Force, any thing which is an offence punishable as mutiny or insubordination under section 27 of the Indian Army Act, 1911, or sections 10 to 12 and 14 to 17 inclusive of the Naval Discipline Act as applied to the Indian Navy by the Indian Navy (Discipline) Act, 1934, or sections 35 to 37 inclusive of the Indian Air Force Act, 1932, as the case may be, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

The two "exceptions" appended to this section are :

Exception 1.—The provisions of clause (a) of this section do not extend to comments on or criticism of the policy of Government in connection with the military, naval or air Forces, made in good faith without any intention of dissuading from enlistment.

Exception 2.—The provisions of clause (a) of this section do not extend to the case in which advice is given in good faith for the benefit of the individual to whom it is given, or for the benefit of any member of his family or of any of his dependants.

The first exception cannot prevent prosecutions for the kind of writings and speeches which we have described above. And as such writings and speeches cannot be said to be "advice given" "for the benefit" of any particular "individual to whom it is given," or "for the benefit of any member of" the writer's or speaker's "family or of any of his dependants," the second exception will not stand in the way of the prosecution and conviction of pacifistic writers and speakers and writers and speakers who uphold India's right to freely decide whether to participate in Britain's wars or not.

For these reasons we consider the Bill objectionable and the opposition of nationalist M.L.A.s to it right and legitimate.

As regards the "extent and commencement" of the Bill, it is provided that

(2) It extends to the whole of British India.

(3) It shall come into force at once in the Punjab; and it shall come into force in any other province on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint in this behalf for the province.

The provision for the enforcement of the Bill in the Panjab immediately after its passage is due to the fact that that province is the principal recruiting ground for the Indian army and perhaps also because the military authorities apprehend danger in that quarter.

If and when the Bill becomes law, there is every likelihood of the Government coming into conflict with the Congress. For the latter will not and cannot recede from its position that India is entitled to self-determination in the matter of participation in Britain's wars.

This conflict can be avoided either by Government dropping the Bill or by the British "Home" Government agreeing to India having the "substance of independence"—in Mahatma Gandhi's words.

If India continues to be treated as a subject country, the Congress cannot but stand up for thoroughgoing pacifism—so far at any rate as Britain's wars are concerned. But if she obtains the substance of independence, the Congress may agree to Indians' participation in an *Indian* defensive war when necessary—thoroughgoing pacifism not yet being within the realm of practical politics for most countries at the present stage of human civilization.

These are of course our own personal views, not those of the Congress.

[The second reading of the Bill was passed on August 23.]

Flood in Several Provinces

The nation is faced with disastrous floods in several provinces. The calamity is not confined to north India. In the south also there have been such floods. Along with our contemporaries and leading public men we hope that all those who are not among the actual sufferers will give practical support to relief agencies. The provincial and central governments should do their duty.

So far as our knowledge goes, no large engineering works have been undertaken in India to minimize the destructive effects of floods.

Early Publication of our Present Number

In view of the approaching Durga Puja Holidays, we shall have to publish two successive issues of our magazines earlier than usual. Owing to the early publication of the present number we are unable to record or comment

upon Babu Rajendra Prasad's decision on the Bengali-Bihari question and other similar important matters in it.

Civil War in Spain

The civil war in Spain drags on its weary length—weary for the onlookers. Both parties are fighting as furiously as before with alternating victory and defeat.

Unrest in Palestine

In Palestine the situation has assumed a graver aspect. Sir Charles Tegart's plans have not succeeded. In Bengal he had to deal with only a small number of upholders of the cult of physical force in the midst of a peaceful malaria-sapped population. In Palestine he has to tackle different stuff.

Sino-Japanese War

Japan has been meeting with increasingly stiffer and better organized resistance in China. The prospect of her being able to crush China has been receding farther and farther. No lover of national liberty will regret its vanishing into thin air.

Russo-Japanese Relations

The truly courageous who fight for a righteous cause are never cowed down by superior might. But the frightfulness of the bully undergoes a metamorphosis when faced with greater force than its own. He at once becomes reasonable and kowtows to the mighty.

Such has been the recent attitude of Japan *vis-a-vis* Soviet Russia. Lovers of peace should be glad that another sanguinary war has been averted between two powerful nations. But it is to be hoped that Russia will not directly or indirectly help Japan. That Japan has made up her differences with Russia is due solely to the fact that she is not equal to fighting two powerful enemies on two fronts. There can be no love lost between communist Russia and anti-communist Japan.

Communist Russia has no doubt noted and will not forget that it is because of the combination of the Chinese communists with other Chinese that China has been able to stand up to and make headway against Japan.

Inter-Provincial Appreciation

We are glad to note the celebration of the Tulasi Jayanti (the anniversary of the Hindi poet-saint Tulasidas) in Santiniketan and in

Calcutta at the Senate House, Calcutta University.

In our last issue we recorded the celebration of the Bankim Chandra Centenary by the Karnataka Sahitya Parishad. There has been a similar celebration of this centenary at Surat by the Gujarati Sahitya Mandal.

Annual Report of Visva-bharati

The report section of the Annual Report of Visva-bharati for 1937 is interesting and shows that good work has been done in all its departments. We have not gone through the audited accounts, but have read the remarks of Messrs Ray and Ray, auditors. We hope strenuous and continuous efforts are being made to realize the various outstandings.

Unauthorized Hindi Translations of Tagore's Works

The report of the publishing department of Visva-bharati states that "Twenty-four unauthorized translations in Hindi [of Rabindranath Tagore's works] have been so far traced out and legal actions are being taken." There may be more. Rabindranath Tagore is not the only Bengali author who has been paid this sort of compliment, nor is Hindi the only modern Indian literature in which unauthorized translations of Bengali books exist.

Now that Visva-bharati itself has undertaken to publish Hindi translations of Tagore's works, unauthorized Hindi translations should cease to exist. As for translators into other languages, they should obtain the author's permission.

Chiang Kai-Shek to Tagore

Field-Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese generalissimo, has written a letter to Rabindranath Tagore, addressing him as "Gurudev," in which he says how encouraged he and his compatriots feel by the poet-sage's sympathy. The spiritual and cultural bond between the two ancient countries of China and India dates back to antiquity. Rabindranath Tagore has renewed and strengthened it by his visit to China and by instituting Chinese studies in Santiniketan. China has responded by the establishment of Cheena Bhavan there.

Tenancy Bills in the Provinces

Many provincial governments have recently gone in for tenancy legislation. It has not been possible for us to acquire knowledge of the

tenancy laws of the different provinces. But we may state in general terms that we support all legislation which makes for the improvement of the material condition of the actual cultivators of the soil. Generally speaking, such legislation must involve some diminution in the income and prestige of the landlords. As their material condition is far better than that of the tillers of the soil, they are in a position to bear this diminution. They ought to be prepared for such sacrifice. If they be humane, they should gladly undergo such sacrifice. In any case, mere worldly wisdom should reconcile them to this diminution in their income and prestige. They should thank their stars that they have not yet been expropriated outright—considering the present trend of world affairs. Not that we are in favour of indiscriminate expropriation. No landholder should be expropriated without due compensation who has acquired some estate by purchase with money acquired by himself or who has inherited it from some one who purchased it similarly. In the process of doing justice to and relieving the misery of Have-nots another class of Have-nots should not be created. Nor should the Haves be exterminated.

Alleged Draft of Bengal Secondary Education Bill

Once again the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindusthan Standard* have published what is alleged to be the draft, prepared anew, of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. It is stated to be a bill to provide for the regulation and control of secondary education in Bengal, not for its improvement and extension. The Board of Secondary Education to be established under it will consist of 49 members. Of these 15 must be and are sure to be Muslims. Besides these fifteen, the President may and is expected to be a Muslim, both or either of the Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities will be Muhammadan, the Director of Physical Education may be a Muslim, and of the ten members to be nominated by Government (two of whom are to be from the scheduled castes) the majority are sure to be Muslims. Control of education should not be vested in a body formed on any communal basis. In addition to the communal division the members of the Board may be divided into officials and non-officials, and Britishers and non-Britishers. Those to be nominated by Government may be counted as officials for all practical purposes, and many of the members will be either officials or

persons nominated by Government. And among the officials some will be Britishers. Britishers, officials, persons nominated by Government, and Muslims are expected to vote on one side when cultural progress and the forward march of nationalism have to be arrested and checked directly or indirectly. Considering that it is the Hindus who have worked most and made the largest sacrifices for the educational advancement of Bengal, the control of secondary education will be readily and easily understood to mean the arrest of the further educational advance of Bengali Hindus and, if possible, their compulsory educational retrogression.

In this short note we cannot criticize this noxious draft bill in detail. We shall conclude with pointing out one of the amusing, though unjust, provisions. Among the members of the Board there are to be

“Five Headmasters of approved High Schools elected by Headmasters—two shall be Muslim, two Hindu and one a member of the scheduled castes.”

Now, the vast majority of approved high schools in Bengal have been founded, maintained and managed by Hindus—mostly by “caste” Hindus. Government have done their worst to divide the nation and to separate the “scheduled” Hindus from the “caste” Hindus, and the Huq ministry are following suit. Following this pernicious classification entirely against our will, we have to point out that giving the Hindus three seats out of the five headmasters’ seats, or giving the “caste” Hindus two out of the five, is quite ridiculous. Surely two-fifths of the money, ability, labour and sacrifice lying at the back of the educational progress of Bengal have not been contributed by the Muslims.

We are not sure whether the draft before us is authentic. Most probably it is. Its publication therefore is a service rendered to the cause of education in Bengal.

Dr. Dhar's Researches in Improving Crop Production

Though Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar has gone from his chemical laboratory in Allahabad University to officiate as deputy director of public instruction, which he has been doing with marked ability, his researches for reclamation of ‘usar’ (alkaline) soil have been going on as before. It is stated in an Allahabad message dated August 16,

The researches about the utility of molasses in improving crop production and bringing more land under cultivation, which are the vital needs of India, are

proceeding vigorously under the direction of Dr. N. R. Dhar, who, assisted by his pupils, has been carrying on this work of great practical value for a number of years.

Thanks to the interest of the Hon. Dr. Kailas Nath Katzu in the improvement of agriculture, this research work is being aided with grants from the provincial Government as well as the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the experiments are, at present, being carried on not only in the Allahabad University and the Indian Institute of Soil Science, established here by Dr. Dhar, but also in some villages.

Large scale alkali (usar) land reclamation is going on in tahsil Soraon, in this district, on a ten acre plot. It is said that the plants are growing beautifully on the treated fields but they are dying on the fields, not treated with any molasses or press-mud.

Besides U. P. some other provinces have been taking practical interest in Dr. Dhar's researches.

These practical experiments are being extended to different parts of this Province, especially in Meerut, Unao, Gorakhpur, and some other parts of the Allahabad district.

Dr. Dhar and his co-workers have also established definitely that the nitrogen and the calcium contents of normal as well as usar soils are increased by the addition of molasses and thus the fertilising power of molasses appears to be better in many respects than that of ammonium sulphate.

Congress President on Industrialization of India

The publication in our last number of Dr. M. N. Saha's article on "The Philosophy of Industrialization" has stimulated public interest in the question of India's industrialization and led to its discussion by many papers and public men, which is to be welcomed. Interest in the problem will be further stimulated by the speech which President Subhas Chandra Bose delivered on the 21st August last at the annual general meeting of the Indian Science News Association held in the University College of Science. President Bose's observations on industrialization were in reply to some definite questions put to him at the meeting by Professor Dr. M. N. Saha. The questions covered a wide range of subjects, all bearing on our national life, showing the professor's breadth of outlook.

All the questions and answers deserve serious attention. But here we have space only for some passages relating to industrialization. President Bose said :

A distinguished officer in this province recently wrote a voluminous book on a recovery plan for Bengal. But may I urge that the problem we have to face is not industrial recovery but industrialization? India is still in the pre-industrial stage of evolution. No recovery or revival is possible until we first pass through the throes of an industrial revolution. Whether we like it or not, we have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that the present epoch is the industrial epoch in modern history. There

is no escape from the industrial revolution. We can at best determine whether this revolution, that is industrialization, will be a comparatively gradual one, as in Great Britain, or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country also.

As regards cottage and large scale industries he observed :

"Though I do not rule out cottage industries and though I hold that every attempt should be made to preserve and also revive cottage industries wherever possible, I maintain that economic planning for India should mean largely planning for the industrialization of India. And industrialization, as you will agree, does not mean the promotion of industries for manufacturing umbrella handles and bell-metal plates, as Sir John Anderson would have us believe.

"I gratefully recognize the fact that your magazine "Science and Culture" has helped to direct intelligent thought in this country towards the problem of industrialization."

He added :

"I must say that so far as the problem of industrialization is concerned all Congressmen do not hold the same view. But without exaggeration I may perhaps remark that so far as the younger generation of Congressmen is concerned their thoughts and ideas have been moving in the direction of industrialization. We believe in industrialization for various reasons. In the first place, we cannot conceive of an adequate solution of the problem of unemployment without industrialization. Though it may be possible and will be possible to increase the production from land by scientific methods still it will not be enough to feed our population."

"If we compare" said Mr. Bose "the figures of agricultural and industrial population in other countries we realize that we shall have to transfer from land to industries a great proportion of our population if we really want to feed the whole population. There is another reason why we believe in industrialization. That is this. So far political thoughts are concerned the younger generation is thinking in terms of socialism. Perhaps their ideas are not clear as to what particular brand of socialism they stand for. But there is no doubt that they think in terms of socialism, whatever brand they may adopt for themselves. There is one common factor that there can be no socialism without industrialization."

Search for Muslim Minister in C. P.

On Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's search for a Muslim minister for the Central Provinces and Berar, *The Hitavada* of Nagpur writes:

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has made it clear that a seat has been kept vacant in the C. P. Cabinet for a Muslim Minister. Evidently the Parliamentary Sub-Committee has made up its mind that a Muslim has to be taken in the place of Mr. Shareef. We wonder whether the Assembly Party has been consulted in the matter. In the recent Ministerial crisis, there were many Congress members who raised the question that the Assembly Party should be free from the control of an extra-parliamentary authority. It is worth while for the Congress Assembly party members to decide the question whether a Muslim or a scheduled caste member should be included in the Cabinet. There are a number of scheduled caste members elected on the Congress ticket, and no

Muslim has been elected on Congress ticket. There has been widespread criticism since the Congress accepted office that the claims of Harijans for Cabinet preferment have been ignored. If the Congress Assembly party is keen on taking a Muslim member in the Cabinet, as it should be, since Muslims do require representation in the Cabinet, we trust they would not take seceders from the Muslim League into the Cabinet. If a Muslim Leaguer is included in the Cabinet, he should be asked to contest a by-election on the Congress ticket. The Congress of all organizations should set a healthy example by asking those Muslim Leaguers who wish to secure Cabinet preferment to contest by-elections on the Congress ticket. An attempt, though belated, should be made to set up healthy traditions of parliamentary life in our province.

Anti-Hindi Agitation in Madras

From the news supplied to the dailies by the News Agencies one does not get all the information needed to be able to form a correct idea of the Anti-Hindi agitation in Madras. Perhaps if we could all read Tamil and had the Tamil papers of that province our knowledge would be fuller. The newly started *Sunday Observer* of Madras supplies much information. But most probably it is a party paper, as, of course, the pro-Congress papers also are. *The Guardian* of Madras, a Christian weekly, may or may not belong to any linguistic party. It writes:

Nine Ministers out of ten of the Madras Cabinet, two hours of speeches and 70,000 (vide *Madras Mail*) or "over 40,000" (vide *Hindu*) or "at the lowest computation about a lakh" (vide *Indian Express*) citizens were required at the Triplicane Beach last Sunday to counteract the agitation against compulsory Hindi carried on by "a few persons" (vide Health Minister's speech), "a handful of people" (vide Education Minister's speech), "a small section" (vide Premier's speech), "a few friends" (vide Revenue Minister's speech), "some oppositionists" (vide Labour Minister's speech), "a few disappointed persons" (vide Agricultural Minister's speech), "a few disgruntled persons" (vide Publicity Minister's speech).

This is a democratic method of dealing with rebels who defy "the popular will." Administratively 215 persons have been sent to jail in Madras city alone and the Criminal Law Amendment Act has been brought into use.

In the stress of the occasion, the Premier failed to call to aid his favourite and most democratic form of evidence. He did not ask his audience, by show of hands, how many had learnt, were learning or wished to learn Hindi. It was a wise precaution not to have spoilt the enthusiasm of the audience and of the Premier's own case by this feeler. The same premonition banned the use of Hindi in the proceedings of the meeting. Such a discarded exhibition and final answer to anti-Hindi agitation, had it been adopted, might have found the Beach meeting, resolved into a plodding Hindi class of a score or more people, with the Premier a diffident teacher, while his colleagues and the vast electorate were nearer the waters of the sea debating more vital problems of the electorate.

The Servant of India, whose editor's mother-tongue is neither Hindi nor Tamil, observes:

In a meeting organized for the purpose of defending compulsory Hindi, Mr. Rajgopalachari, Premier of the Congress Ministry in Madras, put forth an amazing plea for making use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act against the demonstrations of the anti-Hindi agitators. He said that both the Houses of the Legislature had agreed to the proposal of making Hindi compulsory and therefore those who protested against it were nothing but fools and knaves and should consequently be put down with a rod of iron. We wonder how a Congress Premier could indulge in these fulminations. Every citizen has an inherent right of protesting against a measure which is obnoxious to him, and to prevent him forcibly from doing so is the highest form of terrorisation by the State. We read from the newspapers that those people who cried "Rajajiki Jai" were given free access to the meeting, while the anti-Hindi agitators were at once taken charge of by the police.....

Not only that, he even went further. He delivered a homily to the audience justifying his use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in which his impotent colleagues quietly acquiesced. It is these people who not very long ago were carrying on a raging and tearing propaganda against all repressive laws prevailing in the country.

While going through the proof of this note we find in *Independent India* a severe criticism of the Madras Premier's defence of his use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for crushing the anti-Hindi agitation.

International Anthropological Congress

COPENHAGEN (By Air Mail).

The Second International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographical Science was held at Copenhagen (Denmark) from July 31 to August 6. There were about 700 delegates and members present from different nationalities. Among the eastern countries, Egypt, Iran, India, Indonesia (Java), China and Japan were represented. India was represented by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee from the University of Calcutta, Mr. R. P. Masani from the University of Bombay and Major P. Bardhan from Calcutta. Dr. Chatterjee took active part in the meetings of the linguistic section of the Congress.

The Congress elected Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray of Ranchi as member of the Honorary Council of the Congress which is the highest distinction in the gift of this international body for work in the field of Anthropology.

There was a large and varied programme including reading of papers, discussions, lectures and ethnographic films on different aspects of the science in the several sections of the Congress. Representatives also participated in excursions to places of historical interest and visits to museums including the world famous collections of Anthropology, Ethnology, history and art in and outside Copenhagen.—*United Press*.

Sir Nilratan Sircar Research Institute

An appeal has been issued for collecting funds for a research institute to be named after Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar whose services to the medical profession, the cause of medical education and to suffering humanity for half a century need no recounting.

The institute is to undertake the study of the diseases of the Cardio-vascular system, diseases of metabolism,

problems of nutrition, study of indigenous drugs and other subjects. The utility or importance of such an institute can hardly be overestimated when it is borne in mind that a large majority of our countrymen either suffer from the effects of dietary deficiencies or become subjects at a comparatively young age to such constitutional maladies as Diabetes, High Blood Pressure, affections of the kidney and heart with the result that the average expectations of life in this country is 24 years against 45 in European countries.

The appeal is signed by Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, and a large number of prominent ladies and gentlemen of various communities and provinces. We support it wholeheartedly and hope it will be widely and liberally responded to.

Contributions may be sent to Dr. M. N. Bose, Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.

Railway Disaster in Madras Presidency

Heavy rains having washed away the line in the Trichinopoly-Madura section of the South Indian Railway there has been a serious disaster, 35 persons being killed and 117 injured—fifty seriously. We deeply sympathise with the relations of the deceased and with the injured.

Refusal of Passport to China-bound Medical Volunteer

Passport has not yet been given, or has been refused to Dr. R. Sen, one of the doctors who had volunteered to accompany the Congress ambulance unit to China—we do not know why. Considering that China is at peace with Britain and that the doctors are going on a humane mission and can have no incentive, occasion or opportunity for any anti-British activity in or near the battle-fields, even if they be inclined that way, of which there is no proof, it is to be hoped the authorities will reconsider their decision.

Personal Revilings in Bengal

Personal accusations and recriminations in and outside the legislature, in newspapers and public meetings, have again been blackening the face of Bengal. She has reason to feel ashamed.

On previous occasions of a like nature, we read little of what appeared in the press, these things being distasteful to us. On the present occasion also we have read only small bits which caught our eyes while turning over the pages of some of the Calcutta dailies and scanning their columns for news in which we were interested. Hence, it would have been beyond our power to write at length on the subject, even if we wanted to, which we do not.

We should like to state our impression only on one point.

If we are not mistaken, one of the charges brought against Sj. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, editor of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was that, though his paper had all along advocated the release of convicted and unconvicted politicals in Bengal, his private opinion, as expressed in conversation with some European or Europeans, was different. Not having read Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's speech in the Assembly, which is said to have contained this criticism, we do not know what European or Europeans, if any, he mentioned in connection therewith. We presume Mr. Allan Lockhart's name was mentioned. For, he subsequently wrote an explanatory letter to give an idea of what actually passed in conversation between himself and Tushar Babu. This letter, as published in the press, we happen to have read. It did not produce the impression on our mind that, as regards the release of politicals, Tushar Babu's privately expressed opinion was completely at variance with the opinions expressed editorially in his paper.

As regards that journal, as we prefer to judge a paper by what it itself has been and is rather than by the personality of its editor, which in most cases it is impossible for the public to know, we have no hesitation in saying that in our opinion *The Amrita Bazar Patrika's* services to the country during its long life unquestionably outweigh its lapses, of which it alone has not been guilty.

Release of Politicals in Bengal

A good many political prisoners in Bengal still remain to be released. Many hundreds have already been released, including many who were, rightly or wrongly, convicted of crimes of violence. The release of so many hundreds of them has not led to the recrudescence of political offences in Bengal or disturbed the public peace. There is thus a *prima facie* case for the release of the remaining politicals.

The release of political prisoners, including those convicted of terrorism or of armed rebellion, on the restoration of peace or on the attainment of self-rule, is not unknown in history. Many countries have known such occasions. There when the politicals were released, they were not asked as a condition precedent whether they had abjured their faith in the cult of physical force and had become ahimsaists. And the people of those countries

had not for the most part the reputation of being "non-violent." Here in Bengal the bulk of the Hindu community, to which almost all the political prisoners belong, are non-violent by tradition and temperament. And in addition the politicals have assured Mahatma Gandhi that they no longer believe in methods of violence. Hence there ought not to be any difficulty in releasing all of them.

Repression

Under the heading "Repression" Congress Bulletin No. 4 of 1938 mentions "some of the cases of arrests, convictions, internments, externments, searches, gagging orders and the like compiled from the daily Press and the bulletins of the Civil Liberties Union." Bengal supplies 23 cases, Delhi 6, Madras 4, N.-W. F. P. 1, Panjab 39, Sind 1, and United Provinces 5.

The Bulletin bears the date August 16. So it is not quite up-to-date. Nor does it include cases of repression in the Indian States, among which even those having the reputation of being enlightened and progressive, e.g., Travancore and Mysore, have attained notoriety in this respect in recent months and weeks. Yet the record makes disturbing reading.

Muslim Participation in Sri Krishna's Birthday Celebration

In Patna and Arrah prominent Mussalmans took part in the celebration of the Janmashtami festival. In the Patna meeting Mr. Justice Khwaja Mahomed Noor dwelt upon "the great message of love and service inculcated by Sri Krishna" and asked all his countrymen, irrespective of creed and community, to live up to that message. Presiding over the Arrah meeting Maulvi Sayyed Latafat Hossain spoke in similar vein and laid stress on the need for toleration.

Mr. H. G. Wells's Book Burned

LONDON, Aug. 13. (By Air Mail).

Indian Moslems in London, pedlars and doctors and wealthy merchants, prayed in an East End hall yesterday—then denounced a passage in Mr. H. G. Wells's "Short History of the World," and ceremonially burned a copy of the book.

According to Mr. Wells, his opinion of the prophet's personal character in the "Outline of History," where he summed up on Islam, will show that his criticisms were not irreverent, and that he was fully aware of the contributions of Islam to the world's culture. It was unfair, he said, to judge his views by a stray passage in an abridged version.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

It is lucky that London is not Rangoon and that Mr. Wells in not a Burmese Buddhist.

India's Delegates to World Youth Congress in America

In our note on the World Youth Congress in America printed on a previous page, the extract from Dr. J. M. Kumarappa's article does not mention the names of Miss Renoo Roy and Messrs. Yusuf Meherally and Iftekharuddin as India's delegates. Miss Roy's presence has stimulated interest in the problems of Indian womanhood and Indian women's active part in the struggle for freedom.

The Evils of Contraception

In our Book Reviews section, page 370, the reader will find the following passage in the review of the *Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations*:

Fertility has also fallen sharply in almost all countries—not in India, and in many reproduction is no longer sufficient to maintain the population. This fact is masked, because the reproductive middle-age groups happen to be exceptionally large. But the proportion of old-age groups tends to increase. In England, for instance, children under 10 were over one-fifth of the population in 1911, about one-seventh in 1936; whereas people over 50 were less than one-sixth in 1911 and nearly one-quarter in 1936. This is a warning to the advocates of birth-control by the use of contraceptives.

The statistical year-book of the League is not a propaganda book either in favour of or against contraceptives, but a book of hard figures. Nor are we here concerned with arguing against "birth control." What we want is *legislation against the indiscriminate advertisement, exhibition and sale of contraceptives*, many of which are harmful and ineffective. Its absence has been causing bodily and moral injury. Harmless and effective ones, recommended by the medical profession, ought to be available only to married women for whom doctors may prescribe them for reasons of their health. That "the control of birth control" is necessary is shown in Dr. Griffith's *Sex in Everyday Life* (Allen and Unwin).

August 23, 1938.

ERRATUM

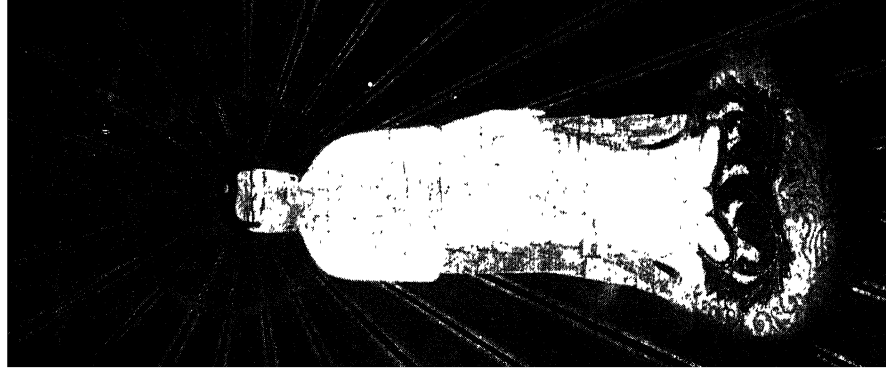
The Modern Review for August p. 128, col. 1, l. 26

After enforcing insert anti-Bengali circulars and from all other . . .

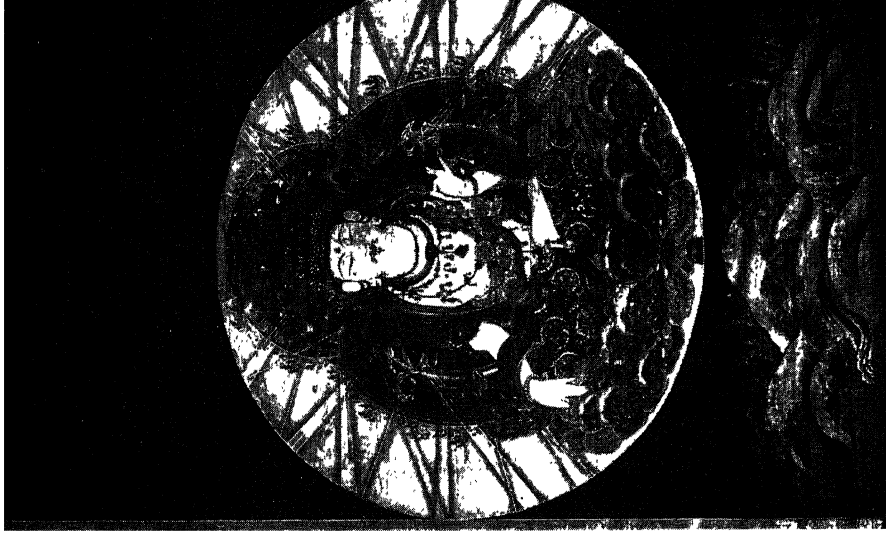
The sentence will then read as follows:

They would have done better if they had also appealed to the Bihari Ministers and their government and officials to desist from enforcing anti-Bengali circulars and from all other anti-Bengali discriminatory acts, until Babu Rajendra Prasad published his decision.

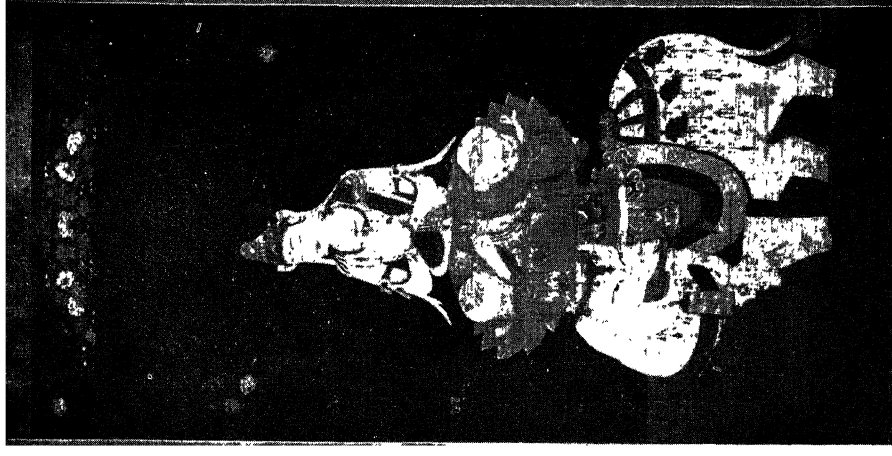
THE NATIONAL ART TREASURE AND MUSEUMS OF JAPAN



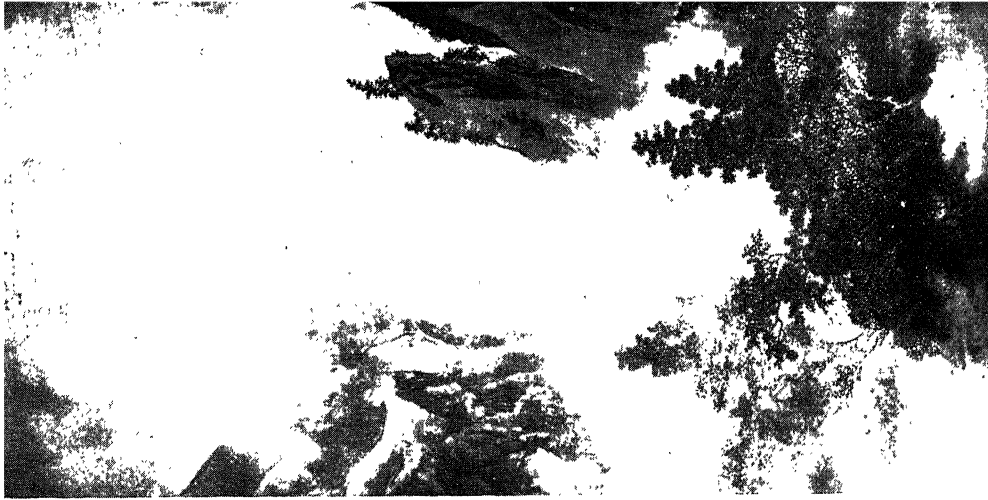
Amida Nyorai
Kamakura Period



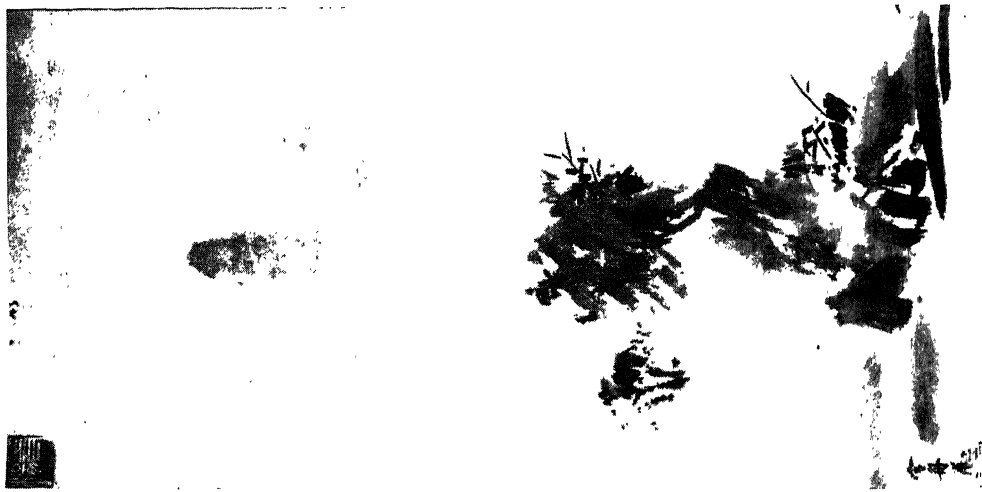
Kokuzo Bosatsu
Kamakura Period



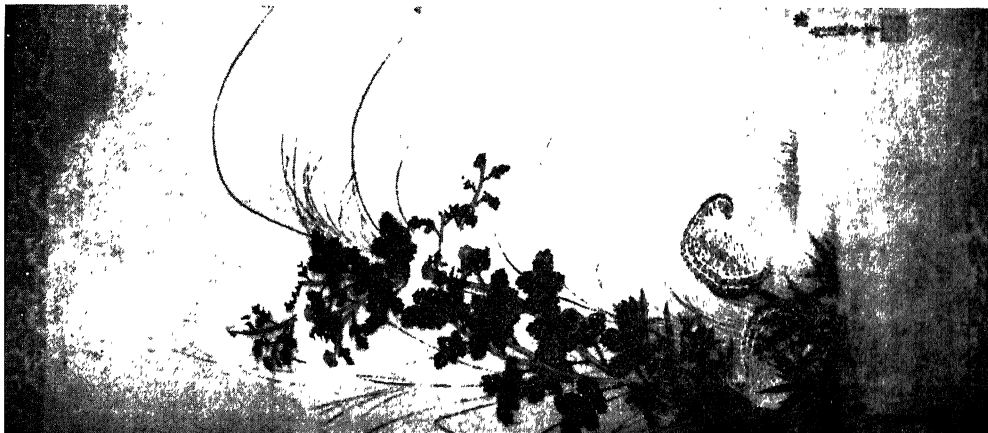
Fugen Bosatsu
Later Heian Period



Landscape—By Gyokusho
Meiji-Taisho Period



Landscape—By Sesshu
Muromachi Period



Quails and autumnal flowers
By Mitsuoki and Mitsuunari

THE NATIONAL ART TREASURES AND MUSEUMS OF JAPAN

By DR. KALIDAS NAG, D.Litt. (Paris)

WITHIN 15 years from the accession of the great emperor Meiji, the Imperial Household Museum was opened (1882) in the Ueno Park, Tokyo. Before describing this magnificent museum in detail, I should give the general outline of the policy of the Government with regard to the preservation of national treasures and monuments. During my visit to Japan with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore I had the rare good fortune of being shown round some of the rare art collections, thanks to the kindness and courtesy of great artists like Shimomura and Taikan who personally took Nandalal Bose and myself through many public as well as private collections. Eminent scholars like Prof. Aneseki and Dr. Takakusu also introduced us to the academic group, while the brother of the late Okakura and the poet Yone Noguchi were of very great assistance. So during my last visits to the Japanese collections on my way to and from Honolulu and also while attending the World Conference of Education in Tokyo (1937), I was deeply touched by the spontaneous help offered by my old friends of Japan as well as by eminent archaeologists and art critics like President K. Hamada and Prof. Umehara of the Kyoto Imperial University, and Dr. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo. I am specially grateful to my friends of the Kokusai Bunka Sinkokai for supplying me generously with their publications and photographic documents and I remember in this connection the help rendered by Count Kabayama, Count Kuroda, Baron Ino Dan, Mr. Aoki and other friends. I was fortunate also to travel to South America to attend the International P.E.N. Congress at Buenos Aires (1936) in the enlightened company of Shimazaki Toson (the Tagore of Japan) and the celebrated artist Ikuma Arishama, from whom I got invaluable hints with regard to the recent trends of Japanese literature and art. I was fortunate to find in Count Kuroda, a real enthusiast in my subject, and he gave me many valuable informations as he was the nephew of Baron R. Kuki, who was instrumental in shaping the policy of the nation. He was almost a contemporary of the builders of modern Japan like Ito and Togo and like them he was sent to the West for specialisation. On his return to Japan, when he

rose to the rank of the Privy Councillor, he drafted the Memorial on the Conservation of National Monuments and introduced a Bill on the National Treasures. Already in 1889 the Imperial Household Department organised a Committee for the investigation of historic and art treasures in Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. This led in 1897 to the establishment of a definite Code for the protection of national treasures and historical monuments. Meanwhile the Imperial Academy of Japan was founded stimulating the activities along these lines and the Ministry of Education also helped the movement through its department of fine arts financing the exploration of ancient sites as well as the exhibition of ancient and modern art objects. The taste for arts and antiquities is inborn in Japanese men and women and naturally art objects are seen not only in the big Metropolitan Museum but also in private homes and isolated temples. The Museum Association of Japan is a growing institution; it publishes its bulletin and the directory of Japanese Museum for the benefit of those who do not understand Japanese. There are also journals like the *Kokka* and the Year Book of Japanese Art.

Tokyo has several museums and collections: The Oyama Institute of Pre-historic Research shows an important collection of neolithic potteries and stone implements which should be studied with the select specimens of pre-historic antiquities at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Some fine samples of Chinese sculpture and Japanese art are in the Okura Antique Museum. Japanese arms and armours of all ages are in the Yushu-Kwan Museum and in the Yamada collection. Japanese costumes, paintings, etc. are in the Mitsui collection. Chinese and Japanese paintings and sculptures are found in the Nezu and Maeyama collections. The Noh costumes and Japanese pottery of different ages are to be found in the Fukui collection. The Waseda University founded by Count Okuma takes special interest in drama and has, therefore, developed a special Histrionic Museum showing models, colour prints, etc., relating to theatrical performances. Japanese porcelain of different types are found in Shiobara and Makita collections. The Masuda collection offers

important specimens of Japanese painting, sculpture, and industrial arts. Baron Ino Dan in his private residence has made a valuable collection of Japanese painting and folk arts and crafts.

After Tokyo the historic city of Kyoto exhibits valuable art treasures. The biggest collections are in the Kyoto Onshi Museum of Art and also in the University Museum. Most valuable series of ancient Chinese bronzes are in the Sumitomo collection which is so important that two eminent antiquarians like Prof. Hamada and Dr. Harada devoted several years of their life to publishing six volumes of plates with four volumes of introductory notes published as *Senoku-Seisho* (1921). This was utilized by Albert J. Koop in his *Early Chinese Bronzes* (1924). Chinese clay-figures, ancient Korean tiles and samples of Buddhist arts are in the Ito collection. The Hashimoto collection shows fine samples of Chinese pottery and Japanese Buddhist sculpture.

In the provinces there are several important centres, the most important being the Imperial Household Museum of Nara, the Soshō-in and the Temple Treasures of Horyū-ji and the Reiho-kwan Museum on the Koyasan hills. The Osaka prefecture has yielded valuable arms, armours and neolithic implements deposited in Motoyama Shoin-Do Museum. The Ueno collection is near Osaka as well as the Hakkaku Museum of Fine Arts with metal work and Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Valuable objects from Shinto temples are found in the Kokuho Kwan Museum of Kamakura. Historical relics of Shintoism are in the Choko Kwan Museum near the Ise shrine. Mr. Tomitaro Hara who was the host of Dr. Tagore made a valuable collection in his residence near Yokohama. Valuable objects are also found in the treasury of the Nikko shrine. Most of the important temples and castles of Japan that have escaped the ravages of fire and war contain valuable objects of applied arts, mural decorations and cult objects which deserve to be carefully catalogued and studied. A co-ordinated inventory of all the scattered objects of art should be compiled and published in English for the benefit of the lovers of Japanese art who cannot utilize Japanese books or catalogues.

THE ART TREASURES OF HORYUJI

One of the earliest and most important monuments of Buddhism in Japan is the temple group of Horyūji which was founded by the first Japanese Empress and her beloved nephew,

the Crown Prince Uma Yado, whose honorific title was Shotoku Taishi. Founded in 607, its oldest sections continue through 13 centuries. The entire group is divided into the eastern and the western temples comprising about 27 separate buildings: four of the Asuka period, five of the Nara period, two of the Fujiwara period, nine of the Kamakura period and seven of the Ashikaga and Tokugawa periods. It is a veritable city of temples like the Delphi of Greece. The Buddhist sculptures and other objects of art, numbering 421 pieces in all, are listed as National Treasures. The iconography is specially interesting from the point of view of primitive Buddhism in Japan. The central figure in bronze is that of Sakyamuni occupying the southern side of the Kondo or the main hall. The god is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas and the whole group is called Shaka-trinity erected about 621 by the son of Shotoku Taishi. To the east of this group is the Yakushi trinity i.e. Yakushi or *Bhaisajya-guru*, Nikko or *Suryaprabha* and Gakko or *Chandraprabha*. The figures were executed by the order of Empress Suiko and Prince Shotoku. To the west of the Shaka-trinity we find the Amida trinity composed of Amitabha, Avalokitesvara and Mahasthanaprapta. We find also among the minor deities the coloured wooden statues of Sri (Kichijoten) and Vaisravana (Tamonten). We also find the four Dikpalas occupying the four corners of the platform: Dhritarastra, Virudhaka, Virupaksha and Kuvera. Samantabhadra was also worshipped imparting long life to the devotees.

An image of Monju or Maitreya, the presiding deity of wisdom is reported to have been introduced into Japan by a Hindu priest of royal descent, Subhakarasinha who also visited China between 716 and 723. A very famous object is the portable shrine originally the property of Empress Suiko (592-628) which reflected the style of the Asuka period (552-645). On the portable shrine and its pedestal, which are both lacquered in black all over, is displayed the earliest examples of Japanese painting representing some Jataka stories which are also to be found in the five-storied wooden pagoda built about 607. The life of Buddha is also partially represented in clay figures on the earthen pedestal at the centre of the first storey of the five-storied stupa. The Treasure House or Kofuzo contains the precious objects donated by Prince Shotoku and successive sovereigns. This is the only surviving one of the 33 treasure houses reported to have been given to the Horyūji temple. In the eastern temple, there is a beautiful octagonal hall erected about 739 and

called the Hall of Dreams which was named in memory of Prince Shotoku who is reported often to fall into a trance (*samadhi*) whenever he ran against incomprehensible passages while annotating his three favourite sutras: the *Saddharma-Pundarika*, the *Vimalakirti* and the *Srimala*.

The Hall of Dreams is also proud to possess the glorious wooden statue of the saviour Avalokiteswara or Kunze-Kwannon, one of the finest specimens of Far Eastern sculpture, with flowing robes, slim figures of perfect grace with hands holding the Chintamani or wishing-gem and with eyes beaming with mercy. Buddha's bone relics are deposited in the Shari-den. Another very precious image of wood is found in the Chuguji nunnery which treasures the oldest embroidery representing the Mandala of Paradise. It represents Buddhist images, palaces, birds, flowers, etc. embroidered on silk of purple gauze and of yellow damask woven with threads white, red, yellow, green, purple and orange, a veritable rainbow of tapestry. Another wonderful treasure of the nunnery is the image of Chintamani Avalokiteswara or Miroku of rare plastic dignity and mystic charm. Last, though not the least, is the collection of fresco paintings in the Golden Hall of Horyuji. The long band of mural painting is divided into twelve sections, four of which are somewhat larger than the rest measuring about 10 ft. in height and 8½ ft. in width. These four bigger panels represent the paradise with a Buddha in the centre of each composition. On the eight smaller walls we see Bodhisattvas in standing posture. The method followed by the painters has been analysed. The outline of the figures was drawn first in red lines and afterwards shaded in the same colour. On the dry stucco finish of the walls, the following colours were applied: black, vermilion, rouge, ochre, cobalt and verdigris. Some secondary colours were also used and the style strongly reminds of those from Khotan and Ajanta. Japanese experts mostly agree that the expression of the Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas is distinctly Indian. The outlines of the body and the robe are coloured red, the symbol of life and activity, and in contrast the head and the lotus-throne are coloured green and blue which suggest the feeling of peace and harmony. These invaluable treasures of Eastern Asiatic painting have often been reproduced and recopied and still a most carefully prepared publication on the Horyuji paintings is on foot for which the Government has paid a big subsidy.

Near Horyuji we find two important temples: the Toshodaiji with its dry lacquer image of Vairochana and the wooden statue of

the thousand-handed Avalokiteswara. So the Yakushiji temple contains the bronze statues of Bhaisajya-guru and of the Gakko Bosatsu.

NARA AND ITS MUSEUMS

The sacred city of Nara with its shrines, images, festivals and deer park reminds us of the holy city of Benares. The gigantic Todaiji temple houses the colossal bronze image of Vairochana. It is the main shrine of the Kegon (Avatamsaka) sect. The Todaiji is considered to be the largest wooden building in the world. It was erected between 747 and 752 A.D. It was damaged several times and renovated towards the beginning of the 20th century at the total expense of 75,000 yen.

The gigantic bronze image of Vairochana is 53½ ft. high, probably the biggest in the world. Its casting was begun in 743 and was completed in 749. The face alone measures 16 ft. by 9½ ft. and the whole figure weighs about 500 tons. The statue is seated upon a huge pedestal which is composed of 56 bronze lotus petals, each 10 ft. high. The bronze-caster Kimimaro was an expert from the Kudara province of Korea. In the dedication ceremony of the image, the whole royal family with the court officials and 10,000 priests and nuns reverentially participated. Apart from the huge statues in bronze, wood or lacquer, there are innumerable objects like the lanterns, the bell tower, testifying to the phenomenal growth of industrial arts in that Japanese Buddhist epoch.

THE NARA MUSEUM

Some of the most valuable objects of early Japanese art are treasured in the Imperial Museum of Nara established in 1894. The exhibits are divided into groups of painting, sculpture, illuminated manuscripts and industrial arts, besides a valuable loan collection. Some fine statues of Suiko and Nara periods are treasured in the Museum. The later periods are also well represented. Some valuable paintings, earthen and porcelain wares, terra-cotta figures and other archaeological materials are also exhibited.

SHOSON IN OR THE IMPERIAL TREASURY

When Emperor Shomu died in 765, the valuable art objects in his collection were noted down in a catalogue and presented to the Todaiji monastery of Nara which built the simple treasure house in the Log Cabin style. About 3000 art objects of rare historical value were thus preserved in this building of over 1150 years old. They belonged to the epoch when

Japan was getting from the continent the earliest relics of Buddhist art and culture. Pottery, furniture, wooden and leather boxes, lacquered or inlaid with gold, silver, ivory or different coloured wood, masks, musical instruments, textile fabrics, writing materials, documents and Buddhist scriptures are found in the Shosoin collection. About 50 beautiful bronze mirrors and their designs clearly show that they were of Chinese manufacture and superior to the mirrors of the Greeks and the Romans. But all these objects were foreign things imported from outside, many of them were made by Japanese artists. Even at that early age Japan was capable of assimilating and developing the various art motifs. Buddhism, of course, was the principal source of inspiration and the Buddhist decorative designs are found inlaid on the sandal-wood Vina called Biwa in Japan. Two Kinnaras or human-headed birds are finely depicted and they are characterised by Japanese artists as the Buddhist sacred birds called *Kalavinka* coming from the Himalayas whose songs remind us of the beauty of the Buddha. Distinct importation of Indian musical modes into Japan was proved by Sylvain Levi in his paper "On the Lumbini Orchestra." Some of the textile fabrics, nearly 70,000 of which have so far been mounted, in their designs, colours and technical processes prove them to be of Indian, Persian, Chinese or Byzantine origins or influences. Renowned Japanese art historians have collaborated to produce an excellent *Catalogue of Treasures in the Imperial Repository* (Tokyo, 1932). But they have only examined about one-half of the objects in the cases which are kept open for only 26 days in the year for airing and inspection. The public were allowed to visit the treasury from 1907 and in an inventory of 1908, the objects were classified under 2,794 items which grew to be 5,645 when a more exhaustive catalogue was compiled in Japanese by Mr. Y. Osima, a former President of the Imperial Household Museum.

In the same compound there is a small store-house, the Shogozo, which contains nearly 5,000 scrolls of the copies of ancient Buddhist sutras: 22 scrolls copied in China in the Sui dynasty (581-617), 221 copied in the Tang dynasty (618-906), 1,492 scrolls copied in Japan in the Tempyo period (708-781). The Repository contains many articles which were used in connection with the "eye opening" ceremony of the Daibutsu which took place in 752 (May 26). With a grand solemn ceremony the eyes of the great Buddha were opened by the priest Bodhisena who made gestures of putting in the

pupils of the eyes with sumi and brush and to the brush were tied long cords held by thousands of people. These objects are still to be found in the Shosoin. Buddhist figures are found carved on solid block of copper embossed on bronzes and also painted on silk as well as on hemp and cloth. Not only Mahayana but Hinayana miscellaneous sutras were preserved here as we find from the inscriptions on the bamboo mat-cover called Chitsu. The names of some of the sutras are clearly laid down e.g., the *Suvarnaprabhasa*, the *Mahavaiipulya*, the *Brahmajala* sutra etc. Rosaries of lotus-nuts, rock-crystal, amber and glass are also found. Three-pronged Vajras (really Trisulas) are found as symbols of the irresistible power of prayer, meditation and incantation. Models of Buddhist pagodas of various styles are also found. The seeds of the Bodhi tree are also used as rosaries. Following the example of Asoka, Empress Komyo established here a sort of a charitable hospital for free distribution of medicine to the poor and various kinds of jars and bowls for powders and ointments, minerals, medicinal fruits and herbs were treasured, probably following the Indian *Aurvedic* texts. Coral beads are very scarce and ebony is also rarely used. Ancient Japanese ornaments like the Kuda-dama (tube-jewels) and Magatama (carved jewels) have also been found. The cult of the mystic gem of India, Chintamani (Nyoi-Hoju) had already reached Japan. Relics of Buddhist saints were called Shari (from Sanskrit *Sharira*). Many objects of ivory have been found and the Shosoin collection as a whole deserve to be studied on a comparative basis from the point of view of the evolution of Asiatic arts and crafts. The textile collection has been exhaustively treated in two volumes with 114 plates published in 1929 by the Imperial Household Museum of Tokyo and Dr. K. Dohi has published in English his "Study of Some Drugs Preserved in the Shosoin."

KYOTO TREASURES

Kyoto having been the political and spiritual capital of Japan for centuries, its palaces and temples are veritable museums of Japanese arts and crafts. Some of the finest examples of painting and sculpture as well as illustrated manuscripts have been assembled in the Central Museum of Art (Kyoto Onshi), to the great convenience of those who cannot afford to visit separately the various collections in and about Kyoto. The museum was established by the-

Imperial Household and opened to the public in 1897. In 1924, when we had the privilege of visiting, the museum was given over to the municipality of Kyoto. It is specially rich in painting and sculpture, many of which are marked as national treasures. The oldest style of painting derived from the six dynasties of China is represented by the illustrated manuscript of the Buddhist "Sutra on the Cause and Effect." Although painted in Japan of the Tempyo era (729-748), the figures, costumes and other objects on the scroll represent the types of Northern China in the 6th century. Another richly decorated scroll of the 12th century illustrates the Saddharma Pundarika. Portraits of Seven Patriarchs are ascribed to the Tang dynasty, five being painted by the great Chinese painter Li Chen (Ri Shin) and two by Kobo Daishi. The story of the resurrection of Buddha (taken from the 6th century Chinese translation of the Mahamaya Sutra) is the subject of a unique painting of the Fujiwara period. Buddha is seen rising from a golden coffin and turning towards his mother while angels and demons gaze in wonder. Unlike the Nirvana representation we feel the atmosphere of joy and tenderness in this Japanese masterpiece. From the Kamakura period come the two pictorial biographies of Ippen Shonin and Honen Shonin reflecting the style of the Sung paintings. Honen was the great protagonist of *Bhakti* in the Amitabha and naturally we find a perfectly unique representation of the Amida trinity. A picture of the wind and thunder deities is attributed to Sotatsu and a powerful landscape of Sesshu represents summer and winter. Some of the sculptures in wood and lacquer display rare genius and portraiture. A few Shinto deities are represented in Buddhist pose. Gold lacquer utensils and furniture come from the Kodaiji temple erected by the wife of Hideyoshi and some fine samples of Japanese industrial arts and mirrors with exquisite designs are to be found in the Kyoto Museum which has published a richly illustrated catalogue in 5 volumes. But a volume which I examined wistfully but could not bring to India was an album of Indian and Indo-Persian paintings deposited at the Kyoto Museum by some Japanese art-lover who undoubtedly travelled in India. The old book-shops of Kyoto like the old shops for art materials may offer to patient explorers many such interesting items which are seldom noticed in general books on Japanese art.

Another very important centre of the study of Far Eastern art and archæology is the Im-

perial University of Kyoto. It provides for the systematic study of pre-historic Japan and Korea and their relations with China and Manchuria. Several professors of the University take active part in excavation works which has resulted in a valuable collection of antiquities which should be carefully examined. Prof. K. Hamada, now the President of the University, is the leader of the Kyoto school and during my last visit he helped me to get an idea of the activities of the Kyoto group for which I am grateful to him as well as to his learned colleague S. Umehara. The Archæological Institute of the University has published valuable reports, some of which I note down below:

Ornamented Tombs in Higo (Hamada and Umehara, 1917); Excavations of Neolithic Sites. (Hamada, Umehara, Shimada and Suzuki, 1918); Excavations of Shell-mounds (Kiyono, Sakakibara etc. 1920); A Pre-historic Site at Ibusaki (Hamada, 1921); Ancient Sepulchre at Midzuo (Hamada, Umehara, 1923); Rock-cut Buddhist Images in the Province of Bungo (Hamada, 1925); Remains of Ancient Bead Workers (Shimada, Umehara, 1927); The Pre-historic Site in Suku and a Study of the Ancient Mirrors (Shimada, Umehara, 1930); Study on the Cairns on Mount Iwaseo (Umehara, 1933).

Prof. Hamada is a veteran archæologist who during his studies in Europe worked with Sayce, Petrie and such eminent Orientalists. Prof. Umehara after his studies in Europe passed through Ceylon, as he told me, and takes keen interest in Indian art and archæology. He is an indefatigable worker publishing both in Japanese and in English. He takes keen interest in China and Korea, as I gathered from the translated title of his Japanese monographs: "On the white earthen pottery from the ruins of Honan," "Copper cutleries in ancient China," "Report on the excavation of the ancient tombs near Keishu, Korea." Prof. Umehara very kindly took me through the valuable collection of the University Archæological Museum (opened in 1914). I found the exhibits scientifically arranged: the pre-historic potteries and the stone implements of neolithic Japan; clay-houses and Haniwa figures from the Tumulus period; neolithic implements from Kansu (China) and from Jehol (Manchuria); neolithic relics from Korea; Korean tomb bricks and tiles; ornaments and crown jewels of the Korean royal house; terra-cotta Buddha figures from Korea and Manchuria; relics of the Nara period and many such valuable archæological remains.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD MUSEUM, TOKYO

This Museum is the biggest and one of the earliest in Japan, organised in 1872 and opened to the public in 1882. It has several departments managed by a Chairman-Curator attending specially to the Department of Fine Arts. So, special authorities on Japanese art supervise the departments of Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics and Lacquer. Jiro Harada, specialist in the history of Japanese art who returned recently from a lecture-tour through America, has published recently a splendid album on the treasures of the museum, which we shall discuss later on. Another renowned art-critic attached to the Museum is Dr. Yukio Yashiro. He gained international renown by his magnificent volume on Botticelli in which he conclusively proved that many of the artists of European renaissance were familiar with the art of the Far East. He is also the Director of the Institute of Art Research of Tokyo. Returning recently from his English lecture-tour, Dr. Yashiro expressed his regret that with the exception of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Freer Gallery of Washington, very few museums outside Japan, show real interest and judicious selection. The Western minds associate Japanese art with the realistic colour prints which, however, in spite of their excellence, cannot be taken as representative of the varied beauty and grandeur of Japanese art, which is occasionally realistic but mainly symbolical and decorative. "Living in a beautiful country where nature seems decorative, the Japanese people find the sensuous stimulus of ornamentation indispensable to their life. The Japanese sense of the decorative again has two sides: the gorgeous and exciting on the one hand, the simple and silent on the other. These elements appearing with surprising alteration constitute the special enchantment of the decorative art of Japan." China, that melting-pot of Far Eastern culture, was no doubt the land of origins but for that very reason Japan should not be neglected as the land of derivative and later development. For Japan within her shorter historical existence, while drawing from continental sources, nevertheless made her own developments embodying the national character of the race. Japan according to this recent interpretation of Dr. Yashiro is ever representing the incomparable beauty of the land and thereby contributing richly to the art of the world. These observations of the Japanese art-critic should be kept in mind by all those who are privileged to study the masterpieces of

Japanese art in a central museum like that of Tokyo.

The magnificent collection of the Tokyo Museum is administered along with the Museum of Nara, the Shosoin and Shogozo. All these are managed by the central governing body of the Imperial Household Museums. In the case of the special collection of the Shosoin, special rules are framed for the classification and special inspection of the art objects. For the Nara Museum special provisions have been made for field inspection and tours, repairs of national treasures, publication, gallery talks, installation of exhibits, special exhibitions, etc.

The Imperial Museum of Tokyo have several departments, as we have noted above, attending to various administrative duties like accepting and returning loan-exhibits, loaning out objects, special exhibitions, lectures, publications, museum library, conservation and repairing of national treasures, field-work and tours, exhibition of excavated objects. The curators meet regularly whenever questions of purchase, donation or accession in the three major departments of Historical Records, Fine Arts and applied arts arise. Some rare pre-historic Haniwa male and female figures and other objects excavated in the Tochigi and Gumma prefecture are exhibited together with terra-cotta models of contemporary dwelling houses. Clay-modelling tradition continued till the Buddhist epoch, for we see fine specimens of 300 Buddhist clay-figures found near Dai-nichido in Nikko. Some of the sacred robes are of wonderful workmanship and design. The bronze objects and ceramic specimens from China are remarkable. Some of the finest wood-carvings and dated paintings make the Museum of Tokyo a veritable shrine of spiritual beauty: the Bodhi-sattvas of all-pervading wisdom (Fugen) and the Sakyamuni of Fujiwara period, Sung landscapes, animal caricatures of the Kamakura period (1186-1333), such as a large monkey wearing the costume of a Buddhist monk and arguing with a big frog sitting on an altar in the posture of Buddha. Of the same period of the pictures of arrogant monks and hungry devil, the latter are attributed to Tosa Mitsunaga. We see also a concentrated nature study of Sesshu (1420-1506), the Zen priest who was the founder of the Yunkko school and one of the great landscape painters of Japan. When he was 77 years old he painted "Priest Eka Cutting his Arm" which is a national treasure. A gorgeous landscape by Motonobu, "Three Laughters in the Tiger Valley" by Kano Sunraku, "Dragon and Cloud" by Okyo and illustration of

the Japanese romance *Ise Monogatari* by Koriu are some of the masterpieces from the huge collection of the museum. Art objects and furniture in metal and lacquer as well as the ceramic collection are so big that one can only follow them with the help of an expert and in this connection I must remember with thanks my esteemed friend Dr. Jiro Harada who was all attention to me during my stay in Tokyo in 1937. Harada is "friend, philosopher and guide" all in one. Within the museum with its bewildering variety of art objects he was an invaluable guide. But no sooner does he finish the description of the objects than he plunges into the realm of the subjective, making us realise the philosophy of the art phenomenon. And when he finds his guests fatigued with the analysis of objects and subjects, he takes his tired guests into a reposeful Japanese restaurant to enjoy with him a freshly cooked Japanese meal which helps so much in assimilating the lessons of Japanese art. In discussing the wonderful lacquer objects Harada gives copious details about the distribution of lacquer from Siam to Japan. He informs us that lacquer wares of the Han period (1st century B.C.) have been excavated at Lolang, Korea, by Japanese scholars who found them undamaged after 2,000 years. He shows us with just pride the two writing box lids designed by the great artists Koetsu (1568-1637) and Korin (1659-1716), real gems of Japanese industrial art. In dealing with the ceramic objects, Harada confides to us that some of the tea utensils fetched for each piece 4,000 yen while big size bowls were sold for between 165,000 to 180,000 yen. The Tea ceremony or *cha-no-yu* taught the people to adore the beautiful in the everyday life, so much so that the feudal lords of medieval Japan "would exchange their castles for a single tea-caddy of a simple glaze." Ceramic art was possibly imported from China but it was given a rare dignity by the Japanese. Japanese genius in sculpture is best represented in the wood-carvings as well as in the *Gigaku* and *Noh* masks carved in wood and coloured afterwards. In 612 a Korean Buddhist priest introduced a form of musical performance called *Gigaku* where masks were used and in carving them marvellous skill was shown specially in the

Tempyo era (710-784), the Golden Age of Japanese Sculpture. Later on the more introspective *Noh* Drama came into vogue showing a symbolical type of masks which were often superior to made-to-order sculptures. The Tokyo Museum treasures a gilt-bronze Buddha image and *Amitabha* with attendants in copper repousse, both belonging to the Nara period (646-781). The founder of the Nara culture, Prince Shotoku (572-621) was the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism and the patron saint of all branches of national art. His remarkable portrait from the Imperial Household collection is now in the Tokyo Museum. Zen Buddhism is represented by the remarkable monochrome landscape by Shubun (1394-1427) who paved the way for great artists like Sesshu and Masanobu. From the work of such old masters we are taken through the picture gallery to the landscapes of modern painters like Hashimoto Gaho (1825-1908) and Kawabata Gyokusho (1842-1913) showing the continuous tradition of Japanese pictorial art which transmitted some of the profound traits of Esoteric Buddhism. What was religion and philosophy in India came to be visualised in Japan, thanks to the artistic genius of the people. Buddhism joined hands with Taoist mysticism in order to train this highly gifted race of Nippon about whom Dr. Harada has made the following profound observations: "The highest aim of the painter in Japan, as was the case in China also, has been to represent everything he painted in its right relation to the Infinite. Yes, that has always been the supreme aim of our painters. Whatever they painted, be it a human figure, an insect or a plant, they have tried, not only to depict the thing itself but to suggest or imply also its relative position in the scheme of the Universe, revealing it, however trifling in form, as in right proportion to the Infinite. Not only in painting but also in other forms of the art of Japan—such as sculpture, landscape gardening, tray landscapes, designs in pottery or lacquerware, or even in flower arrangement—this supreme aim manifests itself . . . it is this spiritual rhythm or rhythmic vitality which has been the supreme aim of Eastern artists for many centuries past."

REVISION OF BENGAL'S BOUNDARIES

By AMIYA K. BASU

THERE is a lot of confused thinking betrayed in the recent discussions in the Press regarding the actual Bengali-speaking areas in the neighbouring provinces and the demand for their union with the mother province. This demand, I have often noted, has been based on the ground that Bengalis are being discriminated against in the neighbouring provinces. Now, with the advent of provincial autonomy, it is only natural to expect a passing phase of intensified local patriotism. This tendency should be resisted by all means so that it may not become the over-mastering passion of the people, thereby endangering the very idea of India's nationhood. The solution of the parochial tendencies is not to be found in the transfer of territories from one province to another. For even the most carefully arranged revision of provincial frontiers will not be able to transfer back to Bengal all the Bengalis from the adjoining provinces and even if there is only a handful of Bengalis left in the neighbouring provinces against whom discrimination is practised or proposed, there will still be need to oppose such measure in order that the idea of one nationhood does not receive a set-back. Fissiparous tendencies in India are alarmingly frequent and we must constantly be on our guard and do all we can to fight them down. Our demand for the return of the Bengali-speaking tracts from the adjoining provinces to Bengal is really based on positive and fundamental considerations. The cultural life and advancement of a people suffers if it is artificially parcelled out amongst different governments, as the dismembered units are prevented from participating in the cultural movement of the parent community, which also is the poorer on that account. We therefore claim the return of the Bengali-speaking territories, as otherwise, our progress and development as a people are being continuously hampered. And it should be clearly understood that this claim of ours has absolutely nothing to do with the treatment we receive in the provinces concerned and we will not modify our demand in any way even if we are accorded very special and preferential treatment by our neighbours.

I have seen claims put forward that even

whole districts like Purnea and Singhbhum should come back to Bengal. Although it can be legitimately demanded that portions of these districts which are preponderatingly Bengali-speaking should be returned to Bengal, it does not do any good to anybody to make any claim based on ignorance. On the other hand, such a claim merely embitters and exasperates our neighbours and the suspicion that is engendered in their minds that the Bengalis are merely attempting to extend the provincial boundaries considerably weakens our case. Very few thinking people in Bengal, however, desire that areas in the neighbouring provinces which are not linguistically and culturally parts of Bengal should be added to this province. For, such a union can only be a source of weakness. A predominantly Oriya- or Hindustani- speaking territory, if included in Bengal, will not make the people so transferred Bengalis at heart. They and their people across the frontier will always nurse a grievance against Bengal. And who will not hate to create one more minority problem in this country? This does not, however, mean that there is no necessity to examine very closely all claims made by our neighbours that certain tracts are really Oriya- or Hindustani- speaking and should not be joined to Bengal.

Let us now cite some interesting items of facts from the Census Report of 1931:

(a) The Purnea District, which adjoins the districts of Dinajpur and Maldah, has 1,46,000 people speaking Bengali all in the Sadar and Kishanganj Sub-divisions, whose population amounts to 16,72,376. Expressed in percentage, this is equal to 9 per hundred against 88 per hundred shown as speaking Hindustani. Of the latter about 6,00,000 speak the borderland dialect known as Kishanganjia or Siripuria, which, according to the Linguistic Survey of India, is a form of the northern dialect of Bengali. In the Census Report of 1911 persons speaking this dialect were all returned under the head Bengali, while in the census of 1901, 1921 and 1931 they were all or nearly all returned under the head Hindustani. It is surprising that this dialect, which according to the Linguistic Survey, is a form of Bengali, should be returned under Hindustani. The reason is not far to seek. It

is stated in the Census Report that in 1921 the Sub-Divisional Officer of Kishanganj expressed the view that a pure Hindustani speaker would be more at home in this area than a speaker of pure Bengali and therefore the inclusion of this dialect as Hindustani was in his opinion correct. It is strange that the views of a non-descript S. D. O., whose linguistic attainments are unknown, should prevail over the finding of the Linguistic Survey. Is not the latter more authoritative? From my personal experience also I can say that a speaker of pure Bengali has absolutely no difficulty in being understood by the speakers of Kishanganjia. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that some attempts have been made to pass off Kishanganjia as more allied to Hindustani than to Bengali. Including Kishanganjia, Bengali is spoken by 7,46,000 persons out of a total population of 16,72,376 returned from the Sadar and Kishanganj Sub-divisions of the district of Purnea. It is again most unfortunate that the Census Report does not show the linguistic statistics of the two Sub-divisions separately. The relevant figures may be available in the files of the District or Sub-Divisional offices. Separate figures, if available, are very likely to show that the Kishanganj Sub-division adjoining the Dinajpur District as also one or two neighbouring thanas of the Sadar Sub-division such as Gopalpur Thana (i.e. the region round about Barsoi Railway station) and parts of Katihar thana (eastern and southern) are almost entirely Bengali-speaking tracts and they should be returned to Bengal.

It may be noted here that the population of the Kishanganj and Sadar Sub-divisions, according to 1931 Census, is 5,60,577 and 11,11,799 respectively.

Speaking about the Kishanganj Sub-division, the Purnea District Gazetteer states as follows:

"It is more nearly allied to the neighbouring districts of Northern Bengal than to Bihar and the bulk of the inhabitants are of Rajbansi or Koch origin, though most of them are now converts to Islam."

Bengal's claim to this Sub-division can therefore be hardly disputed.

(b) Let us now examine the position of the Santhal Parganas. Of a total population of 20,51,412, Bengalis number 2,53,000 and those speaking Hindustani number 8,98,000. The remainder speak tribal languages. The following comment culled from the Census Report will be of interest:

"The Santhal Parganas are the scene of a tug-of-war between Hindustani and Bengali. Although the number

of persons speaking Hindustani as mother tongue is nearly four times as great as the number speaking Bengali, the latter language is more current among the aboriginal people of the district. In the Sub-division of Dumka, for instance, Hindustani is the mother tongue of about 1,80,000 persons and Bengali of only 46,000; yet 14,864 Santhals speak Bengali and only 1,898 speak Hindustani. Again it is noteworthy that taking the district as a whole, 4.2 per cent of the Hindustani speakers have acquired the use of Bengali also, whereas only 1.7 per cent of the Bengali speakers have acquired the use of Hindustani. The influence of Bengali is particularly strong in the Sub-division of Jamtara and Dumka; in Godda and Rajmahal Hindustani is the dominant language, and in Deoghar and Pakaur there is little to choose between the two."

Of the six Sub-divisions of the district, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakaur, Rajmahal, Godda and Deoghar, the first 4 adjoin the Bengal Districts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Maldah, and as will be generally anticipated the great majority of the Bengalis in the district is to be found in these four Sub-divisions.

In the Sub-division of Jamtara, out of a total population of 2,43,858,

| | |
|----------|---------------------|
| 73,000 | speak Bengali, |
| 70,000 | " Hindustani. |
| 1,00,000 | " Tribal languages. |

In addition, 18,000 Hindustani speakers and 32,000 speakers of Tribal languages also speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, while none speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language. This is a strong testimony to the influence of the Bengali language in this Sub-division. There can, therefore, be no question of returning the whole of this Sub-division to Bengal. If, however, linguistic figures by thanas can be had, and they show that it is possible to satisfactorily partition the Sub-division, the dominant Bengali-speaking area need only be transferred to Bengal.

In the Sub-division of Dumka, the position is as follows:

| | |
|----------|---------------------|
| 46,000 | speak Bengali, |
| 1,79,000 | " Hindustani, |
| 2,40,000 | " Tribal languages, |

and 16,000 non-Bengalis speak Bengali as a subsidiary language. Although the Bengalis are a minority, the Census Report says, as already quoted above, that the influence of Bengali is particularly strong in this Sub-division. The south-eastern part of the Sub-division adjoining the district of Birbhum is probably the area where the Bengalis predominate and, if the linguistic figures are available by thanas, it will be an easy matter to draw the boundary line and transfer the Bengali-speaking tract to Bengal.

The case of Sadar Sub-division is quite simple and there cannot be any question of its return to Bengal. The Dhanbad Sub-division, however, presents a slight difficulty in that the Hindustani speakers out-number the Bengalis by 83,000 and Bihar will probably urge her claim and suggest a reference to the linguistic figures by thanas, which may be available in the District offices. But this method is not likely to be of any use as the bulk of the Hindustani speakers is composed of outsiders who have been drawn to this Sub-division in the wake of the development of the coalfields. Geographically and culturally, Dhanbad has always been a part of Manbhum and of Bengal. The phenomenal development of the Sub-division on the opening of the coalfields has caused this disturbance in the disposition of population. The local Bengalis have been out-numbered by the immigrant outsiders. But that is no reason why Bihar should be allowed to possess a share of Bengal, for it should be remembered that practically the whole of the Bengali speaking population numbering 1,76,000 is local and permanent to the district, while the Hindustani speakers represent mainly a fluid lot of temporary immigrants having permanent homes elsewhere. It will, therefore, be wholly wrong for the Biharis to base any claim on this Sub-division on the strength of the mere number of sojourners. The following extract from the Census Report will adequately bear out my contention:

"During the last 50 years the population of this district (Manbhum) has increased by over 70 per cent. It has developed more rapidly than any other British district in the province (Bihar & Orissa) except Singhbhum. Here again it would be a mistake to ascribe this altogether to the development of its industrial activities. Even in 1881-91, when the Jharla Coalfield had not yet been opened up, the population of the district was described as 'a prosperous people' and the recorded increase was as high as 12.8 per cent. In those days, moreover, the district was exporting a fairly large number of its surplus population to the Raniganj Coalfield in Burdwan and the Giridih Coalfield in Hazaribagh. It was in 1894 that the Jharla mines started work, with the result that the next census showed an increase of 25 per cent in the population of the Dhanbad (at that time known as the Gobindpur) Sub-division.

"Between 1901 and 1911 the development of the coalfield went on apace and the tide of emigration now turned in favour of the district. The growth of population was of course more marked in the northern (*i. e.* Dhanbad) Sub-division where in spite of an outbreak of Cholera which caused over 12,000 deaths in the coalfield in 1908 the rate of increase in this decade was as high as 38.6 per cent."

Bengal can legitimately demand, therefore, that the whole of the Manbhum district including Dhanbad should be returned to her.

(d) The next most important portion of Bengal now lying beyond her borders is the Dhalbhum Sub-division of the Singhbhum District. The linguistic distribution of population in this Sub-division, which adjoins the districts of Midnapore and Manbhum, is as follows:

| | |
|----------|---------------------|
| 1,41,000 | speak Bengali, |
| 50,000 | " Hindustani, |
| 45,000 | " Oriya, |
| 1,41,000 | " Tribal languages, |
| 18,000 | " Other languages. |

Of those speaking Oriya and Tribal languages, 18,000 and 64,000 respectively speak Bengali as a subsidiary language.

The figures quoted above leave no room for doubt that this Sub-division should come back to Bengal.

The position in the Sadar Sub-division of the district is, however, entirely different. There the Bengalis number only 6,000 forming only 1% of the population, while the Oriyas and the Hindustani speakers number 1,27,000 and 31,000 respectively. The Sadar Sub-division should, therefore, rightly go to the new province of Orissa.

The Oriyas often claim that the whole of the Singhbhum District should be transferred to their province. To say the least, such a claim is quite preposterous, and Bengal can, under no circumstances, agree to be deprived of her right to Dhalbhum. In this connection we may recall the recent press report regarding the intensified campaign for the propagation of Oriya in Dhalbhum, which shows that our Oriya friends are aware of the weakness of their claim, which they want to strengthen with extraneous aids. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that Bengalis should not sit quiet and do their best to counteract the new move. Cannot the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad take the lead and arrange to regularly distribute Bengali newspapers and periodicals in the schools, libraries and clubs of Dhalbhum?

This is what the Census Report has to say about the linguistic position in the district:

"From the racial and linguistic points of view the two Sub-divisions of Singhbhum are poles asunder and Jamshedpur City is on an entirely different footing from the rest of the Dhalbhum Sub-division. Outside Jamshedpur, Bengali is the dominant language in Dhalbhum, Oriya comes a very bad second, and Hindustani a poor third. Contrast with this the position in Jamshedpur itself, where Hindustani is the subsidiary language of over 18,000 persons and Bengali of less than 1,800. In the Sadar Sub-division the influence of Bengali is hardly felt at all."

(e) Other territories of minor importance where Bengali is spoken are—

(i) THE CHOTA NAGPUR STATES

SARAIKELA AND KHARSAWAN

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| where 45,000 speak Bengali, | |
| 51,000 " Oriya, | |
| 10,000 " Hindustani, and | |
| 79,000 " Tribal languages. | |

Bengalis form 24% of the total population and Oriyas 27%. As these States are bounded on the north and east by Bengali-speaking tracts such as Manbhum and Dhalbhum, it is likely that the 45,000 Bengalis in the two States are concentrated in the northern and eastern ends. Here, however, any adjustment of boundaries is out of the question.

(ii) Mayurbhanj State contains 33,000 Bengalis, forming 4% of the total population. Even if they are all to be found in one or two localities close to the north-eastern border of the State adjoining Dhalbhum and Midnapore, no adjustment of boundaries can be effected.

(iii) Balasore District of Orissa contains 17,000 Bengalis forming 2% of the total population. Linguistic figures by thanas will show whether these 17,000 people are concentrated in parts of the district adjoining the Bengal District of Midnapore. If they are, they can be easily transferred to Bengal. If, however, they are diffused throughout the entire district of Balasore they must remain where they are.

We have examined the position in the districts adjoining the western frontier of Bengal, beginning with the district of Purnea in the extreme north and ending with Balasore in the south. In brief, Bengal should demand the immediate cession of—

the Kishanganj Sub-division of Purnea District
Jamtara and Pakaur of Santal Parganas District
Sub-division

The entire Manbhum District of Singbhum District
Dhalbhum Sub-division

Detailed study of the linguistic figures by thanas is required in the following cases to ascertain the tracts to be claimed by Bengal—

- (i) Amaur thana of Purnea
Kadwa " of Purnea
Katihar
- (ii) Dumka Sub-division of Santhal Parganas
Rajmahar Sub-division
- (iii) Jaleswar thana of Balasore District
Baliapal " of Balasore District
Basta
- (iv) Mayurbhanj State
- (v) Saraikela
- (vi) Kharsawan "

On the eastern borders the province of Assam includes a substantial area where Bengali is the prevailing language, *viz.*, Goalpara, parts

of Kamrup, Sylhet and Cachar. Here, however, the problem is quite different. Taking the province of Assam as a whole, Bengalis form the majority community and there is no danger of their losing their natural characteristic and culture, even when provincial feelings run high and the scarcely perceptible difference between the Assamese and the Bengali is artificially accentuated. Ethnically, culturally and linguistically the Assamese is hardly distinguishable from the Bengali. The difference in the two languages is little more than dialectal variation and Bengali is understood practically all over Assam by the educated and the uneducated alike. The script of the two languages is also the same. Both the people wear their dhoti in the same fashion and very often how difficult it is to tell an Assamese from a Bengalee in a mixed crowd. And at least my experience has been that when I am in the midst of Assamese friends I never feel that I am not with Bengalis but I cannot confess to the same feeling when I am with my Oriya and Bihari friends, although no doubt in case of the former I have discovered a much greater affinity. I have not the least doubt that the petty jealousies now noticeable in the province will die down before long and the two people will be anxious to march together as one and declare an "anschluss", just as the Scotch and the English are proud to merge their identity in the common British in spite of their quarrels and battles in the past. This need not necessarily mean a displacement of the Assamese language. For, do not the Scottish songs and ballads continue to delight the English and the Scottish alike?

If, however, our Assamese friends insist that it is essential for their own development to send the Bengalis away from Assam, Bengal should get back the following territories:

(i) The Surma Valley natural division consisting of the district of Sylhet and the plains portion of the Cachar district. The Census Report says:

"The (Surma) Valley is linguistically and socially a part of Bengal and its inhabitants have few points of contact with the dwellers in the Assam Valley."

(ii) The Goalpara district, excepting the eastern portion consisting of Bijni, North Salmara, Goalpara and Dudhnai thanas adjoining the district of Kamrup. These 4 thanas contain 1,16,413 speakers of Assamese and 64,283 speakers of Bengali. I cull the following from the Census Report:

"Assamese is mostly spoken in the Goalpara Sub-division and Bengali in the Sadar or Dhubri Sub-division. I have had the figures of Assamese and Bengali

speakers in Goalpara extracted by thanas and the results are given in Appendix II to this chapter. The figures show clearly that Assamese (or what the persons who speak it claim to be Assamese) is hardly spoken at all in Dhubri, Golakganj, Gossaingaon, and Mankachar thanas which are all thanas at the Bengal end of the district; that in thanas Goalpara, Dudhnai, North Salmara and Bijni which are all thanas along the Kamrup (or Assam) border of the district, Assamese is spoken more than Bengali and that in the middle of the district—in thanas Bilasipara, Kokrajhar and Lockhipur Assamese and Bengali are both spoken but Bengali predominates.”

I may here remark that the claim for the four eastern thanas to remain united to the province of Assam becomes considerably weakened if one takes into account the phenomenal increase in the Bengali-speaking population in the Barpeta Sub-division of the District of Kamrup. This Sub-division is situated at the extreme west of the district just adjoining the four thanas of the Goalpara District mentioned above. Let me quote from the Census Report:

“Kamrup is now the most populous district in the Assam Valley and with an increase of 2,13,175 in its population has forged ahead of Sibsagar, which was the most populous district in 1921 . . . The percentage of increase in the population of the district works out at 27.9 against 14.2 in 1911-12. The cause of this sudden jump in the rate of increase becomes apparent when the percentage is distributed between the Gauhati Sub-division which shows a moderate increase of 14.6 per cent and the Barpeta Sub-division which gives the enormous increase of 69 per cent. This unprecedented increase in Barpeta—which showed the very substantial increase of 34.1 per cent in 1921—is due almost entirely to the immigration of Eastern Bengal settlers, chiefly from Mymensingh . . . Of the three thanas into which the Barpeta Sub-division is divided Barpeta thana with an increase of 101.5 per cent and Sorbhog thana with an increase of 84.5 per cent are the two which are responsible for the enormous increase in the population of the Sub-division.”

It is thus evident that if we obtain the language figures by thanas, we shall find that in the Barpeta Sub-division Bengalis now predominate and there is a good case for its inclusion in Bengal. This, of course, will depend on the actual and relative strength of the two peoples in Barpeta Sub-division and the 4 thanas of Bijni, North Salmari, Goalpara and Dudhnai of Goalpara District, as the transference of Barpeta Sub-division to Bengal will also necessarily require these 4 thanas of Goalpara District being also ceded to Bengal.

The next important district in the Brahmaputra Valley where there is a large volume of Bengali-speaking immigrants* is Nowgong adjoining the North Cachar Hills. In the district, out of every 10,000 people, 3,437 speak

Bengali against 4,220 speaking Assamese. Language figures by thanas will indicate whether the Bengalis are conveniently concentrated close to the North Cachar Hills, so that together with the latter a portion of the Nowgong district may go to Bengal.

It is often remarked that the number of Bengalis in Assam is not quite as many as the bald Census figures reveal, for the reason that the Assamese call every non-Assamese a Bengali. The following quotations from the Census Report will, however, leave no room for doubt that our claim to portions of Kamrup and Nowgong districts cannot be challenged on this score:

“Unfortunately in Upper Assam the word ‘Bangla’ means anybody who is not an Assamese and there is a well-known tendency for Assamese enumerators to write down a speaker of any foreign tongue as ‘Bangla’ (which simply means something foreign). In fact, a European in the more unsophisticated Assamese villages is sometimes known as a ‘Boga Bangla’—a white Bengali. For this reason the statistics of the speakers of Bengali in the Upper Assam districts are unreliable.”

Again,

“In the Assam Valley (excluding the Frontier tracts) the number of speakers of Bengali has increased from 8,52,000 to 10,86,000, the increases being particularly noticeable in the case of Kamrup (+120,000) and Nowgong (+121,000) neither of which are large tea districts and where the question of Bengali being used by Assamese enumerators to denote a foreign language would hardly arise . . . The great increases in the speakers of the Bengali language in Kamrup and Nowgong is due to the continued immigration of Eastern Bengal immigrants and to the natural increase of the previous immigrants.”

And again,

“In the Assam Valley the statistics of the number of Bengali speakers cannot be accepted as accurate owing to the use of the term Bengali to signify any foreign language. The Kamrup and Nowgong figures should however be approximately accurate as there are few tea gardens in those districts, the bilingual statistics of which are extremely interesting in view of the fact that they contain the bulk of the Eastern Bengal settlers in Assam. The figures show that out of 1,70,000 Bengali speakers in Kamrup and 1,93,000 Bengali speakers in Nowgong only 4,000 in each district can, at present, speak fluent Assamese.”

The qualified claim put forward for the transfer to Bengal of the Barpeta Sub-division of Kamrup and the four eastern thanas of Goalpara is, therefore, quite fair and reasonable.

Of the three well-defined natural divisions of Assam, we have dealt with the two important divisions, *viz.*, the Surma Valley and the Brahmaputra or Assam Valley. Let us now examine the position in the Hills natural division separating the two valleys. This division embraces the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia, North

* In Assam Bengali immigrants are for the most part permanent immigrants.

Cachar (a Sub-division of Cachar District), Naga, Manipur and Lushai Hills. The following table gives the number per 10,000 of the total population who speak the different languages as mother tongue:

| | Bengali | Assamese | Tribal languages |
|--------------------------|---------|----------|---------------------|
| Garo Hills | 1,071 | 292 | 8,443 |
| Khasi & Jaintia Hills .. | 191 | 65 | 8,994 |
| North Cachar Hills .. | 333 | 107 | 8,400 |
| Naga Hills | 29 | 46 | 9,687 |
| Manipur Hills | 51 | 3 | 9,844 |
| Lushai Hills | 107 | 9 | 9,678 |
| Total Hills | 248 | 70 | 9,360 |

From these figures it is abundantly clear that in this natural division the tribal languages reign supreme and both the Bengali and the Assamese languages have an unimportant role to play; but of the two latter languages, Bengali undoubtedly holds a more important position. The total population of this division is 12,62,535 and according to the figures given above, 32,000 speak Bengali and 9,000 Assamese. It will, therefore, be quite logical to claim that this division should join Bengal rather than remain with Assam. This claim should receive further support from the fact that the neighbouring Bengalis in the districts of Sylhet and Cachar plains have innumerable contacts and friendly relations with the hill-men. If, therefore, the Bengali-speaking tracts have to come back to Bengal, we should also demand the inclusion of the hill division in our province. Indeed, Assam can have no claim to it on linguistic and cultural grounds.

It may be argued that shorn of the Surma Valley and the Hills what will remain of Assam

will not justify the continuance of a separate province. There is certainly some truth in this, but that does not concern Bengal and if she has to take back Sylhet and Cachar plains she must also claim Goalpara, probably a slice of Kamrup and even the Hills natural division.

The Indian National Congress, which is wedded to the principle of linguistic provinces, seems to be in no hurry to put its principle into practice. There are, of course, obvious difficulties in setting up new provinces. But the problem of readjusting the boundaries of existing provinces without having to create new ones is comparatively a much simpler affair and there is no reason why Bengal should be expected to wait for an indefinite period for the unification of all her people.

It is often urged that the country has more important and more immediate tasks to occupy itself at the present moment with than undertake the work of readjusting provincial boundaries. Granted even that that is the case if the problem is to be tackled for India as a whole and that we must wait for a more favourable and opportune time for settling the issue, there cannot be any valid argument for refusing to solve immediately Bengal's special difficulties in the matter. If comparatively unimportant planks in the Congress programme such as the spread of Hindustani as the lingua franca cannot brook delay and the language is forced down the throat of unwilling people with the help of government machinery the Congress now controls, I do not see why the grievous wrong done to Bengal in the matter of her boundaries should not be righted without further loss of time.



“WHERE WOMEN ARE HONOURED.”

Impressions of an Annaprasanam Ceremony

By MARGARET E. COUSINS, B. Mus.

TRAVANCORE is nothing if not dramatic and distinctive. This is to be expected in a land which stands out from the rest of the social politics of the world in that it is ruled by a royal family whose lineage for over two thousand years has functioned through the matriarchal system. This unique type of civilisation has built up its structure of laws, customs, social atmosphere and economics through placing predominance on the value and capacity of the women of its people in a way parallel to that of other races which have moulded their structures predominantly through an emphasis on masculine views and powers.

A ceremony which took place in one of the royal palaces in Trivandrum recently, gave a vivid demonstration of one of the ways in which womanhood is honoured in Travancore at a crisis of great significance in her valuable vocation of motherhood, in an event which is treated casually in other lands, but in Hinduism, which sees every detail of life as symbolical, becomes the occasion of high ceremonial celebration. I refer to the *annaprasanam* (rice-giving) ceremony performed for the baby-son of Her Highness Princess Kartika Thirumal, First Princess of Travancore.

Because of the matriarchal system of succession through the female line in the elder sister of the Maharaja, her son becomes the heir-presumptive to the throne of Travancore in succession to the present Maharaja and his younger brother the Elayaraja or heir-apparent. The dainty and beautiful young Princess has, in view of the continuity of the royal line, been the person of outstanding interest in the royal family. And the *annaprasanam* day was one on which the lime-light was thrown on her to show how successfully she had carried through her heavy responsibility and invaluable service to the Life Force by her creative self-offering and her primary power of producing and nourishing the baby Prince till the end of his first six months of life. This was the day on which the baby was given his first taste of rice food. This was the occasion on which began the child's withdrawal from its dependent, almost parasitic, physical

connection and unity with the mother. The baby now begins to turn to Mother Nature and the produce of the earth for sustenance: the human mammal's task is nearing completion. The baby is becoming an individual in its own right. It is thus seen how appropriate and fitting it is that this day is appointed also by the custom of Hinduism in Travancore for the naming of the child. It was the ceremonial celebration of the first public function for that favoured youngster, at which it could sit up and take notice; and due ritual, and kaleidoscopic colouring and grouping of relatives, infantry, mounted body-guard, gaily costumed staffs, levee officers, and visitors, made a truly picturesque setting for his formal reception by Mother Nature as her new son, now to be linked on to her direct, not only through his mother; also not as "baby," but as Rama Varma, Prince Avittam Thirumal, heir-presumptive to the throne of Travancore.

At first sight it seemed strange, but on second thoughts it seemed fitting, that the triple ceremony should begin in the open-air. An oval space had been enclosed neatly with a low fence of matting round a large shady jack tree. This was in the compound of a charming building at Thevarathukoikal, in the Fort, the family seat of the Ranis of Travancore. Along the pathway to the tree from the handsome great gate were lined about 250 of the State infantry whose smart green turbans above their white tunics always sound a note of youthful hope. There were also groups carrying ancient weapons; others with silver-knobbed sticks who are the Brahmin servants of His Highness the Maharaja. In their simplicity of pure white clothing they and the Hindu levee officers, the latter mostly bare from the waist up, were a striking colour antithesis to the infantry and to the rich blues and reds of the cavalry and the red and gold uniforms of the peon staffs.

The State levee officers had first gathered in a room of the Thevarathukoikal, where they were witnesses, I was informed, of the blessing of the rice for the baby Prince by his mother, who entered the room with her simple and charming stateliness, and walked round the

receptacle containing the raw rice with a gesture of benediction, after which the portion of the rice was taken for the ceremonial cooking. From this room the State officers went in procession before the women relatives of the Princes, and the procession closed with the Princess carrying the royal baby followed by Their Highness the Senior Maharani and Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, mother of the Princess, and finally the grandmother of the baby, the great-grandmother of the occasion, four generations of exalted family life, dignified in simplicity, obviously happy, bringing to mind the scriptural declaration that "where women are honoured, there the Gods are pleased."

The senior ladies and the mother and child were received inside the enclosure round the tree by a couple of grey-haired priests. The procession of ladies, all in simple white dress, bare-footed, with freshly washed hair loosely hanging down the back and twisted into a knot at the end, was somehow reminiscent of a procession of vestal virgins in its simplicity and austerity. A more ornate note had been introduced earlier when a number of young girls had preceded the procession proper dressed in gay colours, with head-dresses of flowers, carrying symbols and vessels for offerings.

Inside the low-fenced enclosure, which the visitors could see from their seats on a raised verandah, the Princess sat on the clean sand with the baby on her lap in front of the old officiating *purohit* (priest). The handsome crimson canopy cloth tied at each end to crimson-tinted stalks of sugar-cane, under which she had walked in the procession, was moved to one side. The two Maharanis stood behind the seated figures, and behind them were the two daughters of the Senior Maharani striking a very modern note with their bobbed hair among the other long coiffures.

After certain *mantrams* (sacred texts) had been recited by the priest, the baby was handed to its devoted grandmother, Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi; and it was then that we all saw the depth of her love for the little one as she gave it such a heartfelt kiss (probably its first in public) that we all felt the waves of that deep affection spreading out towards us and linking us all in that "one touch of nature" that "makes the whole world kin." It was then that we could all see the little fellow kicking his legs about, and hear him occasionally

give a cry, though he was wonderfully good and quiet most of the time. Then he was handed back to his mother, who carried him three times round the honoured tree-trunk to get the blessing of its fruit-giving nature, so that he and she might share its nourishing characteristics. The State National Anthem was then played by the band, and the note of music completed the pageant.

That little baby, with so much of the future wrapped up in him; that slim slip of a pretty and dignified mother, the link with an ancient line of self-governing monarchs, both men and women, brought one face to face with the Mystery of the continuity and sanctity of the One Life, and the dignity, difficulty and responsibility that the Universal Creator has entrusted to world-mothers. Yet in most countries women are prohibited by law from being the official guardians of these same children. Very different is Travancore in these respects! In the way in which this ceremony threw full publicity on the mother and the women of the family, all women were implicitly honoured, all babies were significantly welcomed into the human family. The high thin vibratory cry given by women outside the compound as their way of applause was a mingled expression of wonder, joy and fear, as woman's intuition of such cosmic mysteries should be. The feelings of the men were expressed by the *feu de joie* of the troops as the procession re-formed and returned to the hall from which it had come, and in which His Highness the Maharaja now performed the naming ceremony. This he did, as I was informed, by whispering the new name three times into the ear of the baby, and then calling it aloud three times, after which the name was repeated by the mother and the Maharanis.

Throughout the ceremony and procession the baby Prince's father moved unobtrusively with other male members of the relatives of the baby, yet no doubt feeling proud and happy in the occasion. But Travancore leads the world in giving prime honours on such an occasion to the mother, following out the ancient injunction of the law-giver, Manu—"The *acharya* (teacher) is ten times more important than the *upadhyaya* (pupil); the father is a hundred times more important than the *acharya*; and the mother is a thousand times more important than the father" (Manu, *Smriti*, Ch. 11.)

ECONOMIC INVASION OF INDIA

By SIR RAHIMTOOLA CHINYOI

THE economic invasion of India began with the advent of the East India Company. The origins of British power lie in economic intrusion because it was a trading concern which first established British power in India. The flag followed the trade and the trade was helped by the flag. It is not necessary to go into the early history of the Indian textile industry or the Indian shipping industry in order to realise the truth underlying the criticism of British historians that unfair economic advantage was taken of political power in order to throttle Indian industries with which, at that time, British industries were unable to compete on equal terms. As is well-known, heavy import duties were levied on Indian-made cloth in Britain while the Indian handloom industry was subjected to the full blast of economic competition of the machine-made goods from Lancashire. Ships built in India and manned by Indian seamen were also discouraged and prohibited on the Thames with a view to protect British shipping, shipyards and seamen. The cotton excise duty which was levied on the infant cotton textile industry in India and continued upto nearly ten years ago, constituted as it were a symbol of the economic subservience of India.

The partition of Bengal created a national fervour which was stimulated by the victory of Japan, an Asiatic country, over Russia and this nationalism in the form of Swadeshi and Boycott extended to the economic field. The Industrial Conference which used to be held along with the Indian National Congress tried to focus public attention on our industrial needs and problems. Swadeshi and Boycott were represented to be the obverse sides of the same shield of economic self-reliance and regeneration of the country. As a result of these movements coupled with the outbreak of the last European war, an Industrial Commission was appointed in 1915. In moving the Resolution for the appointment of this Commission in the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir William Clarke, the then Member for Industry and Commerce stated :

"The building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view."

He also deprecated the taking of any steps which might

"merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries."

Similarly, Sir Frederic Nicholson said :

"I beg to record my opinion that in the matter of Indian industries we are bound to consider Indian interests firstly, secondly and thirdly. I mean by 'firstly' that the local raw product should be utilized, by 'secondly' that industries should be introduced and by 'thirdly' that the profits of such industries should remain in the country."

It is evident, therefore, that when Indians asked for protection of industries and Government agreed to a policy of industrialisation, they did so in order to promote Indian enterprise with Indian capital and under Indian control and management. The increase in national wealth and the training of the nationals of the country in the management and running of an enterprise are the real justification of a policy of protection and this is not possible unless the earnings of the industry remain in the country itself.

The Fiscal Commission presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola also laid stress on this underlying object of protection and came to the conclusion that the Government should make certain stipulations for preserving the Indian character of the companies thus benefited. In fact, the majority of the Indian members of the Commission went much farther than this and rightly pointed out that

"under a policy of protection, the right to establish an industrial enterprise behind the tariff-wall is a concession in itself."

They, therefore, wanted definite conditions to be laid down for companies receiving protection either by means of tariffs or by means of subsidies or bounties in order to safeguard the interests of India. It might be pointed out that in regard to steel industry such conditions were laid down and in subsidising civil aviation Government, in the beginning at any rate, approved the principle of reserving a majority of share capital and directorate as well as controlling interests for Indians. The External Capital Committee also recommended the imposition of similar conditions to safeguard

Indian interests especially where definite pecuniary concessions such as bounty or subsidy are given in accordance with the explicit policy of the Government of India and the Indian Legislature.

It might be enquired as to whether foreign capital is not needed in India since indigenous capital has been shy. The External Capital Committee considered this question and stated in their report that

"India possesses a vast amount of dormant capital awaiting development which would be sufficient to meet a larger part of India's industrial requirements."

It is evident from the growth of the sugar industry as well as from the recent attempts to make India self-sufficient in several spheres such as textile, steel, cement, etc., that once confidence is created by adopting a policy of long-range and adequate protection, there will be no difficulty in obtaining the requisite capital. Besides, as the External Capital Committee observed :

"It is more advantageous to India that its requirements for new capital should be supplied from internal rather than from external sources so far as internal capital is forthcoming."

As the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee recently pointed out, the country would

"prefer to delay the further development of Indian industries if it can only result in the dumping of foreign industrial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India."

The use of foreign capital to exploit the natural resources of the country which once exhausted cannot be replaced, is most undesirable in the interest of national economy. The conservation of natural resources in national interests is far more important than a rapid development of mines and industries, if they are controlled and managed by non-Indians. Sir Thomas Holland, President of the Indian Industrial Commission, once deplored the use of foreign capital in the petroleum industry of Burma and stated that the drain of profits was an "unnecessary and undesirable tax" which India must continue to pay until she could find her own capital. Even *The Statesman*, the well-known British daily of Calcutta, observed as far back as 1903 that

"the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capitalists stands on a different footing. For, in this case, the wealth extracted is not reproduced and on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital, may unquestionably be said to deprive the people of the country, for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit."

These are wise words which should serve as a warning not only to the Government of the country but to the public as well as industrialists and businessmen. I am not opposed to foreign capital *per se*, but there is a feeling that it has been unduly encouraged in the past as a field for investment particularly of British finance. Secondly, although it is true that Indian capital was shy and that the habit of industrial investment needed to be spread, Indian industry could have attracted more indigenous capital if it had been protected from the effects of outside competition. Lastly, in certain key industries, at any rate, we would rather not have the development of enterprises within the country for a few years than permit this vital spheres to be dominated by non-nationals. The penetration of foreign capital without restriction and conditions can only end in the complete political domination by foreign capitalists and will mean a far more subtle and ubiquitous conquest of the country than constitutional subordination.

The whole object and policy of protection are, however, being undermined during the last few years in two ways. In the first place, the commercial safeguards in the new Constitution make it impossible to differentiate between Indians and Britishers, i.e., between nationals and non-nationals. British companies and firms are henceforth to be deemed to be Indian companies for all practical purposes whether located in India or outside and whatever pecuniary assistance is granted to infant Indian enterprises cannot be refused to corresponding British enterprises, however powerful they might be and however keenly they might be competing with Indian concerns. The purpose of protection, namely, the increase of national wealth through prevention of economic drain and the training of Indian talents is completely frustrated by these provisions. That those who are not domiciled or resident in India are given the same rights and privileges is not only an unheard-of thing but is thoroughly inequitable and iniquitous. But even apart from this, the object of protection is being defeated through the inflow of foreign capital and the formation of pseudo-Indian concerns. The great international companies have set up their factories and works in India to escape national tariffs. The reasons are obvious. India's general tariff, although framed for purposes of revenue, was raised from time to time especially after the surcharges on customs duties whereby they afford some degree of protection to various industries. Consequently, non-Indian concerns have been established and have benefited by this revenue tariff as well as

by protective duties. The stores purchase policy of the Governments, Central and Provincial, which give preference to products manufactured by companies registered in India and with rupee capital also encouraged this policy. Besides, by giving it an Indian appearance advantage can be taken of the Swadeshi sentiment which prevails in the country. The disappearance of long term movement of capital in Europe owing to the economic isolationism of Germany, Italy and other States as well as the general lack of confidence, might have also turned foreign capital, particularly British capital, more and more to India in recent years, especially because the field has been carefully preserved through the safeguards in the new Constitution. There is no doubt that the uncontrolled flow of foreign capital creates new and intractable vested interests which will be determined to maintain the privileges granted to them in order to perpetuate their existence and power. This is

a new menace which deserves the earnest consideration of all who believe in the economic independence of the country. There is all the difference in the world between the utilisation of foreign capital in a free country by a people who control their economic destiny on the one hand and the intrusion of foreign capital in a country like India with its political subordination and its incipient Indian national enterprises and its vast undeveloped resources, on the other. As President Wilson once observed, "processes of capital are in a sense processes of conquest." India has been and would continue to be dominated by the capital invested and in so far as foreign capital comes and takes hold, foreign control will come in and take hold at least in our present condition. We have, therefore, to mobilize public opinion and the machinery of as many Provincial Governments as possible in order to resist this new mode of economic invasion of India.

THEATERITIS

By BEN MISRA

SOMETIME ago this ancient reporter went to interview a show king at his picture palace with regard to a talkie corporation in which he was at the moment interested. But that wily old bird turned the tables upon him by a masterly sleight-of-hand, transforming the interviewer into the interviewee.

The magic formula that turned the trick was: "Will you tell me just what is wrong with our pictures?"

Now, I do not belong to the great and growing fraternity of professional reformers and saturnine self-seekers who go about telling people what is wrong with their pictures. A thankless task! But the thing did not come bang out of a blue sky; for then I would certainly not have put my foot into it. No; the fellow was too smooth for that. He led up to it, oilyly, effusively, by easy steps and stages. With rare Old World courtesy—so rare, indeed, that it is now found only in the New—he invited me to attend the opening performance of the "song-hit of the season," and see what I thought of it.

I could not demur, far less decline. It

would have been a scant return for his courtesy to plead a previous engagement. I went. For the first quarter of an hour the film completely baffled me. It was, I suppose, the director's high art that left me high and dry. Then gradually I began to get the drift of the story and at length found myself *en rapport* with the picture.

But just when, seduced by the golden voice and glittering beauty of the star, my interests in the fortunes and misfortunes of the hero and the heroine was at its height, like a flash of lightning from an overcast sky—to my utter annoyance and stupefaction—up went the lights, up rose the audience, and mine host hustled me toward the refreshment room.

The prospect of creamy, dreamy, velvety sweets is always grateful to a Brahman. But for all my inherited sense of epicurism, I was powerless to dispel a feeling of having been hoodwinked and humbugged in being so summarily torn away from the picture when at long last my attention and interest were centered in it and the entrancing creature dancing before me in sheer abandon.

It was not fair to me. It was not fair to the picture and its producers. It certainly was not fair to the fairy of the silver screen. It was positively insulting, if you come right down to it. It reminded me of the penny-dreadfuls that end on page 139 with the legend, "continued in volume second, out on January 13," leaving the hero with a halter round his neck, and the heroine, heading the party of rescuers, still struggling in the woods.

After the refreshment we returned to our box. But for good or ill, the picture seemed to have passed out of our lives like a dream. In its place, a lot of ads, bizarre and boastful, stared us mockingly in the face, vying with one another in their blatant outspokenness and jarring artificiality. There was no help for it. You stared back at them willy-nilly.

Then numerous gleams and glimpses of the coming attractions were flashed on the screen, showing what a wealth of songs and stunts and sex-appeal was in store for the patrons of the palace. And then—when the recess with its light repast, the ads with their bargain prices, and the foreshadows of the coming calamities with their promise of high delectation—had all conspired to kill our interest in "the song hit of the season" and its principals dead, on came the ill-starred picture again!

Kiss of Judas! But that was an un-Christain trick! To build a bridge over those gaping and staring ads and the flashes and foretokens of the joys to come—it could not be done. The spell had been broken. A lot of flotsam and jetsam had choked the slender stream. The thing became a bore. In due course the chequered career of the film came to its weary close—as every thing human must come to its close, sooner or later. The lights went up, the curtain down, and the audience out.

With a look of beaming expectancy mine host turned to me, every lineament of his moonlike face a veritable, "Well, how was that? Great, don't you think?" I could not, for the life of me, damn the picture with faint praise and thereby turn the beatific complacency of that episcopal countenance into chagrin. To be loud in its applause was to slaughter the truth and make mock of my own sentiments. "But why speak unpleasant truths?" the age-old admonition asserted its domain over my heart. And I compromised and praised the picture with faint damns.

It was then that the voice of the tempter spoke with mellifluous accents. "No, no," said mine host, "that is not what I expect

from you. Will you not, as an expert and experienced cineman, from the cinema capital of the world, tell me, tell us, just what is wrong with our pictures?"

I hesitated; and he who hesitates is lost. For the honeyed voice went on: "Will you, in other words, diagnose the ill that besets our talkies, so that we may adopt remedial measures?"

A word, hot from the mint, rose to my lips and escaped.

"Theateritis," I said sententiously, shortly.

"The-ater-itis!" the show king rolled the syllables on his tongue long and lingeringly. "I imagine I know what you mean. But I am not sure. Won't you develop your thesis point by point, or rather symptom by symptom, to give us the benefit of your long . . ." etc. etc., all very flattering without seeming to be so.

I slipped. "If you think it will be any help."

"Of course, it will be!" he boomed.

I was in a state of concentrated emotion and it poured out of me. And here it is for what it may be worth.

I was in Hollywood, (I said to the show king), when the talkies made their debut, and in Washington when, a few years earlier, the radio first appeared on the scene. The radio caused a flutter of excitement in the public; the talkies none to speak of. Both the radio and the talkies came as a matter of course. For years before their advent they had been taken for granted. And when finally they did make their appearance, they were received with a "H'm!" of satisfaction. "Why not?" the public seemed to say.

Not so the cinema circles in Hollywood and elsewhere. Talkies caused a complete overhauling in every department of the movies. Old machines were scrapped and new put in. Laboratory methods were revised and brought in line with the requirements of the new machines. Many stars of the silent days registered a fade-out and new ones rose to fame. New methods of acting and directing came into vogue, and a new type of photoplay was demanded to meet the new requirements.

These changes, tremendous and far-reaching, did not come all at once. Slowly and gradually, first tentatively and experimentally, new adjustments were made in conformity with the peculiarities of the talking machines; and the machines themselves were continually adjusted and improved, as new facts and formulas were discovered. Thus rose in Hollywood a

mass of knowledge which is known as talkie technique—a slow, scientific growth, made in the light of new improvements and innovations.

Not so in India. Talkies came to India as a gift from gods on high—the high gods of Hollywood. They did not grow and develop and attain maturity here; they were imported as a finished product. Result? The Indians did not have, do not have, and, what is worse, do not *care* to have that technical knowledge of the craft which first-hand familiarity with the particular and peculiar characteristic of the talkies alone can give.

Talkies boomed the business, as nothing else could have done. They started a veritable gold-rush. Curious spectators flocked to talkie houses in hundreds upon thousands and stared open-mouthed at the talking screen. Whatever the producers sent out brought in a plentiful harvest of pure gold. The public became film-conscious. Talkie houses and picture palaces multiplied all over the country. To meet the ever-increasing demand for Indian talkies, any number of film companies were floated, and did, and are doing, a roaring business with excellent future prospects.

The Indians imported talking machines, but they did not import, nor acquired for themselves, talkie technique. Before the talkies there had been movies and theaters: theatrical companies that went barn-storming the country. When the talkies burst upon the horizon like a golden dawn, the Indian theater suffered a total, and in my judgment a well-deserved, eclipse. But in eclipsing the theater, the Indian talkies took over all the thunder and theatricality for which the stage had been infamous and put it on the screen, in utter ignorance and total defiance of the peculiar requirements of the talkies, and to their thorough demoralization and detriment.

The results are glaringly patent all over the screen. Who are our veteran photodramatists? The same gentlemen who used to write plays for the theatrical concerns. Now what they write may be anything from pure drivel to passable drama, but it is not photodrama. At best it is middling and maudlin or stagey and melodramatic. Mostly it is mushy and mawkish.

The new recruits have gone one better. They have learned to superimpose long-shot, mid-shot, close-up, and fade-out on their puerilities and call them scenarios, and themselves Scenarists with a capital S. But that is mere imposition. Patch-work on a crazy quilt. It reminds me of the raw N. C. O. who, stepping forth to drill his company, cried: "Lep', rite, lep'; form force, form to deep; right about turn;

Diss-Miss!" to the intense hilarity of his men, who forthwith dispersed in high glee.

"But why not?" objected the show king. "Why can't stage plays be produced on the talking screen?"

"Because they can't be," I replied.

"You are begging the question," he came back with some zeal.

"Don't blame me. Blame rather the limitations of the talking screen."

"Eh?"

"Take a familiar example. Bernard Shaw is, on his own admission, the foremost dramatist of our day: the superior of Shakespeare, I believe, he once boasted. His plays suit the stage to a T. But can they be produced on the screen as they stand? No, siree!"

"No?"

"A camel will sooner pass through the eye of the needle, and a show king the gates of paradise!"

"Oh! Oh!" gurgled the show king. "I am not so rich, I assure you."

"Assure St. Peter!" I told him in light repartee.

The other day I went to see S. starring K. The story was long-winded, patchy, and amateurish. But K. was superb.

"How beautifully she screens!" I remarked to a director friend who was with me. "She can't be as beautiful as all that."

"She is more beautiful than all that," my friend, who had met her, replied.

"Golly! What a gal!" I exclaimed in my native Amerianese.

"You betcha!" the director returned in the same key. "Unfortunately, she has never had proper direction."

"That is clear from the way she acts." I agreed.

Given expert direction, K. would make a marvellous actress. She is neither fat nor foreign, and her voice is sweet, silvery, sheer-musical. But denied skilful direction, she goes through her part as best as she and her directors know how, and then seems to say: "All right, now I will sing you a song." And when she sings—when K. sings—she weaves a spell over her audience, and turns even the most hardened critics into ardent admirers.

Mrs. D. has been far more fortunate in her directors. And she has a fine voice and a fascinating figure, and features admirably suited to a certain type of role in which she has no superior on the Indian screen. But she

has not yet had a story worthy of her histrionic gifts. How I wish I could star Mrs. D. in a photoplay written by me and directed by a really competent director like B. or N.

But it is better to underact like K. than to overact like nobody's business. Unfortunately, we Indians are a pedantic people. We love bombast. We talk in superlatives. There is an over-tone in our make-up. Our foods are heavy and hot like the sting of a hundred adders. Our dresses, loud and dazzling: staring red and peacock blue, shot through with threads of gold and loaded with precious stones or paste, and heavy ornaments, real and unreal. We prefer the gaudy and ornate and regard the quiet and subdued, not as a mark of good taste, but as colourless and lifeless.

In writing, we use difficult, dictionary words, and rolling periods of learned length. In acting we indulge in wild harangue and wilder gesticulations, and shun naturalness as sin. Our actors do not *live* their part, they *act* all too consciously, and, what is worse, *overact*. Yet gesticulating is not acting any more than shouting is singing. But these things have been lifted from the theater, and will continue to bar progress and mar the beauty of our productions until, in a heroic attempt to kill theateritis and portray life, we turn our back on trash and tinsel and take our cue from life itself.

I have said enough to indicate my strong disapproval of what passes for photoplay, but what is, in the great majority of cases, nothing but pure rigmarole, an endless piling of incident on incident without rhyme or reason or rhythm, until it is felt the picture will run through fourteen reels. But every play, no matter how long and rambling, how Indian and amateurish and inept, is bound, in the very nature of things, to contain, as it does contain, some story and sequence, some semblance of unity, continuity, and coherence.

Through this story and sequence, through this continuity and coherence, our show kings and Shoguns run a sharp sword when in the midst of the play they declare an interval, and then thrust a lot of ads and trailers. When the story comes next, interest in it has been smothered dead under a scrapheap of the irrelevant and immaterial and cannot be resuscitated by any manner of means.

Through a stage play, which is divided into a number of scenes and acts, after each of which the curtain drops, you may run a carriage and pair at the end of each act, or

sell peanut brittle or popcorn at the end of each scene, if you are so minded. But such liberties may not be taken with a photoplay which is not *divided* into diverse incidents, but in which diverse incidents are *unified* to form one *undivided* whole. A photoplay is not a five-act-drama or a four-hundred-page novel. It is meant to be seen at one sitting, even as a short story is meant to be read at one sitting.

A photoplay is like a hundred-yard race in which the sprinters start off the mark in a flash, gather momentum at every step, and finish up with a fine burst of speed. It is like a dart speeding straight from the bow to the bull's eye. It has no time to ramble and peep and halt and hesitate and limp and languish and take a nap or two under the wayside banyan tree, arriving home some time before dawn. It is keyed to a quicker tempo. Rain or shine, calm or storm, it must speed on like a mail plane and make the terminus on schedule.

Begin your program with advertisements and trailers of the pictures you have booked, (I told my show king), then introduce shorts, features, newsreels and comics. Then declare an interval, *if you must*, but not, in the name of everything beautiful and artistic, in the midst of the main feature when interest in the story is at its height. It is not playing the game. It is like turning out your guests when they are enjoying their *piece de resistance* most, and telling them what *hors d'oeuvres* shall be theirs at subsequent dinners. It is not hospitality. It is the height of something I hate to name. It is preposterous.

"But," objected the show king, "shorts and comics have not yet come into their own in India, and the main feature is the only feature there is. So that if the interval is not to be declared in the middle of the picture, when and where is it to be declared?"

"That, my dear Sir," I replied laughing, "sounds very much like the French Bluebeard who argued, 'If I don't beat my wife, whose wife am I going to beat?'"

"But why beat your wife at all? Where is the necessity? If your pictures are long, tell Bombay and Calcutta to make them shorter. If they are tiresome and boring, as I know they are, tell the producers to put snap and crackle into them. If you want shorts and comics, insist on having shorts and comics. But do not, for God's sake, if art has no appeal for you, butcher your pictures the way you do them now."

To our photodramatists, alleged, actual, and otherwise, I'll say: "Study life; learn your craft;" to the actors: "Do not *act*, but live your part; be natural and spontaneous, not theatrical, hysterical, or artificial;" to the producers: "Snap out of that matutinal slumber; realize your responsibility to your

public and the high art you sponsor;" to the show kings: "Be non-violent; don't slaughter your pictures so;" to the directors, mighty monarchs of the screen land, whose word is Law, nothing at all: I haven't the courage. I shall simply make my bow and depart. Salam-ale-kum!

PARLIAMENT RISES : PROBLEMS REMAIN

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

PARLIAMENT has just risen and will not return to its labours again until November. A quarter of a year for a holiday—and on full pay too! However they can flatter themselves that during the past session they have passed a Bill empowering Trade Boards and Agricultural Wages Committees to negotiate the matter of paid holidays for workers. They may well cling to this as one of the few things there are to be glad about; this and perhaps (according to their religious persuasion) the verdict in the Bourne abortion case. Otherwise the outlook is dark indeed. At home unemployment is increasing, prices are rising, agriculture is declining, shipping is declining, crisis is developing in the mining industry. And abroad no one can tell what is going to happen.

As regards the Holidays with Pay enactment, little need be said. Like most Trade Boards legislation it is permissive legislation; the Boards are not compelled to do anything. But where the Boards decide that paid holidays should be given, any employer who fails to give them is liable to a "maximum fine of £20 for each offence." It is strange that at this time of day there should be any employers left who do not regard paid holidays as a good investment in health, goodwill and efficiency. But there certainly are. It is anticipated that no less than 2,000,000 workers will benefit under the new legislation.

The Bourne verdict was received by medical men, assembled as it chanced in Congress, with an outburst of prolonged cheering. Abortion is of course a matter so fiercely opposed in priestly quarters that it is impossible to get anyone owing them allegiance even to *consider* the question. Yet eminent men who have studied the history of abortion, and who hold no brief for or against it, tell us that in the

ancient world abortion was regarded solely as a civil matter. Not until the beginning of the third century was it regarded as a crime. In especial it is worth noting, in view of the attitude taken up by the Roman Catholic Church, that "there is no direct reference in the New Testament to either infanticide or abortion."

The Roman Catholic Church, of course, bases its opposition to abortion on the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill." The child must be allowed to come to birth even if it appears certain that in giving birth to her child the mother will die. This is categorically set down in a Papal Encyclical of 1933. Those who advocate abortion on the other hand—and no one advocates it indiscriminately if only because, all other considerations apart, it is "one of the most dangerous operations in surgery"—are concerned for the life and well-being of the mother primarily. (Though the prospects for a child born in unhappy circumstances must also weigh with them.) They are appalled by the high death rate amongst women resulting from a recourse to unskilled abortionists. It is said that 90,000 abortions are performed in England every year. The medical officer of a London hospital informed Sir Ernest Graham-Little, the M.P. for London University, that in twenty months he had been called to 530 cases of illness caused by improper and unskilled abortion.

Women in this country, at any rate, are seriously perturbed by the abortion figures. The Women's Co-operative Guilds, the National Council of Women, the National Council for Equal Citizenship, have all passed resolutions calling for an enquiry. These resolutions, as also the verdict in the Bourne case, must surely have some weight in promoting humaner legis-

lation. The Catholic attitude might be one worth sustaining—might be one, that is, which women would think it worth dying for—if it were one of universal application. The absolute sanctity of all human life is no mean conception! But the Catholic Church, and those who think with it, take up this stand only in the matter of birth control and abortion. If human life is absolutely sacred to the Catholic Church, why does it not denounce war? To take the more obvious instance of violence to human life, why does it not denounce capital punishment?

The Bourne verdict, it is safe to say, is one of the few subjects that has diverted public attention lately from its constant pre-occupation with foreign affairs. For a time it seemed the Sandys case might succeed in doing that. But for reasons best known to the principal participants it is being pushed into oblivion. Perhaps, just as Mr. Sandys discovered something he ought not to have, the Government and the Opposition have also stumbled on something they would rather walk over altogether! Perhaps, to push matters to a conclusion, might have pointed to the resignation of the Secretary of State for War and/or the Prime Minister, and, at the present time, in view of the ticklish Czecho-slovak situation, that was not to be thought of.

It is a pity that this pre-occupation with foreign affairs is distracting attention from another evil which is right in our midst, the evil of unemployment. Has unemployment ever been in a worse case than it is now? The figures no doubt in the 1931 world slump were worse, but they are increasing now all the time—and that in spite of the men engaged on our rearmament programme. If it were not for that programme, what would the figures be? As it is during the past year unemployment has increased by no less than one-third. In June, the figures were up by 24,107 but at this time last year they fell by 94,732.

The tragedy behind these figures is enough to blot out the sun for anyone who considers it. It is said that, if we take into account the dependents of these unemployed men, five million people are involved. Five million! Thus while we are spending millions upon millions of money on armaments, all these people are living a down-to-the-bone existence. And, as if that were not enough, there is a whisper growing that, in view of all this enormous expenditure, there may have to be a cut in the social services. Truly we have not yet discovered how to use our votes intelligently.

Unemployment, low wages, rising prices—

these three evils are menacing our lives just as surely as the war in Europe and the Far East is menacing our political existence. It was startling to learn a month or so ago, when the Board in charge of Unemployment Assistance issued its Report, that wages in this country are often so low that a man is better off on unemployment assistance than he is in work. Such a state of affairs indicates something rotten in the economic order. Consider just this: the standard unemployment benefit for children under five, we are told, will not even pay for the amount of milk experts say they need—apart from all other needs.

In view of all this, it is not surprising to find that the Committee Against Malnutrition, in a memorandum issued recently, are advocating proposals which can only be described as revolutionary—and which would have put a Labour Government out of office instantaneously if they had ever dared promote them in a Bill. "Analysis of the scales of public statutory benefits," they state (and we would like to add: supporters of the Means Test please note), "show that they are insufficient to provide adequate nutrition." And as regards low wages, they think it is no use raising them—because it would merely lead to a rise in food prices. So they make the socialistic proposal that the vital foodstuffs—milk, fruit, vegetables, fish—should be taken out of the hands of private concerns and put under the control of Food Boards. And there must be no half-measures about it! "The whole process of production, from the marketing of fertilisers to the distribution to the housewife at the doorstep, as well as imports from abroad and their storage" must be the scope of the Food Boards.

It sounds too good to be true.

But if anyone doubts that profiteering has been going on in the food industry, let them study the following figures. For the last three years United Dairies has paid a dividend of 12½%; Spillers (flour) in the last three years paid 15%; Ranks (flour) 18% last year and 15% the two previous years; Hovis (bread) has paid 20% for the last three years. Tate & Lyle (sugar) paid 20% in 1935 and gave their shareholders two new shares for every five held; in 1936, they paid 18%; and in 1937, they paid 18½ on all the shares including the new ones. (With regard to this last item, one might digress to point out the contrast between the dividends which Tate & Lyle can pay and the misery which exists in the West Indies, that sugar-producing area.)

When the Unemployment Board called attention to the disquieting fact that it can be more profitable to be on public assistance than to be in work, were they thinking specially of the miners? A remarkable article appeared the other day on the subject of miners' wages. It was called *Where work means starvation* and was written by Mrs. Barbara Ayrton-Gould. In it she states that in practically all colliery districts the average wage earned by an adult miner is about two guineas a week for a full week's work. But many miners work not a six-day but a four-day week—and for the four-day week they receive the pitiful wage of 26/- a week. "The income of the unemployed man with a wife and several children," she adds, "*is nearly twice that of the miner working four days a week.*"

No wonder trouble is blowing up in the mining industry. Mining, which of all industries should seek to compensate its workers for the strains and stresses and anxieties it imposes, pays less than a living wage! When one reads of the conditions prevailing in the pits today, one seems to hear again the voice of A. J. Cook calling on the miners to unite and free themselves. In 1926, they were defeated. But can the victors be easy in their minds? As a miner said at a conference of the Mineworkers' Federation the other day:

"Isn't it true that since 1927 the industry has passed through an experience unparalleled in its history? Haven't we heard the word *explosion* in the past ten years more than in the 40 or 50 years that some of us here have worked in the mines? Yet nothing practically has been done to prevent it."

The situation is indeed frightening. The accident rate is increasing. It is the worst in Europe, says the Conservative *Spectator*. There have been as many men killed or injured in the last five years as are actually employed in the industry at the present time. Put another way, three men are killed every working day in the year. And out of every 1,000 boys employed under the age of sixteen, 229 are injured. It is said that one reason for this is the increasing use of machinery; the noise it creates adds a new nervous tension to the miner; also it makes for speeding-up. Think of working in a pit to the accompaniment of deafening noise and at such a temperature that the sweat drops from you at a pound an hour (as one delegate described it). In 1926, the Government increased the miners' hours. These hours must be reduced now, if the strain and the accident rate are to be reduced. Also, of course, a reduction of hours would lessen unemployment in the mining districts and so, one

hopes, do away with the 4-day week and 26/- a week wage. (Although, mining being what it is, a 4-day week for a full week's wage of two guineas would not be over-generous. Can life be spacious on two guineas a week for a man and his wife and family?)

More than ten years ago the miners put their case. They told us the accident rate would increase if hours were increased—because the accident rate is always highest during the last hours of the shift—and it *has* increased. Our responsibility is a heavy one. At the least we must put into force at once, whenever they are to hand, the recommendations which will be made by the present Royal Commission on Safety in Mines. And the Commission ought surely to hasten its labours. It has been sitting for *two and a half years*. But the present Government, alas, by its example can give no spur to the Commission to get on and finish its work. When safety in the mines was debated this week in the House of Commons, on the Conservative benches, apart from the Ministers and the Whip, *at no time were there more than four members*. Yet when the Mines Bill was being discussed, the Bill which, in the words of Mr. C. R. Attlee, "was to make the world safe for the royalty owners," it was a different story.

If the proposals of the Committee Against Malnutrition were put into operation they would benefit not merely the unemployed, the under-employed and the badly paid, they would put Agriculture on its feet. It is inexplicable that we should neglect our food supplies while we are pouring out money on armaments—and while, by refusing protection to our own foodships trading to Spanish Government ports, we are proclaiming to the world that any foreign ships which bring us food in wartime will deserve an equal fate. (As Sir Archibald Sinclair has remarked, the statements made by the Government in this connection "will be carefully filed in Germany for propagandist use in time of war.")

Agriculture certainly is in a bad way. In the last eighteen years three million acres have ceased growing crops. The figures for June this year show a fall in the general level of farm prices that brings them to the lowest since August 1936. In particular the heavy fall in sheep prices has set the farmers in revolt. The Prime Minister, in a speech at Kettering, gave them no encouragement. We cannot greatly increase our food production, he argues, because to do so would injure the Dominions and also reduce our own export of

manufactured goods. But, as Lord Addison said, in a debate in the House of Lords, the Prime Minister speaks not for the countryside but for the City mind, "the mind that has dominated our policy for the last fifty years and ruined our countryside."

It is of course nonsense to take this "City" view. In view of the plight of the unemployed, of the under-nourished, it is quite plain that we could vastly increase our food production and still have need of exports from abroad. Turn the whole problem over to a Food Board and they could settle it! The Diminutions need not fear competition—a Food Board, concerned to keep up the food supply, could cut out all competition by setting the same price for all products alike. Or by some other price control: it is a technical problem in such circumstances. But the Government is completely out of touch with realities. Its Minister of Agriculture remarks complacently that we are now producing a larger percentage of our total requirements than before the war. Our *total requirements*! Malnutrition being rampant, no one can *know* what are our total requirements.

Indeed of all the wonders, considering this addiction to the City view, it is the greatest wonder that farmers should be Conservative as they mostly are. But some of them, perhaps, are at last beginning to see that the Conservatives have nothing to offer them. The Somerset Farmers' Union Executive have recommended farmers to study copies of the Liberal and Labour Parties' Agricultural Policies. And the Chairman of the County Organisation Committee has said: "We have sufficient votes to make the Government feel very shaky in 50 or 60 seats."

One man at least must be thankful for the long inter-regnum which the parliamentary recess really amounts to and that is the Prime Minister. At last he has a free hand. And no Prime Minister, not even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, ever showed a greater determination to keep all the moves in foreign affairs completely under his own hands. Before Mr. Eden's resignation, which he forced, he was exchanging private letters with Signor Mussolini. Before the Royal visit to France he was exchanging letters with the French Premier. For the past few weeks, he has been exchanging letters with Germany; and Lord Halifax, his shadow-Foreign Secretary, has been receiving Captain Wiedemann, Herr Hitler's un-official ambassador. At the moment of writing Lord Runciman is about to proceed to Czecho-Slovakia to act there

as an adviser in the crisis which has arisen in the affair of the Sudeten Germans.

There are those who point out that the Prime Minister is trying to bring off a double event. A few months ago it was said he had staked his political reputation on the success of the Anglo-Italian Agreement. Now the same thing is being said about Lord Runciman's visit to Czecho-Slovakia. But the Anglo-Italian Agreement is not implemented yet (and Signor Mussolini grows more indifferent and more abusive of Britain daily, more subservient to Germany—to spike whose guns on the Brenner was one good object in his eyes of the Anglo-Italian Agreement) . . . All the same, Czecho-Slovakia is not Spain, and the chances of a peaceful conclusion there—though it may only be peace for a few years—are greater.

It may be remembered that in an earlier Letter I quoted that great authority on European questions, Professor Gooch, as saying that peace depended upon one man—Herr Hitler. If he wants peace, there will be peace. If he wants war, war there will be—although no one else in Europe wants war. Whether this is a true view of the case or not, it seems that, for the time being at any rate, Herr Hitler does not want war.

There are many reasons why Herr Hitler should not want to make war at this juncture. For one thing, the recent Royal visit to France has shown him (with an emphasis that is said to have surprised our own Foreign Secretary) that France and England are solidly united. For another, if he has serious designs in Spain—and all the signs are that he has—it is obviously to his advantage to finish his work in Spain before he starts out on his next adventure.

Looking at the scene with his eyes indeed, everything seems to be in favour of waiting *now*. And far from our drawing a sigh of relief at this opportunity for a breathing-space, we may feel that the future will shortly grow darker than it has ever been. Because it is said on all sides now that, with the Czecho-Slovakia crisis out of the way (only temporarily out of the way but we will go on being ostriches and deceiving ourselves), negotiations will begin for a Four-Power Pact. Partners in this Pact will be France, Britain, Germany and Italy. In other words Germany, having in Spain emasculated France by giving her another frontier to defend and by coming within easy striking distance of her munition works, is now out to eliminate France's other great ally—*Russia*.

If we truly knew the things that belong to our peace, we would never consent to a Four-

Power Pact. It has no other object in German eyes than to eliminate Russia.

And we need make no mistake about Germany's and Italy's projects in Spain. They may, by a miracle, fail. The Spanish Government is fighting for the existence of Spain—they see that Franco's Spain is already a colony, exporting its mineral wealth and its largest incomes to Germans and Italians—and people fighting for their existence are very hard to defeat. But Germany is fighting in Spain simply and solely because she wishes to destroy France as a Great Power, as a continental Power. That her intervention in Spain was part of her strategy to that end was recently revealed in the report of a Staff lecture given to German officers. The publication of this report in a London newspaper roused a storm of indignation in Nazi circles. It was denied within a few hours of the publication. But Germany need not bother to make these denials. As fast as she denies her strategic war in Spain, her troublesome ally, Italy, affirms it all. Listen to this, from the Italian Fascist *Resto Del Carlino*, published on June 30th, 1938:

"The solution of the Czechoslovak problem and of the colonial problem will be facilitated from the day when Communism and its blind auxiliary, Democracy, will have suffered a bloody defeat in the Iberian peninsula. *On that day, France, before mobilizing on the Rhine, will have to think of its other frontiers: that of the Alps and that of the Pyrenees.*"

So there we have it. Germany has already re-fortified the Rhineland. When she has secured her aims in Spain, she will be in a position to say to France: Get behind your Manginot line—and stay there. It is indeed a very serious outlook for us. All this is being done to our chiefest ally, France. And now Germany wants us to connive, in a Four-Power Pact, at getting rid of the only other Great Power who might stand up to her—Russia.

We may talk of peace now, but Germany's action in Austria, Germany's action in Spain, Germany's action in Czecho-Slovakia, are not merely a few passing fevered impulses. They are part of a programme which began when he entered into a Non-Aggression Pact with Poland, soon after his coming into power, as a first step towards achieving his objects in Central Europe. The Polish Pact secured him from danger in the East (the Polish Corridor could wait for the time being). The war in Spain, he hopes, will

secure him in the West. That war has not been won as quickly as he anticipated. And France and England are solid at the moment. And Russia is still in the picture. But in a few years time . . . ?

And all those people in England, who have played the Fascist game and are playing it still, who are so concerned for the survival of their class and their prestige that they have fallen for the myth put about by the Dictators that Franco is fighting "communism" in Spain, let them think upon this. If the Dictators have their way in Europe—if they immobilise France and Russia as is their intention—Britain may remain a capitalist State but she will have become a Second Class Power. She will be incapable of resisting German demands, whether as regards Europe or as regards colonies and the British Empire. And the reason she will not be able to resist them is this: once Germany obtains sway over the Central and Eastern European plain, she has access to all the corn, all the oil, all the raw materials she needs. In other words, never again can Germany be defeated by *blockade*.

So our very survival as a Great Power depends upon the independence of Czecho-Slovakia, depends upon whether Europe shall revolve around the democracies or around the dictatorships. Let us be thankful, then, that we are taking a constructive interest in the question and dispatching Lord Runciman "to sit on the lid of the kettle" as the American Press so amusingly describes it! (Although of course, if peace is to ensue, something more is necessary.) It is said that the Runciman mission is due in part to the good offices of Mr. Jan Masaryk, the Czecho-Slovak Minister in London. If only some Spanish representative in London—or America for that matter—could do the same for Spain.

Many people in this country see that the Spanish Government is, after all, fighting our battles, and fighting against odds that we, by our failure to make Non-Intervention a reality, have increased against them.

Surely, at the least, the time has come for us to throw all our influence into the effort to bring about an Armistice.

Westminster, London,
August 1, 1938

ABORIGINES OF ORISSA

By A. V. THAKKAR

BEFORE the Provincial Autonomy was introduced last year as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935, large tracts of the country inhabited by Aboriginal tribes in the provinces of Assam, Madras and C. P. were almost a sealed book to an ordinary student of politics and even to a Hindu social worker. They were no doubt, ideal places to Christian missionaries for their work of proselytisation. Even under the Provincial Autonomy, many of these tracts have been classed as either wholly or partially excluded from the full autonomy. Chittagong hill tracts in East Bengal, Districts of Naga Hills and Lushai Hills and a part of Cachar in Assam and small areas in the Punjab and N.-W. F. P. are wholly excluded areas. The list of partially excluded areas extends to eight major provinces, and it is so big as to contain numerous districts, not only in the hilly and forest areas but also in the plains. The following abridged list will give the reader some idea of the list of partially excluded areas:

Madras.—East Godavary and Vizagapattam Agencies.

Bombay.—A large part of West Khandesh and a small part of East Khandesh, parts of Nasik and Thana Districts and nearly half of Panch Mahals District.

Bengal.—Whole of the Darjeeling District and part of Mymensingh District.

U. P.—Parts of Dehra Dun and Mirzapur Districts.

Bihar.—Six whole districts of Chota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas, out of 16 districts in the province. In other words 37½% of the province.

C. P. and Berar.—Whole of Mandla District, parts of Chanda, Chhindwara, Bilaspur, Drug, Balaghat, Amraoti, Betul Districts, i.e., one whole district and parts of seven districts out of 19 districts in the Province.

Assam.—The whole of Garo Hills District, parts of Nowgong, Sibsagar and Khasi and Jaintia Hills Districts. Thus out of 12 districts in Assam 2½ are wholly excluded and one whole district and parts of three more are partially excluded.

Orissa.—Whole districts of Angul and

Sambalpur, Ganjam and Vizagapattam Agencies, out of seven districts only in the Province.

The list is as any one can see at a glance a formidable one. But Provinces of Bihar, Assam and Orissa are the worst sufferers and have very large portion of their areas partially excluded from the benefits of full autonomy.

Since the last 12 years I have been studying the question of the forest and hill tribes of our country. In 1926 I was able to visit some of the hilly districts of C.P. and Assam. But my ambition to visit hilly districts of Ganjam and Vizagapattam (formerly in Madras, but now in Orissa) could be fulfilled in last April only. The existence of the Congress Ministry in power in Orissa and the consequent wider opening out of those parts to the general public facilitated my tour in these Agency Tracts now called Ganjam and Koraput districts respectively. Besides these, I was also enabled, by the kindness of the Dewans of the States, to tour in the unfrequented parts of Orissa States of Mayurbhunj and Kalahandi at the same time. During these tours I could see something of the aboriginal tribes living in those uplands of Orissa, their life, their manners and customs, their nearness to the Aryan and to our culture.

Ganjam is a coastal district with much of its hinterland hilly and full of wild people. The tribe of Kandhs, misspelt as Khonds, inhabit the taluks of Udaygiri and Baliguda. In the first half of the 19th century, Kandhs were given to human sacrifices for the propitiation of gods of the earth, who were supposed to give them good crops by the human offering. These were stopped about the year 1846 by the British Government who agreed not to charge any land revenue to Kandhs as a class. This complete exemption from land revenue is the privilege of the Kandhs in this tract even upto this date. They brew their own rice beer without any hindrance and liquor shops are not planted in their midst by the Excise Department except in a few places where people from the plains—Agency Oriyas as they are called—have settled.

A large number of primary schools have been opened for the benefit of Kandhs children, who have to be taught in Oriya, a language not spoken by them, their own language being *kui*.

English is just being introduced among them. But the close contact of the plainsmen, who migrate here without their women, has unfortunately brought syphilis in its train and is said to spread very fast. It is hoped that before it becomes too late, Government will take remedial measures for preventing the spread of this terrible disease among these unsophisticated people. The Baptist Missionary Society has been building a very commodious hospital at Udaygiri, and which will be of great help in treating the Kandhs and relieving them of malaria which is very prevalent and the sexual diseases which are steadily and surely attacking them.

Koraput District. This is the newly formed southern-most district of Orissa and is carved out of old Vizagapattam Agency of Madras. It is a very large district with an area of 10,000 sq. miles and mostly forms the Jeypore Zamindari. People here are very backward socially, economically and industrially. Even the revenue survey of the district has not yet been made, and the Orissa Government which has now taken charge of it will soon commence the survey operations. Jeypore Maharaja is trying to develop the area, he has already started a sugar mill, two tile factories, a saw mill etc. The new Railway from Vizianagram to Raipur cuts across the eastern part of this district but on the whole communications are defective, though motor transport has been recently making headway.

Bhuniyas, Bhatras, Parjas, Ranas, Gadabas and similar aboriginal tribes and Doms, Chandals, Mirganis, Medirio, Valmikiis and similar depressed castes form the bulk of the lower strata of the society. Education has just penetrated here in the remote and unfrequented part of Orissa and the poor provinces of Orissa very much deserves a subvention from the Central Government, if for no other reason, for introducing education, enlightenment and industry in this far flung region. Exploitation of agriculturists and labourers is very rampant and *begar* or forced labour is also extracted from them specially by state officials.

But I should not omit to mention the first class museum opened by the State in the town of Jeypore, exhibiting its forest and mineral products, its archaeology, weapons of its aboriginal tribes, its pottery and products of its cottage industries. Such choice collections are rarely to be found even in large towns.

Mayurbhanj State. The proud possessor of the best iron ore in the country and the supplier of raw material to the Tata Steel Works at

Jamshedpur, this State holds the foremost place on this side and is far ahead of other Orissa states. The ruler is not autocratic, as is usual in almost all states, and the State is well developed. Peopled mostly by tribes like Santhals and Kols and who form more than half the population, provided by very good and well made roads and even a light railway of its own, its forests scientifically exploited, the State can easily fall in a line with progressive states like Mysore or Baroda.

Even the backward tribes of Santhals and Kols, Bhuniyas and Bathuris are very keen on education. A majority of its primary schools have hostels attached to them, where boys bring their rations from home and cook their own food. The tribes too have developed a taste for knowledge, and are very fast outstripping the educational facilities provided for them. The solitary high school in Baripada in the whole State is insufficient for the people, who number no less than 9 lacs. The archaeological museum at Khiching, the old capital of the State, on its eastern side is well worth a visit.

I had here the good fortune to meet with two University graduates from the aboriginal tribes, one from Puran and the other from Gond tribe, both employed by the State. But there is no regular organisation, private or by the State, for giving the tribes a helping hand in their rise upwards.

Kalahandi State. This is one of the bigger states of Orissa situated in the hinterland and far away from the beaten track of travellers. Though the recently constructed railway now cuts across the territory, the area as a whole is very undeveloped and even wild. Doms and other depressed classes form as many as 20 per cent of the population, being over one lac in about five lacs. Aboriginal tribe of Kandhs is seen both in the plains and hills of the State. The hill Kandhs are still very wild and do not cultivate the soil by a plough but sow seeds by hand after burning a piece of forest land. They are averse to taking to education and would like to be left to themselves in their primeval surroundings. The chief mode of transport in the State is by bullocks, which bring salt from the coast, and take back grain. The State makes much income from the manufacture and sale of liquor to the people of hills and plains, even small shops in rural parts being auctioned for fabulous sums.

Here I came across an educated Dom, who had recently been converted to Christianity. On my asking him the reason of the change of

faith, he replied that in the midst of Missionaries and their Christian congregation, he found a new world, and met persons of the status whom he could never hope to meet in Hindu society. and was welcomed like a brother. It was the love and the affection of the Christians which attracted him to their fold. True, we Hindus rarely show that love and sympathy to the de-

pressed and the semi-wild people of our country, which one human being should show to another. On the other hand, we shun them and even hate them as if they were not creatures of God with the same feelings and aspirations as ourselves. Whose fault is it if such people found consolation, love and happiness amongst people of another religion, and so embrace it?

A PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA

BY PROFESSOR H. K. SEN, M.A.

ADDRESSING the 21st Session of the Indian Economic Conference as its President for the year at the Hyderabad Town Hall on the 28th December, 1937, Dr. P. J. Thomas of the Madras University laid his surgical hands, so to say, on the two most important plague-spots of Indian life *viz.*, inefficient and inadequate production and inequitable distribution, both of which are as much the cause as the effect of our perennial problem of poverty and an incredulously low standard of living, aggravated by a vicious social system unable to readjust to new circumstances.

The foreign trade of India has expanded by nearly 400 per cent during the last seventy years, and both agricultural and industrial production must have increased by at least half as much; yet according to Sir M. Visveswarayya the per-capita income of the people in this country is about Rs. 55 per annum as compared with Rs. 265 in Japan, Rs. 625 in Germany, Rs. 1,150 in Great Britain, Rs. 1,200 in Canada and Rs. 1,950 in the United States of America. These figures become all the more staggering when we remember that 33 per cent of the wealth of this country is divided amongst 5 per cent of the people, 35 per cent amongst 32 per cent, and the rest of 32 per cent amongst 62 per cent of the people. No wonder that the income of an average agriculturalist happens to be about 2 annas per day or about Rs. 46 per year—to be divided amongst a family of, say, five persons at the least, and dependent upon some 6 acres of land which are expected to give them a sufficiency every two years out of seven, and a surplus in one year out of ten. To these harrowing details must be added the stupendous figures of rural indebtedness estimated at about Rs. 900 crores by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee to get a picture of the appalling condition of the people. This

however, gives a clue to the economic condition of the other classes of people in society—ultimately dependent on them.

In the opinion of Dr. Thomas, "The production system of the country has been clogged by an unjust system of distribution," too large a share of the proceedings going to the hands of the capitalists and landlords and too little going to the hands of the cultivators and labourers; the resultant under-consumption leading to inefficiency and under-production.

The introduction and impact of modern economic life of the western type—with its money economy, *laissez-faire* laws of contract, however suited to a highly industrialised society, have operated harshly on our rural population unable to defend themselves against the rapacity of the middlemen and other Mahajans who have been slow or unable to reinvest their profits in productive enterprises, seeking in usurious loans, land or gold the main outlets of their capital. The Indian capitalists of Bombay and elsewhere either have not been able to evolve the most advanced type of industrial organization that would be conducive to national welfare or will enable this country to effectively compete with others. An increased purchasing power of India's teeming millions, instead of upsetting the balance of world economy, would set all the mills at Paisley and Lancashire hum with work in addition to those of Bombay and Calcutta. But a raising of the standard of living of the Indian masses is to be sought not so much, by equalization of what little sparrow's meat we have, but by a persistent effort to increase the wealth earning and producing capacity of the people, along with a more wholesome distribution of wealth.

The question, therefore, is how to bring about the economic regeneration—whether by mechanization of agriculture and industries or by insistence on the existent system of petit-

culture and handicrafts or by a synthesis of both. Mechanised and scientific agriculture has enabled Australian wheat and Japanese rice to get a hold on the Indian market in recent years—both of which had to be kept out by imposition of import duties by a country predominantly agricultural in its economic life. Indian agriculture, it is said, has largely ceased to be worked for profit and the cultivators labour not for a net return but for subsistence. Indebtedness, high rents, bad irrigation, illiteracy and want of credit are some of the problems to be solved but in our opinion all of them together would hardly be adequate unless the average holding—6 acres for a family of 5 persons—could be increased to a more workable economic unit by consolidation of holdings and other methods, and the overweight or pressure on land could be *substantially* mitigated.

That surely opens up the question of the industries. Supplementary occupations of the agriculturist were a regular feature of the earlier days, when the country was not so much ruralised by the conquest of western industrialism (1891) 61% lived on agriculture, 1921—73%. But the rural industries have either decayed or died out. Mahatma Gandhi would have them revived along with the Charka and the Khadi on the old handicraft basis. Modern economists drawing their inspirations from the machine age of the West are dubious about the competitive ability of the cottage system of production and are keen on importing modern industrialism look, stock and barrel, without which, they say, it would be impossible to compete with other countries.

But such wholesale mechanization of all industries possibly runs counter to our national character as well as cultural and economic heritage, and could possibly be brought about by a ruthless dictatorship whether of the Russian or of the Nazi type—either of which seems to be foreign to the Indian soil. No doubt, a number of industries, *e.g.*, steel, transport, electricity, etc., cannot but be conducted on a large scale if economy and efficiency are to be ensured; yet it can hardly be gainsaid that the unit of production in most other industries can and should be small, helped by hydro-electricity, transport and marketing facilities of different kinds. Japan is an outstanding example of the synthetic and successful blend of the two types of production. Besides the mechanized industrialism of the west can hardly be called an unqualified success—it has succeeded in producing enormous economic goods but has failed to distribute the same equitably—how else

could we account for the burning of wheat, cotton and coffee in one part of the world, when in another place we find poverty and starvation are stalking over the land.

So there is hardly any case for a wholesale imposition of the modern industrial system of the western type. India's 350 million living machines cannot afford to be given quietus for all time—they must be made to throb with life and sparkle with happiness. But how can this be done? Not by working on one side alone but by resolutely attacking the problem from different directions though mainly economic and social. Writing off or toning down old, accumulated debts of the agricultural classes, development of land mortgage banks and rural credit, quickened and cheaper transport, better and more direct marketing facilities, provision for subsidiary occupation on the model of Dayalbagh industrial colonies, equitable rent and taxation, consolidation of economic holdings, cattle and crop improvements, advancement of literacy and social conditions, healthy trade unionism, minimum wages and hours of work and better housing and sanitation, a check on thriftlessness and extravagance and the rousing of the social consciousness are some of the long list of urgent problems requiring immediate solution.

To this long list of maladies must also be added the problem of over-population and of increase at the wrong social status of the infirm, imbecile and inept part of the population—a matter to which earnest attention was drawn by Col. A. G. H. Russel, Public Health Commissioner of the Government of India, in a recent speech in the Statistical Conference at Calcutta. India has the highest birth rate as also the highest death rate amongst the civilised countries but the average expectation of life is 26 years only, which is two-third of that of the Russian and the Japanese, and less than half of that in the North-Western countries of Europe. Yet population goes on increasing fast; between 1921-30 it had increased by as much as 106% representing a net increase of population equal to the total population of any first class-power in Europe (except Russia); and by 1941 it is expected, short of any great calamity happening or epidemic spreading over the country, to rise up to 400 million human souls. All these present a stupendous problem to the new provincial Governments, nevertheless these are to be attacked with all the resoluteness, wisdom and energy they can command if the Prometheus unbound—that is the Indian masses shorn of their age-old pathetic contentment—are to be

weaned away from treading along the dangerous paths of revolution and communism and diverted into peaceful constructive channels.

For this what is wanted is a planned economy for India that will eliminate waste, encourage efficiency, rectify inequities, co-ordinate agriculture with industries, raise the standard of living and the purchasing power of the millions—assuring a steady market at home and abroad in these unsettled times.

The idea of a planned economy originated with Soviet Russia where a considerable measure of success has been achieved owing to the ruthless driving power of the State, whose ideal was production for consumption and not for profit. But the success of the Five-Year Plan in Russia caught the imagination of the people in other countries, and it has been copied in some form or other in different countries of the West and the East. A flood of production of both industrial and agricultural goods was the natural consequence—augmented by the efficiency of mechanised production. No country at the present day can be impervious to the changes occurring in a different country and the world situation has remained in a state of constant flux since 1930, owing chiefly to over-production and the so-called want of a market.

Each country had a system of regulation, if not of planning, imposed upon it, in order at least to stem the rising tide of competition from other countries. There cropped up besides a queer state of adversity in the midst of plenty. In America, in Europe and in Japan the enormous wealth produced by the production machines could not be properly distributed;—there was widespread unemployment on the one hand and evaporation of profits on the other. The countries began to think in terms of nationalism instead of internationalism; protection replaced free-trade; economic nationalism and self-sufficiency, Imperial preference, trade quotas, and trade agreements, raised their heads and the whole world was torn into warring groups and units—economically at first, politically afterwards, till we find today that the world has practically relapsed into what Hobbes would call a State of Nature—Nature red in tooth and claw—where every one's hand was against the other.

Internally also, class struggle has become extremely acute—greed or hatred having replaced mutual collaboration and justice in most countries—resulting in disastrous civil war in some, in conquests, adventures and in totalitarian or proletarian dictatorships in others.

Britain tries to solve the problem by a policy

of advanced conservatism, and U.S.A. under the dynamic personality of President Roosevelt by cautious liberalism. The natural but predominantly conservative administration of Great Britain, so much more interested in world trade, has nevertheless abjured free-trade, adopted protection, suspended the gold standard, and negotiated a series of trade agreements with other countries under the stress of the world economic and political situation, and within the country has been following a policy of national regulation and tempered socialization—as is evident from increased social services in the form of unemployment relief, old age and widow's pension, national health insurance as well as the national grid system in electricity, sub-division of agricultural holdings, food control and control over other resources even in times of peace.

In U.S.A. also, we find the same tendency operating though the conditions are different. There the economic planning of a courageous President has been more thorough-going, and his "processing of the industries" has met with greater opposition from the plutocrats; but he has defended and upheld those in the interest of society—to save capitalism, as he says, from its own evils and the country from revolution and anarchy.

What is to be done in India? This country has not yet fully emerged from the state of archaic feudalism or from many of the social customs and evils, more in keeping with the dark ages of her past. Though rapidly changing, sometimes beyond recognition, she is still in her period of transition. Capitalism has made considerable stride since the Great War, but has not been fully absorbed as part of her being, as external influence has acted on a people unwilling or unable to keep pace with world events or to adjust itself to new circumstances. That is the crux of the whole economic and political problem of India today.

Production, as we have already said, is both inefficient and insufficient, population unregulated, distribution defective, education barely touched, social conscience unstimulated; and on the soil of a country so unprepared whose people have grown desperate by grinding poverty and the worst social conditions, are being sown all the seeds of disruption from the west,—Fascism, Communism and other *isms*. At least to stem the rising tide of social disruption and to make the life of the people fuller and happier, regulated production and planned economy are necessary for India and such planning must extend over every department of life.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA



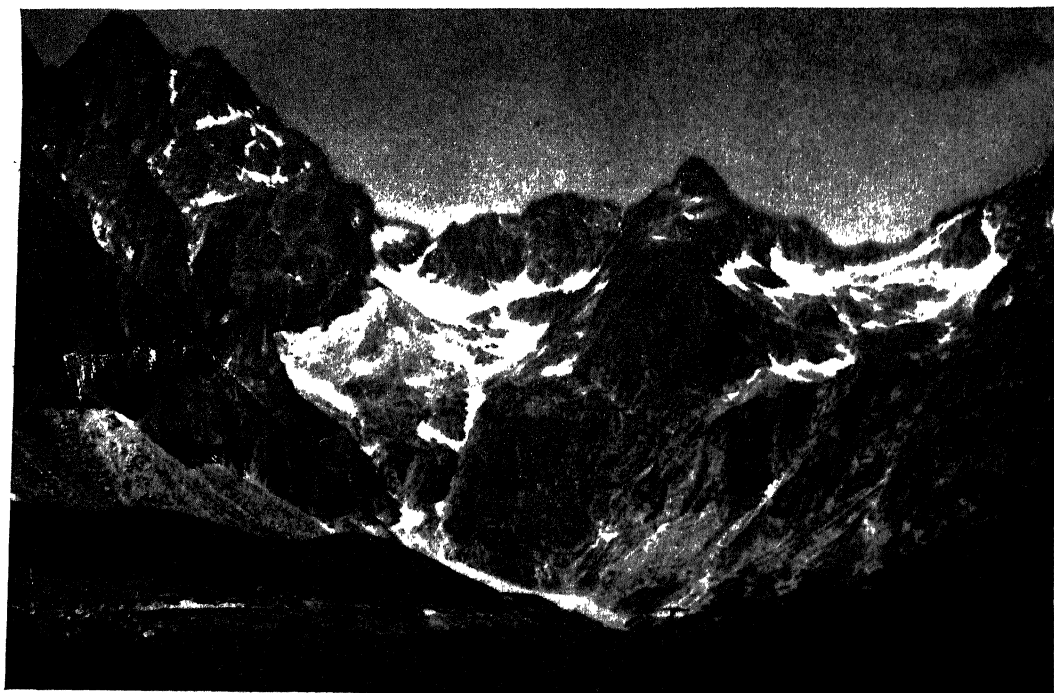
Charles Bridge and President's Residence : Prague



Bridges : Prague



Bohemian Paradise—Dragon Rocks

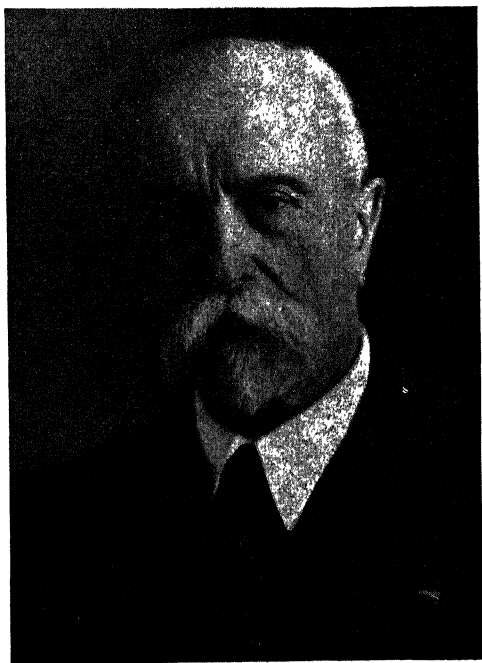


High Tatra—Green Lake

PRE- AND POST- WAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By PROFESSOR ISH KUMAR, M.A. (Panjab), B.A. (Cantab.)

THE Czechoslovakian Republic was created by the Treaty of Versailles, January 1919, and its frontiers were recognised by the Conference of Ambassadors, July 1920, and the Treaty of Sevres, October 1920. It is now made up of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, formerly parts of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and of Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, formerly parts of Hungary: these are the so-called "historical provinces". The district of Hlucin was added at the expense of Germany and the districts of Valtice and Vitoraz at the expense of Austria.



T. G. Masaryk
First President of the Czechoslovak Republic

The whole area comprises 54,244 sq. miles, but owing to its elongated form, it touches many countries. Its greatest length is about 625 miles and its greatest width not more than 190 miles. Geographically, it lacks territorial compactness—Carpathian mountains, the Bohemian plateau

and the Moravian plains—and the progress of the railway is further hampered by the conditions of the past when the centres of communication were Vienna and Budapest. Its population is still more varied; the figures for 1936 show the following distribution:

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|----|------|---------|
| Czechs | .. | .. | .. | 7.34 | million |
| Slovaks | .. | .. | .. | 2.35 | " |
| Germans | .. | .. | .. | 3.23 | " |
| Magyars | .. | .. | .. | .69 | " |
| Ruthenes, Russians and Ukrainians | .. | .. | .. | .55 | " |
| Jews (by nationality) | .. | .. | .. | .19 | " |
| " (by religion) | .. | .. | .. | .36 | " |
| Poles | .. | .. | .. | .08 | " |
| Others | .. | .. | .. | .05 | " |
| Foreigners | .. | .. | .. | .25 | " |

TOTAL .. 14.73 ..

Thus the Germans form about one-fourth of the whole population and occupy an area of a little over one-fifth of the entire state, stretching along the frontiers of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. It is, however, not a solidly connected area, though more than half of the entire German population inhabits its northwestern part at the foot of the Orr Mountains.

It is sometimes supposed that the Czechoslovakian Republic was the arbitrary and artificial creation of the French politicians to set as a bulwark against German expansion in the east. To show how mistaken that view is, it is necessary to turn a glance at the pre-war history of that country. Ever since the Battle of the White Mountains (1620 A.D.), the House of Habsburg had enjoyed an absolute and undisturbed sway over the whole land for more than two centuries, when the general democratic wave of 1848 which swept over Europe roused the Austrian nations too. But under the new 18 year old Emperor Francis Joseph, the reins of rule were still more tightened. The Bach Absolutism, named after the then Prime Minister, proved a more rigid form of government than was ever witnessed before. The system of local "Estates" was completely destroyed and the uniform and united frame of the absolute and comprehensive state was firmly established. Ruthless war was waged on the "particularist" effort of the various nationalities. A complete and systematic "Germanisation"

of schools and public life followed, with the object of creating a uniform "Austrian" nationality and "Austrian" patriotism.

Then came the disastrous war with Italy (1860 A.D.) and the consequent downfall of the

score of unity of the Empire was gone by the settlement with Hungary, they issued the so-called "Declaration" proclaiming their claim to the historic "state rights" of Bohemia. A wholesale persecution followed—gagging of the press, suppression of the freedom of speech, dissolution of the representative local government bodies and ruthless police control. The Czechs resorted to passive resistance. They refused to send their deputies to Parliament and abstained from participation in the proceedings of the Diets.

The government of Count Taaffe was more sympathetic and the Czechs entered the Reichsrat in 1879 and demanded once more the historic rights of Bohemia. The Czech deputies acting in concert with the old Bohemian nobility soon became an important part of the Conservative majority on which the government of Count Taaffe depended for many years. They secured



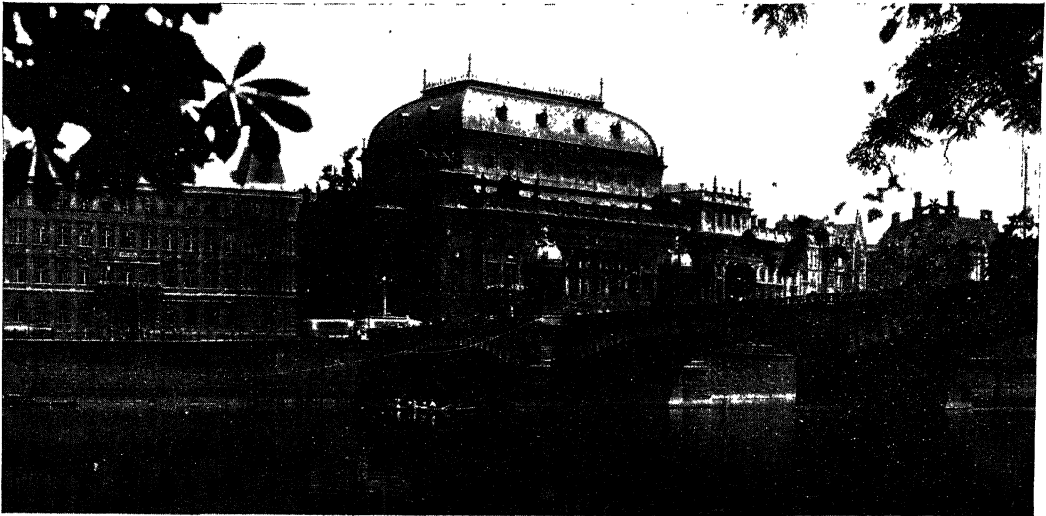
Dr. Eduard Benes
President of the Czechoslovak Republic

Bach Absolutism. The old Estates were restored, though the Hungarian Diets were given considerably greater powers and freedom than the rest. But Hungary was not satisfied. Once again a disastrous war, this time with Prussia in 1866, decided the issue. The Settlement of 1867 recognised the special constitutional position of the Hungarian Crown and ended the uniform politics of the Austrian Empire. The old Habsburg Monarchy became a Dual state and began to be called "Austria-Hungary". The Czechs wanted the same position for Bohemia and were indignant especially because, during the Prussian war which was fought on Bohemian soil, they had proved a remarkable fidelity to the Emperor by their unconditional refusal of the Prussian inducement to betrayal and had been promised a speedy fulfilment of their political demands. When they now saw that the old objection on the



Dr. Kamil Kroffa
Minister of Foreign Affairs

some valuable concessions, especially in the sphere of education—the re-establishment of the Czech University in 1882 and the revival of the

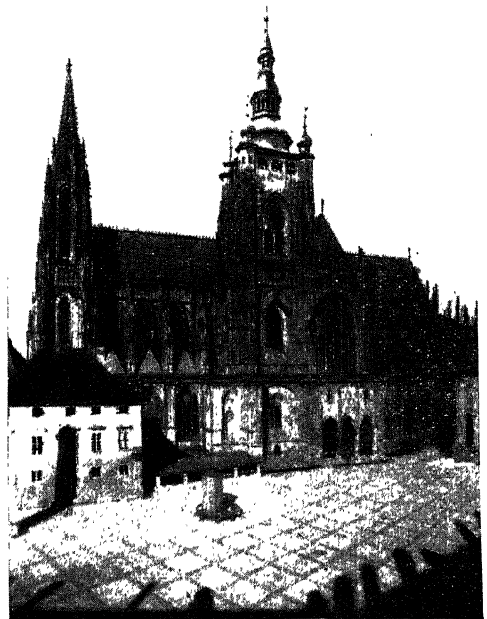


National Theatre, Prague

Czech language. But their policy did not go far enough to satisfy the masses who had been awakened to the ideas of liberty. The "Young Czech" party was founded and won overwhelming successes against the "Old Czech" party in elections to the Diet of Bohemia in 1889 and to the Reichsrat in 1891. Profs. T. G. Masaryk and Kaizl and Dr. Kramar were among its leaders though Masaryk resigned his seat two years later and founded a party of his own known as the Peoples' Party. The aim of the Young Party, however, was not the "historic" right of Bohemian independence but securing just proportion in posts and the legislative bodies, the extension of universal suffrage and so on. The universal suffrage achieved what years of agitation had not: it brought the masses in close touch with the national cause and aspirations and paved the way for the crisis that came during the war.

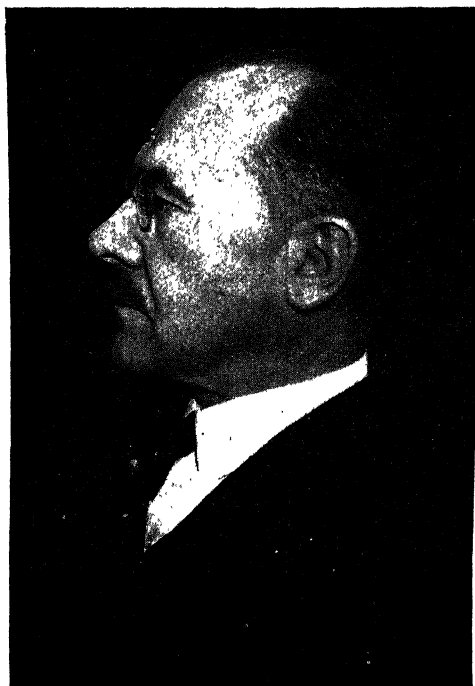
The war was no doubt a godsend to the Czechs but it did not bring them what they did not deserve. They had worked hard for it. They had persistently opposed the powerful Habsburg Monarchy for over half a century. They had steadily agitated and educated the masses and above all they had done all they could in the circumstances to improve the general economic and cultural life of the nation. Both industry (mainly in the hands of the Germans) and agriculture had made a tremendous progress. The *Narodni Listy* was founded in 1861 and proclaimed the freedom of political press. The "Sokol" was inaugurated in 1862

and gave rise to various social and gymnastic activities. There was an outburst of literary and artistic production—poetry, music, painting,



Czechoslovak Legation

sculpture. The University influence contributed to scientific "realism" and all romantic



Dr. Milan Hodza

superstition was condemned. Schools multiplied, mainly due to the efforts of a private organisation called the *Ustredni Matice Skolska* (School Society). The Czech Academy of Science, Literature and Arts was founded in 1880 by the great philanthropist Hlavka. The National Theatre was built a few months later.

The Slovaks were not so fortunate. They were under Hungarian rule as the Czechs were under the Austrian and Magyarisation proved more ruthless than Germanisation. All Slovak Grammar Schools were closed: the Slovak Matica (Book Society) was dissolved and even the churches preached the Magyar spirit. The influence of the Czechs did act as a stimulus but it did not go very far.

But not even the Czechs had yet any idea of severance from the Habsburg Empire. What they resented most was the too close alliance with Germany in which they saw fear to the Monarchy itself: it also complicated their relations with the Germans living in Bohemia. Further they wanted a better understanding between Austria and the Slav states, especially Russia and Serbia. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 was an intolerable blow and when finally Austria declared war on

Serbia and subsequently on France and Russia, the Czechs were completely estranged. They did not like to fight against the brother Slav states and France had always inspired them with ideals of democracy. The well-known utterance of Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, that the war was a war between the Germans and the Slavs proved the last straw.

The Czechs had not entered the war with any enthusiasm. Now their sympathies were definitely with the Allies and the Czech soldiers voluntarily began to be taken as prisoners especially at the Russian front. One step led to another. The Czechoslovaks scattered all over the world formed powerful revolutionary organisations known as "Maffie" and enlisted as volunteers in the Allied armies. At Paris a National Council was formed under the direction of Masaryk and Benes and the Czechs as well as the Slovaks moved over *en masse* to the "enemy." That started "the rot in the Austrian Army," says Mr. Lloyd George in this morning's (25th July) *Daily Telegraph*, "which hastened that process of disintegration which destroyed its value as a fighting machine." The Czech soldiers fought on all fronts. They made their greatest mark in Russia. From the very beginning the Russian victories had been their hope. They even thought that the Russians would reach Bohemia and establish a Czech kingdom in close connection with the Russian Empire. Prof. Masaryk was one of those very few people who believed in complete independence. He had already established contact with the statesmen of the Entente but it was a hard task to win them to his aims. They regarded Austria-Hungary merely as the victim of German Imperialism and hoped to weaken the enemy from within by detaching the Habsburg Empire. The Empire moreover was regarded as a future European necessity. But Masaryk and Benes were not the men to be discouraged. Their agitation and activities abroad found an enthusiastic response at home. The old Emperor Francis Joseph tried a policy of repression. The Czech press was gagged; the leaders of the Young Party, Dr. Kramar and Dr. Rasin, were arrested; the Czech language and the Czech schools were suppressed. But the Czechs met it all with defiance. Emperor Joseph died (Nov. 1916) and his young grandnephew Charles tried a moderate policy, but things had already gone out of control. The revolutionary organisation, the Maffia, took deeper and deeper roots.

Masaryk achieved his first diplomatic victory in February 1916, when the French Pre-

mier M. Briand received him and an official *communiqué* of the interview was published expressing the French sympathies towards the

possession of all civil as well as military power without bloodshed almost overnight. The Slovaks declared for unity with the Czechs the next day and on October 30, the independent Czechoslovak State became a reality.

One fact that needs emphasising is that the severance from the Habsburg Empire was not the work of the Allies. The French sympathies were no doubt a contributory factor and the publication of President Wilson's letter certainly proved the immediate stimulus, but the British politicians were definitely against what Mr. Lloyd George, than whom there was no more authoritative spokesman of the British point of view at Versailles, calls the "demoniac mutilation of the face of Central Europe." "The tearing up of the Austrian Empire into disparate and unconnected fragments," he continues, in his 13th article on Versailles in the *Daily Telegraph* dated 22nd July:

"The tearing up of the Austrian Empire into disparate and unconnected fragments was no part of the policy of the Allies. We knew there must be a readjustment of



General Krejci

Czechoslovak revolutionary programme. In January 1917, in a letter to President Wilson, the Allies, mainly through the efforts of Dr. Benes, made a definite mention of the emancipation of the Czechoslovaks as one of their peace aims. The French Government recognised the National Council in Paris as representative of the Czech nation. Britain, America, Japan and Italy followed. An interim government—Masaryk. Benes and Stefanik, the leader of the Slavs—received *de jure* recognition from all the allied powers.

It was too late now, October 16, 1918, for Emperor Charles to offer autonomy to the various nationalities under Austrian Federation. On October 21, in his answer to the Austro-Hungarian offer of peace, President Wilson declared that the future of Czechoslovakia must be decided in consultation with the Czech revolutionary leaders. The conference took place immediately at Geneva, but while the Conference was in progress, the "National Committee" declared independence at home and took



Costumes from Moravia

frontiers in favour of Italy, Serbia and Rumania. As for the rest of the Austrian Empire, the idea that found favour was that which had been expounded by General Smuts. This was to confer complete autonomy on the

component races who made up the Austro-Hungarian Empire inside a federal constitution.

"Had that been found practicable there can be no doubt it would have conducted to peace and stability in Central Europe. But when the Austro-Hungarian army collapsed the fissiparous elements took charge of the situation, Czechoslovakia proclaimed its independence and the Slovenic population of the South joined up with the Serbian kingdom."

In the weak condition of the Allied forces possession became nine-tenths of the law and the "small allies and the small enemies" both took full advantage of the situation. The phrase quoted is Lord Balfour's who in one of his notes (*Life*, Vol. II, p. 283) thus describes the situation:

"The former (the small allies) would, one might suppose, obey us through gratitude; the latter through fear. But the gratitude is being rapidly worn away by our persistent efforts to prevent the nations we have saved

history of the Republic has justified all the claims of the revolutionary leaders. The work of reconstruction that has gone on in the last twenty years is simply marvellous.

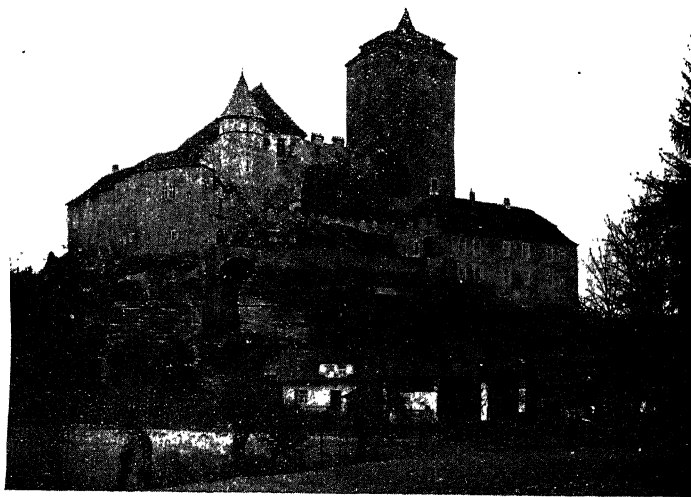
On November 14, the National Assembly met, repudiated all claims of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty, and elected as its first President T. G. Masaryk who, however, could not return to share the joy of the fruition of his efforts for another month. Dr. Kramar, the leader of the Young Party at home, became the Prime Minister with Dr. Benes as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Stefanik as Minister of War. General Stefanik, however, was not destined to see his newly-liberated country. The aeroplane in which he was returning crashed (May 1919) and he met a tragic end.

The Constitution finally passed in 1920,

provides a National Assembly consisting of a Chamber of Deputies of 300 members and a Senate of 150 members. Election to the Assembly is based on proportional representation; the franchise is universal and equal, and the ballot is secret and direct. The franchise age limit for the Chamber is 21 years and for the Senate 26—both male and female. Both Chambers have the right of initiation, but a measure passed by the Chamber of Deputies becomes law despite an adverse decision of the Senate. Also the Deputies alone by a vote of no confidence can compel resignation of the government. Both, in joint session, elect the President for a term

of seven years. The President has considerable powers, particularly the right to nominate and dismiss the Government. The whole country is divided into four provinces; Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, each having a representative body composed of a majority of elected members. Masaryk, the first President, occupied that office till his death last year. Dr. Benes is the President now and M. Hodza the Premier.

The most difficult task before the new Republic of course was to ensure safe defence against hostile neighbours. Thanks to the untiring efforts of Dr. Benes, a defensive alliance was made with Yugoslavia in 1920 and with



Castle "Kort" (Bone) in Bohemia

or created from cutting each other's throat and seizing each other's territory; while the fear cannot easily survive the continental spectacle of our obvious military weakness.

"The cases are many in which a Division or a Brigade or even a Battalion would have made the situation easy which is now difficult and have effectively smoothed the diplomatic path to peace. But asking the War Department of a Great Power for soldiers is like asking a mendicant for a thousand pounds, and you get much the same reply. The Conference is therefore compelled to talk when action is required. Even the threat of action is denied us, for so notorious is our weakness that we cannot afford to bluff."

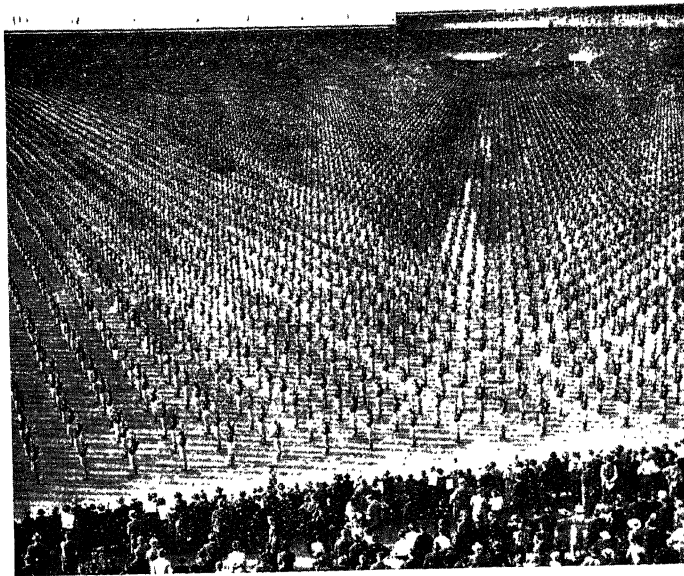
All this is not to say that Czechoslovakia did not deserve what it got but to say that it got what it deserved by its own efforts. And subsequent

Rumania in 1921. Thus came into being the Little Entente which has played quite an important part in preserving the new political order in Central Europe. The Little Entente formed a powerful and reliable pillar of support in France whose chief interest was to preserve the *status quo* of the Peace treaties. The friction with Austria was considerably lessened when Czechoslovakia gave her effective help in her financial crisis of 1922. The relations with Germany too improved for the time being when the Locarno Pacts of 1925 established better understanding between France and Germany.

In internal affairs, Czechoslovakia has virtually grown from a babe to a Titan in the last twenty years. In 1918, there were not even enough officers for high civil and military posts. The former Austro-Hungarian occupants could not be relied on for many departments, especially in the diplomatic service. A huge task of education awaited the new leaders and they set about it with tremendous energy. Two new Universities (there was one already for the Czechs at Prague), one at Bruno for Moravia and the other at Bratislava for Slovakia, were established, with a number of technical colleges and the colleges for Commerce, Agriculture and Forestry. New scientific research institutions were founded, the most well-known being the Masaryk Academy of Work. Today literacy among the Czechs is over 97%, and among the Slovaks over 85%. Greater attention was devoted to the military defence of the country. A number of legislations finally led to a law providing for the pre- and post- military service of the whole population of both sexes between the ages of 6 and 50. Military service is universal and compulsory now.

In the economic field, the difficulties were not a few. The break-up of the Empire involved new currency and commercial treaties with the different units and with foreign countries. The first task was to check the flow of inflated currency from Austria and Hungary. All notes of the Austro-Hungarian Bank within Czecho-

slovakia were "stamped" and unstamped notes were excluded from circulation. This formed the basis of an independent and stable currency. During the darkest days of Austrian finance in



Mass drill of students

1922 the Czech crown fell to almost 1/20th of its original value but within a year or two it rose to 1/6th and has maintained it since. She was even able to help Austria. In 1934, the depreciation of world currency conditions, particularly of American dollar and the English pound sterling, lowered the value of the crown by 16.5% but the economic condition of the country generally remained unaffected. It is no small achievement when one remembers what happened in Austria, Hungary and Germany.

Far-reaching land reforms were effected in 1919. Before that, there were either small holdings not enough for subsistence or vast estates in the hands of a few families, most of them alien. Better equalisation was effected by law and the general prosperity of the farmers increased. Immense areas of forest were taken possession of by the State and properly looked after.

Today 39.56% of the population lives on agriculture, 33.87% on industry. The standard of Czech agriculture is very high. The most important agricultural industry is sugar. In the manufacture of beet sugar, Czechoslovakia

occupies a position second only to Germany and its exports exceed any other country. Its smoked-meat products especially ham are of world-wide reputation. Timber, paper, textile and leather industries are also highly developed. Czechoslovakia is also rich in mineral wealth. Its most important manufactures are glass, porcelain and pottery; crystal, ground and coloured glass is exported to all parts of the world.

In 1937, the revenue was 8,456 million crowns and expenditure 8,454 million.

The more urgent problems faced the Republic—religion and nationality. The revival of the Hussite religion and the conviction that the Pope was an ally of Austria brought about

a mass cession from the Catholic Church—more than a million and a half. This caused a great deal of skirmish in the country itself and friction with the Vatican, which could not be settled till 1928. The majority of the population, about 67.3%, is still Roman Catholic, but today religion is not a serious problem in Czechoslovakia. The really serious problem—the problem that threatens to involve the world into another war and is at the moment occupying the best political brains of Europe—is the problem of nationality, especially of the three million and a quarter of Germans who are politically mature and economically prosperous and belonged to the ruling majority before Czechoslovakia gained independence.

A VIGNETTE OF THE PAST

By ASUDE

INTERESTING and illustrated reports of Pundit Jawaharlal's visit to the war area in Spain have lately appeared in some of the papers showing him as in the conventional garb of the European tourist conversing easily and with obvious sympathy with the officers and men of the Republican army. The pictures recalled another scene from this man's eventful life-story where if the issues were not so immediately grave, yet the setting was no less



The Pundit at the start. S. Srikrishna Sinha, the present Bihar premier to his left

gruesome and the part the Pundit played in it no less striking. And there will be many who will see a good deal of family likeness in the two episodes, too. I allude to the

aftermath of the Great Bihar Earthquake and the terrible havoc caused to the town of Monghyr by it.

The cataclysm had taken place on the afternoon of the 15th January, 1934, and a month had not passed yet. In spite of the strenuous labour put up by the band of sappers and miners indented from Fort William and the sporadic efforts of local volunteers, the once-picturesque city lay one vast stretch of ruins. The progress made was exiguous in comparison with the gigantic task, and people had begun to lose all hope of ever seeing a restoration of normal conditions. A spirit of utter despair prevailed all over the district. The town itself looked as if it had been subjected to a sustained shelling for hours by a horde of air bombers.

Living in the nearby town of Bhagalpur,—thirty-odd miles away,—I had already made two trips to see the debris and sensed the spirit of depression which overcast the whole place. It was at this juncture that news reached us that the Pundit was due to arrive at Monghyr on February 8, principally to see how the relief work was being carried out, and incidentally, to mediate in and settle some party disputes which had automatically arisen over the distribution of dole amongst the several communities. My esteemed friend and fellow-

townsman, Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, invited me to accompany him in his car to meet the Pundit, and I responded with alacrity. But I was scarcely prepared for the treat in store for me.

We reached Monghyr at 11 A.M. and found the Pundit in a tent pitched on the Girls' School compound,—not a single habitable building being spared by the disaster,—deeply engaged in listening to representations made by the community leaders of the place. Some of the points raised were of such inconsequential character that they would strain the patience of any ordinary man with serious business on hand. But the Pundit appeared to be in no hurry, and gave a patient hearing to everything and suggested remedies in his usual cool level tones. At 11-30, he rose, the meeting broke up, and we had lunch with him in another tent. He ate little, and had the same pre-occupied care-worn look as one finds in the Barcelona pictures.

Punctually at noon, he started out on the programme which he had chalked out for the hour. He was due to leave for Patna by the

the stalwarts pressed into this unfamiliar job. But they were all keen on the new experiment and followed their leader dutifully. Elbowing our dusty way through legions of relief camps,



The Pundit regulating the operations

dense crowds of half the professional begging community in this part of the country, passers-by and hangers-on, we came to stop at a point where pick-axes, shovels, and baskets were handed round.

And then this little army of debris-diggers, led by the Pundit, and the usual "rubbernecks" at the fringe, marched through the streets. nearly a mile, one continuous range of ruins which had once been houses on either side of us, till we reached the place chosen for the work. It was just one heap of debris amongst so many others, but it was suspected that corpses were still buried inside it.

In a quarter of an hour the Pundit succeeded in bringing chaos into the medley, allotted duties to everybody, and the diggers were at work, he himself leading. I may mention here that the bricks of the erstwhile walls were still crumbling, and foothold was extremely uncertain. One single false step might prove disastrous. The Pundit, however, strode up the heap with the ease and agility of an Alpine climber, followed by his contingents, who had, by this time, caught his infection. With the blazing noonday sun scorching the skin mercilessly, and the dry red dust which flew at a touch of the pick-axe suffocating the worker, they proceeded on their job in the most cool and business-like manner. The Pundit himself set about the task as if he had been born to it and been digging debris all his life. The *savoir faire* had that same detached and yet earnest air about it as I had noticed in the morning's meeting and other past settings.

The point, however, which was still more



The Pundit at work

5 P.M. train, and his plan was to fill in the interval by doing a bit of debris-cleaning for himself. He had already given free expression to the chagrin he felt at the apathy of the people in the matter, and his simple object was to demonstrate what he preached, within the short time at his disposal. We would have been glad of a little rest after the meal, but the Pundit gave one no chance.

So we had to follow, Mr. Singh and I, and a host of well-known Congress leaders, members of the several Seva Samitis, a number of Sikhs, a fair contingent of respectable women volunteers, and a huge crowd of "casuals" bent on seeing the "tamasha." Picketing was all very well, but I could not help noticing the sense of strangeness pictured on the faces of

significant, was the rapidity with which this purposefulness spread amongst the other workers. Old Congress workers despite their age and ill-health, ladies out of the zenana, amateur volunteers who had done everything else except a day digging in their lives, stray "tamashawallahs," all fell to with the same zest, unaccompanied by any excitement or demonstrations. And it might just as well be noted that it was not for five minutes or a quarter of an hour, as in laying a foundation stone or, let us say, a bit of fancy-digging in the back garden, but for full four hours in the same unbroken, respiteless routine. There was not even a knocking-off for tiffin or rest.

The result of this assiduity was that it was the Pundit himself who succeeded in unearthing out of the debris-mountain the dead

body of a little girl, and carried her out into the open in his arms. It had been there for twenty-five days. And the upshot of that one day's experiment was that the ex-"casuals" kept up the work for days after the Pundit's departure in the afternoon according to schedule, and the debris-clearing was carried on and completed with a force and vigour which had been woefully absent before.

I hope I have made it clear that it is not this one day's digging which I wish to stress, but the extraordinary and infectious vitality of the man, and the magnetism which could convert the lotos-eaters into useful and enthusiastic workers by sheer force of personality. I see that same spirit of deadly earnestness in his movements in the Spanish *milieu*.

WILL JAPAN DEFEAT CHINA?

Japanese Dig Their Own Graveyard

By CHAMAN LAL

DESPITE Japan's apparently successful march to Hankow, it can be safely asserted that even the downfall of Hankow will not bring defeat of China and God alone knows how many lakhs of innocent men, women and children will lose their lives before Japan will realise her mistake in attacking a neighbour country, whose friendship would have proved a source of great strength to Japan and ultimately to the freedom of all Asiatic nations. The Japanese have simply dug their own graveyard in China. Burning of villages and raping of Chinese women by Japanese soldiers are the crimes which China will never forgive and the fight will continue till Japan is completely exhausted.

It is true that Japan is now at heart anxious for a truce. I know it from personal friends in Japanese circles, but they don't know how to save face. Britain and other powers are trying for a truce between Japan and China, but General Chiang Kai-shek has blankly refused to think of any truce which will not recognize China's complete sovereignty.

CHIANG SPEAKS

In a cable received today in London he says:

"The Japanese must try to take Hankow for the sake of their own prestige."

"We will defend Hankow, but even if we eventually withdraw, it will not mean victory for Japan, just as every other withdrawal has proved after a time anything but victory. Japan's cost in men, treasure, and time increases whenever we lengthen her lines of communication. To withdraw from Hankow will merely mean that the battlefield will be moved elsewhere to the greater discomfiture of Japan."

The generalissimo quashed rumours that the British, Italian, French, Swedish and Swiss Ambassadors, now gathered at Hongkong, are travelling to Hankow this week to arrange a truce.

WE ARE UNSHAKEN

"China will not welcome intercession by Britain or any foreign Power for an armistice unless China's sovereignty is fully restored. Today China is politically united and her people are increasingly determined to resist. The first year of warfare ends with China having emerged with her financial structure unshaken. She has paid her loan obligations, maintained her exchange stability, steadily decreased her unfavourable trade balance, transferred many industries inland, extended financial relief to agriculture, expanded her road and rail communications, mobilised her women to aid in resistance to the enemy, and created a citizens' army to which the youth of the country are flocking. With so many young men and women animated with such spirit, China can never be subjugated."

Who can doubt that the General is not bluffing, but it is the soul of China that speaks

through him. Independent observers in China also feel the same way.

JAPAN HAS LOST HER WAR

A special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes:

The longer one lives in the Japanese-occupied areas the more obvious it becomes that Japan has already lost the war. This conclusion is forced upon one not so much by the military aspects of the situation, for it is still apparent that Japan can continue to win victories in traditional warfare, as by the growing evidence of her political stupidity.

On January 16 and again on May 10, when the earlier policy was restated in the same terms, Japan, by her decision not to recognize the National Government of China, set herself a political problem for which she cannot possibly find a solution. To chastise the Kuomintang is one thing; to eliminate it is another. By choosing the second the Japanese have committed themselves to the establishment in China of a new Government, a new political theory, and a new Civil Service. Considering the size of China and the length of time it has taken her to build up modern political institutions, it is clear that even under the most favourable conditions such a task would be a severe test of the highest statesmanship.

But the conditions were not favourable. In the first place, the Japanese have not been able, as they expected, to rely upon a powerful pro-Japanese party, a quick seizure of power, the goodwill of numerous disaffected elements, and a rapid collapse of the Kuomintang, which before the war appeared to be so seriously demoralised. The Japanese have reckoned without a quarter of a century of Nationalist education, and they have discovered that Chinese over fifty, such as the decrepit, sorry-looking Anfu clique who man their puppet Governments, have neither the ability to rule nor the prestige to command respect. The second mistake came after the conflict began; it was the grounds on which they chose to conduct their propaganda. These were, briefly to pursue a holy war against Communism in a country which had nothing to fear from it and against a people who, if forced to choose, would certainly prefer Communism to Japan; to eliminate "anti-Japanese feeling" while at the same time doing everything to create it; and, most serious of all, to destroy the first Government which can claim to have united China since the Revolution.

The political problem has been met by pouring old wine into new bottles. Bringing to their task colonial experience in Korea and Manchuria, the Japanese continue to use the methods which have been found to be more or less successful in those countries. They cannot understand or invent any propaganda designed to appeal to people beyond the reach of their bayonets; and even when people are under their bayonets they defeat their own ends by the unimaginative thoroughness of their methods.

THE KINGLY WAY

The Japanese are busy propagating the gospel of the "Kingly Way" in the occupied areas in China, just as they did in Manchuria. The new political theory and all the propaganda that goes with it can be and is being rammed down the throats of the Chinese in the occupied

areas. But what is the use of all this? It has not converted any Chinese to the Japanese cause, nor has it demoralised the Chinese intellectuals. More serious than this is the fact that this propaganda cannot reach the hinterland and that the methods of conquest have provided the basis for the development of a peasant nationalism.

JAPS FEEL THE PINCH

One relieving feature of this tragic war between two Asiatic nations is that the Japanese have now begun to realise that China is not such an easy prey as they were told by their militarists. During the first months of the war with China the Japanese people had little notion of the truth. They were told that it was not a war but an incident, that it would soon be over, that the Japanese Army was invincible, and that the Chinese Government was powerless and about to collapse at any moment. As a result they were not prepared for what has happened and were surprised when suddenly called upon for a great national effort. Wiser now, the Japanese authorities permit more plain speaking. Ministers do not hide the gravity of the situation, and the press has become remarkably frank. Recently, for instance, the *Osaka Mainichi* published a message from its Shanghai correspondent in which he said frankly that "the unity of China under the Chiang regime is unbelievably strong; the more blows he receives the more solid does his regime seem to become." The same correspondent added that the capture of Hankow and Canton would not necessarily "bring Chiang to his knees."

TRUTH DAWNS

The May number of the *Oriental Economist* of Tokio, writes:

"If businessmen, politicians, and others of the intellectual classes here were to disclose their view on the China outlook without reserve, many of them might be found rather pessimistic, for at least a majority of them feels that before the affair is brought to a final conclusion Japan will have to overcome a mountain of difficulties." It also refers to "bungling measures by Japan" as "wholly responsible for the prevailing conflagration," and suggests that the Government's refusal to deal with the Chiang Government may prove to be a mistake. In another passage the same paper openly states that Japanese Army Headquarters "underestimated the Chinese forces" at Suchow.

After all Truth has begun to dawn on the Japanese, though late, but they can still save their complete defeat by calling a halt to bloodshed in China. A face-saving device can be found. But history must take her course.

London,
July 4, 1938.

THE FUTURE OF THE CHIEF COMMISSIONERS' PROVINCES

By DATTATRAYA VABLE, M.A., LL.B.

LACK of uniformity and a curious blend of almost all the incongruities of constitutionalism has always been a feature of the various constitutional reforms in this country since 1909. The proposed federal scheme is perhaps unique in this respect. The areas which have been effected most by the invidious and discriminatory provisions of the new Government of India Act are the Chief Commissioners' provinces. These places do not find any place whatsoever in the new scheme of provincial autonomy, the very definition of which is based upon the Governor's provinces only. The Joint Select Committee in paragraph 48 of its report makes this distinction abundantly clear. It defines provincial autonomy and says:

"The scheme of provincial autonomy as we understand it, is one whereby each of the *Governors' Provinces* will possess an executive and a legislature having exclusive authority within the Province . . ."

The result is that in pursuance of these recommendations of the Select Committee the Government of India Act does not make any provision even for a semblance of responsible or popular government in the Chief Commissioners' provinces which are governed and will continue to be governed under the most autocratic and irresponsible administration known to us.

PRESENT POSITION

At present there are six Chief Commissioners' provinces namely, Ajmer-Merwara, Delhi, British Baluchistan, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the recent addition known as Panth Piploda. It is sufficient to know the present constitutional position of these places in order to realise the acuteness of political drawbacks and disabilities under which the unfortunate inhabitants of these provinces are labouring. Their political status has been summed up in sub-section 3 of section 94 of the new Government of India Act. It reads:

"A Chief Commissioner's province shall be administered by the Governor-General acting to such extent as he thinks fit through a Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him in his discretion."

Therefore with the single though not very enviable exception of Coorg, which has got a

diminutive and powerless Legislative Council since 1923 but whose position also remains unimproved by the new Act, none of the remaining Chief Commissioners' provinces have any institution representative or nominated which may be able to lubricate the autocratic harshness of the administrative machinery by popular or constitutional advice or suggestions.

DISCONTENT AND CHANGE

The growing discontent of the people of these provinces attracted the attention of the erstwhile indifferent All-India Congress and in a resolution at its Faizpur Session which is repeated at Haripura also, it voiced correctly the feelings of those people when it said:

"This Congress is of opinion that the creation of the excluded and partially excluded areas and Chief Commissioners' provinces . . . covering the area of 2,07,900 sq. miles and inhabited by 13 million people is yet another attempt to divide the people of India into different groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment and to obstruct the growth of uniform democratic institutions in the country."

Further on the resolution adds,

"This Congress holds that same level of democratic and self-governing institutions should be applicable to all parts of India without any distinction."

So, this discrimination is naturally causing anxiety in the minds of the people who reside in these places and they seem to have so keenly awakened to their present miserable lot that they are singularly unanimous in their dissatisfaction with the *status quo* and in their demand for a speedy change. In some of the provinces organised efforts are being made to emancipate their lot. At a representative meeting held last year of the citizens of Ajmer-Merwara various interesting suggestions and proposals were made for the constitutional emancipation of their province. These proposals were quite typical of the widespread discontent and could be useful *mutatis mutandis* for almost all the Chief Commissioners' provinces. The intensity and unanimity of this desire to accept anything but the *status quo* would be clear from the fact that those proposals varied from an honourable and progressive demand for full-fledged provincial autonomy or in the alternative the immediately

possible re-amalgamation of the province with autonomous province of U. P. to the utopian suggestion of forming a confederation of Ajmer-Merwara with the surrounding states of Rajputana and the idealistic and perhaps fantastically retrograde scheme of turning Ajmer into an ideal British state which would serve as a model for other Rajputana states. Even an advisory council was regarded satisfactory to begin with. Some of these proposals and schemes no doubt still furnish a satisfactory basis for considering the question of the future of the Chief Commissioners' provinces.

THE TWO METHODS

A careful analysis of all these or any other possible proposal would show that there are only two possible methods into which all these proposals ultimately resolve for achieving the common objective of Chief Commissioners' provinces. The one is the method of Independent Evolution and the other of Amalgamation and it is proposed to discuss the problem under these two heads here.

EVOLUTION

It is noteworthy that some of the important Governors' provinces of today have been the Chief Commissioners' provinces some time or other in the early stages of their constitutional development. For example the Punjab was made a Chief Commissioner's Province in 1854, Oudh in 1856, Burma in 1862, Assam in 1874, C.P. in 1861 and N.-W. Frontier Provinces in 1901. Most of these were then made Lieutenant Governors' provinces and today all of them are full-fledged autonomous provinces. It is therefore natural for the existing Chief Commissioners' provinces to smart under a sense of great injustice done to them by the repeated clogging of their natural and independent evolution. It should be borne in mind that almost all of the existing Chief Commissioners' provinces are older than most of the above mentioned Governors' provinces of today. Ajmer-Merwara was made a Chief Commissioner's Province in 1871 and it still lingers on as such while all its contemporaries have been raised to their full status. The remaining Chief Commissionerships, except for Delhi which was created a Chief Commissioner's Province in 1911, are also marking time without much success though several momentous changes have been made in the constitution of the country since 1854. Like Rip Van Winkle the inhabitants of these provinces find themselves at almost the same place where they stood not merely twenty years

but in most cases fifty to sixty years ago. It is therefore clear that the only way to make some *amende honorable* for their prolonged misfortune would be to raise at least the more advanced amongst them to the status of autonomous provinces. At least two of them namely Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi can justify this claim purely on merits. Both of these Provinces are sufficiently advanced to live up to the standards set in Governors' Provinces. From the point of view of literacy Ajmer-Merwara can even claim superiority over some of the most progressive Governors' Provinces. The bug-bear of financial stringency though a stock and familiar argument against all improvements has got little force in the present case. None of these places can be called deficit provinces and with prudent economy and readjustment should be able to bear the financial burden of responsible Government. No doubt democracy is expensive but then it is an expensive necessity and not a luxury. Moreover if it is in the interest of the country as a whole to keep up the same standard of political advancement everywhere the financial difficulty cannot be allowed to defeat this uniformity.

THE SMALL AREA

It has often been argued that besides the financial difficulty the small size of these provinces is another obstacle in the way of their being treated as autonomous provinces. It is said that such small areas cannot furnish a sufficient number of persons possessing the required general, political, legislative and executive capacity. No doubt this contention of the smallness of area has got some force but to appreciate a difficulty is not to approve of it or to admit its being insurmountable. Necessity is the mother of invention. The occasion would find the man. Moreover it should be remembered that except Andaman and Nicobar Islands, none of the Chief Commissioners' provinces constitute a natural geographical area nor are they based upon any sound principle of territorial division. They are artificial and in some cases gerry-built areas purposely marked out small either for certain political and state-legal motives or as the Faizpur Congress resolution says :

"In order to leave a large control of disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those provinces apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and suppression."

Therefore it is obvious that if it is necessary to keep up these areas in their present size for

some political or ulterior motives which it is not possible to forego then it should not be done at the cost of the just political claims and rights of those places. Instead of making their unfortunate position as an argument against them, the Central Government should face the difficulties which are of its own creation and solve the financial and other problems by granting subventions, etc., to them in order to enable them to share the uniform constitutional advancement of the country.

SUCCESS OF DEMOCRACY

The comparatively smaller size of the Chief Commissioners' province is not an argument against, but a good argument in favour of the introduction of democratic institutions in them. The experience of the working of modern democracies has shown that the true ideal of democratic principles can be achieved in smaller areas only where the sovereignty of the people has got greater and easier chances to regulate, control and watch the activities of its representatives. In bigger areas democracy soon degenerates into the worst type of oligarchy and this is the chief cause of the failure of democracies in bigger countries. Switzerland has been declared by the great constitutionalist Bryce as the 'pilgrim place' for the democrats of the world. The success of Swiss democracy is due to the smallness of the area of the country and its provinces. None of the Chief Commissioners' provinces is smaller in size or population than Zurich, the biggest province of Switzerland. The population of Zurich is about two lacs while that of Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi is five to six lacs each. Similarly the other big Swiss provinces (cantons) such as Bale, Bern etc., are much smaller than the smallest Chief Commissioners' Province that is Coorg.

AMALGAMATION

It is quite well known that in Government of India's Political Department which still controls *de facto* and which till recently controlled *de jure* also, the destiny of these Chief Commissioners' provinces, knowledge may come soon but wisdom always lingers far behind. It is therefore not likely that these unfortunate provinces, however just and irrefutable their claims may be, will get their proper place in the scheme of autonomous provinces before long. Specially when it is remembered that the difficulties of smallness of area and of the financial burden are mere camouflage to conceal the real motive as exposed by the Faizpur

resolution the people of these places shall have to wait for some time to come before they achieve their ultimate destiny. Therefore the only other alternative for securing participation in the new reforms on a par with other provinces would be that the present artificial boundaries of these provinces should be abolished and they should either be merged with the neighbouring autonomous provinces or should be so grouped or rearranged as to become sufficiently large for autonomous and responsible administration. There is no constitutional difficulty either in doing so. Section 290 of the new Government of India Act makes a clear provision for the creation of new provinces and alteration of the boundaries of existing ones including those of the Chief Commissioners' provinces as is clarified in sub-section 3, we have already seen that none of the four more advanced Chief Commissioners' provinces are natural geographical entities but have been carved out from their parental physical units. Delhi was a district of the Punjab till 1912. Ajmer-Merwara though physically in Rajputana was never of it politically and was administered as a part of the United Provinces till 1871. Similarly Coorg is in Madras Presidency and was till its annexation by the British in 1832 was under a Mysore Chief. British Baluchistan also has been separated from its native province by the physically unnatural Durand line in 1893. Therefore it can be made practicable for these places to participate in the constitutional reforms by re-merging or amalgamating them with necessary changes of course, with their original provinces to which they in fact and in some cases naturally belonged. No doubt there are certain peculiar difficulties with each of these places but they are all either exaggerated or are such as can easily be overcome.

AJMER-MERWARA

The case of Ajmer-Merwara is more unfortunate because of its situation among the Indian States all around it. It has been recently suggested that the question of its future can be solved by joining it with the surrounding States in a confederation. This idea besides being impracticable at least for some fifty years to come, would be preposterously reactionary and the most retrograde step. A confusion of the backward Indian States of Rajputana with all the evils of old feudalism with the progressive and ambitious province of Ajmer-Merwara would be detrimental in the interest of both the parties to this heterogeneous conglomeration. Therefore as was recommended by the Asworth Committee

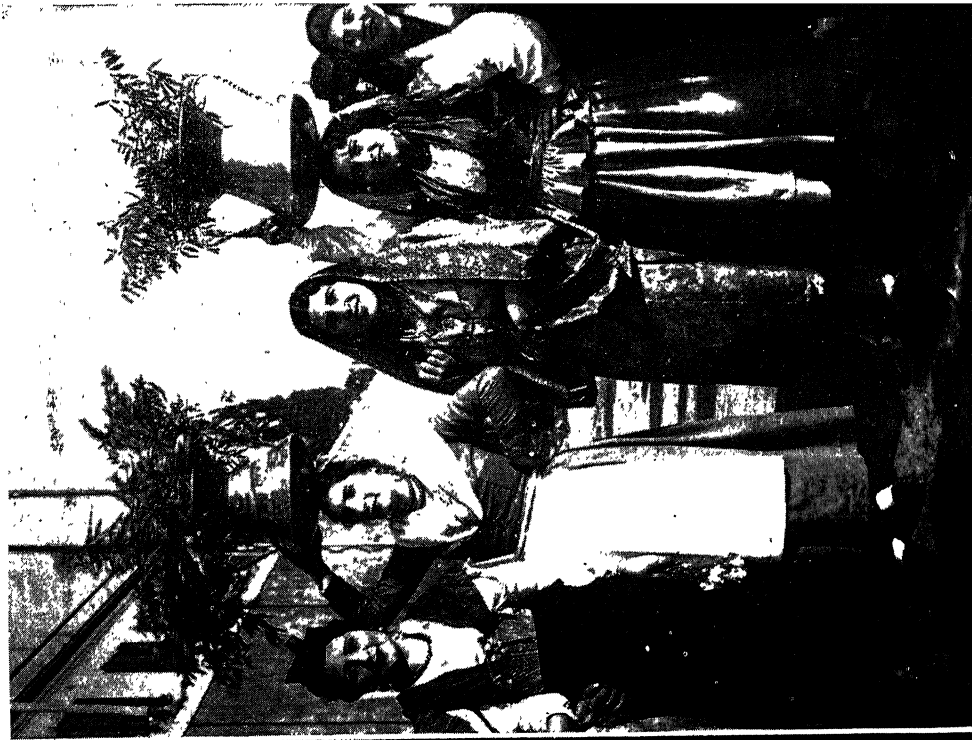
FOLK REVIVAL IN ITALY



Costumes from Zara, on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic, showing Muslim influence



Peasant maid from Savona



Flower-maidens of Rome



Folk-costumes from Spezia, Northern Italy



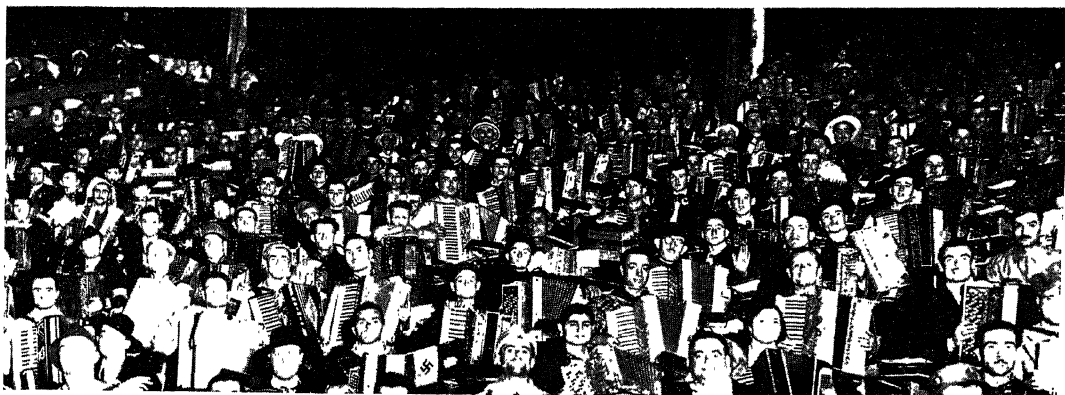
Costumes of Tivoli (Lazio Province)



Costumes of Naples



Above : Folk-costumes from Abruzzi
Below : Folk-dancing (Saltarello) in Pistoia, Central Italy



"Folk Revival in Italy"
A view of the huge band composed of rural harmonium players drawn from different parts of Italy, during the demonstration in Rome before Herr Hitler while the latter paid an official visit to Italy

FOLK REVIVAL IN ITALY

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc.Pol. (Rome)

THE most interesting attraction for foreign tourists this summer in Rome is the "Dopolavoro" Exhibition which was opened a few days ago in the Circo Massimo exhibition grounds. It is already a bright spot and promises to be the most frequented rendezvous for holiday-makers as soon as the summer conditions set in definitely. Between the Tiber and the Palatine Hills the grounds of the exhibition occupy an ideal site, and the series of modern edifices profusely lighted at night just at the foot of the dark holes of the ruins of Imperial Rome truly represent the spirit of the Dopolavoro ideal which seeks to combine material progress and scientific advancement with the ancient traditions of the people. The Italian Government has taken this opportunity for calling an International Leisure-time Congress at Rome which will be inaugurated this week (end of June). The Delegates from different countries will be shown what Italy has achieved in the matter of offering facilities for amusement to its industrial and agricultural workers. I am told that the Government of Bombay have authorized an Indian gentleman resident in Rome to represent them at this Congress. Mr. Sondhi, Secretary of the Indian Olympic Committee, is also a delegate to this Congress.

Dopolavoro literally means in Italian 'after-work.' The National Afterwork or

Leisure-time Institute was established by Signor Mussolini in 1925, and was designed in the lines of a social welfare institution which could effectively deal with the problem of how best to employ the leisure hours of the workers. The movement for reducing the working hours



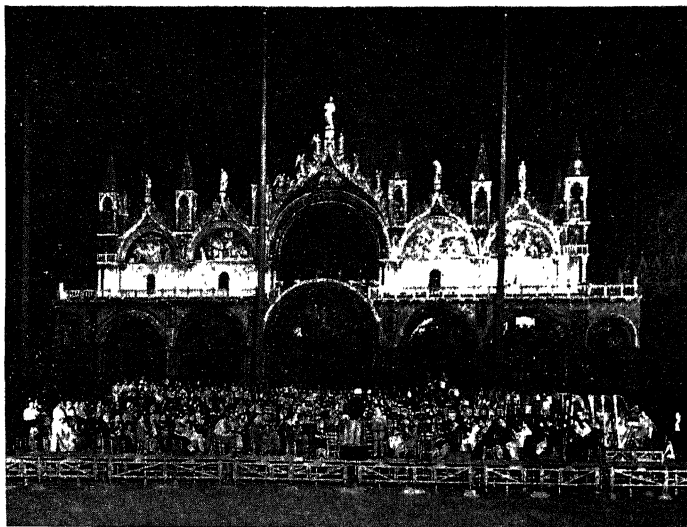
A typical holiday-making couple in the regional Dopolavoro costume

in industries gave rise to this problem almost in every industrially advanced country, and everywhere experiments have been successfully made in one way or the other in order to make

the labourers find amusement in healthy diversions. But nowhere the State has taken such an extensive and interested part in the organization of amusements of the labouring classes as in Germany and Italy. The "Strength through Joy" movement in Germany is inspired essentially by the same ideals of social justice and national vigour as the

country reminds the visitor of the golden epochs of Italian rural life. The zeal and enthusiasm with which the people have devoted themselves to the revival of folk dances, folk songs and regional home crafts, appears to me to be a reaction of the peace-loving and festive temperament of the Italian people against over-industrialization and against socialistic preach-

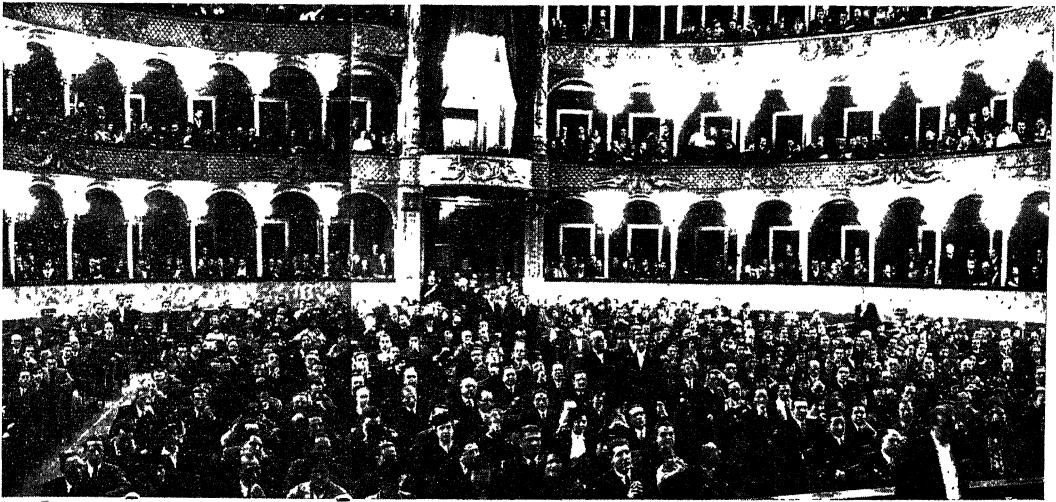
ings in the pre-war days and just before the advent of Fascism in this country. This tendency towards the preservation of old traditional national costumes, old national sports, regional crafts, etc. is not only a characteristic of Italian nationalism but is also to be found in a more or less intensive degree of cultivation all over Europe, particularly in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Norway and Sweden. The machine civilization of today has stopped at the door of these ancient traditions handed down through generations of men and women, and has failed to standardize the culture of nations, because life, although sustained by work, is not lived entirely through work.



Open-air concert organized by the O. N. D. at St. Mark's Square in Venice

Dopolavoro movement in Italy. Thus today both these organizations embrace not only the workers and peasants, but also middle class people, professionals and artists. The *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (National Afterwork Institute) has, in fact, offered a great impetus to the revival of artistic, sportive and intellectual life of those classes of the people for whom such pursuits would have otherwise remained a luxury. The Institution itself also sets on foot new movements in the fields of sport, travel, culture, social welfare and the arts, ranging from music to drama, from the Thespis Car to the Radio and Cinema, from fine arts to home crafts. The most important revival in the realm of folk art effected by the Dopolavoro movement in Italy is that of folk dances and folk festivals which once abounded in this country as a genuine expression of its folk genius. The colour and gaiety of the olden times have returned to the villages of Italy with all its traditional splendour, and although prosperity is yet shy, the sentimental abandon of the festive crowds all over the

The more general features of the Dopolavoro movement are already known to a certain extent in our country through occasional articles written about it. Life is being rendered pleasant and attractive in every grade of society through the Dopolavoro organization. The working men, the government servants as well as the rural folk have all been touched by the new spirit of recreation and joy. Historical pageants, parade of popular costumes and regattas, ski-ing, motoring and racing are some of the most familiar diversions in Italy today. The festivals of the patron saints, the triumphal cars, mystery plays and so forth have been likewise rendered popular. To this list have to be added the spring and harvest festivals of the agricultural folk in the villages, of which the grape festival is the most well-known. Physical exercises, excursions, swimming, etc., constitute a fundamental feature of the Italian mass life today. In this article I do not propose to go into the details of these festivals nor into the organization of the O.N.D. throughout Italy, but I should rather devote myself to the



The Royal Opera at Rome
A "Theatrical Saturday" performance for members of the Dopolavoro Institute

revival of folk dance, folk music and folk costumes that has been largely due to the Dopolavoro movement.

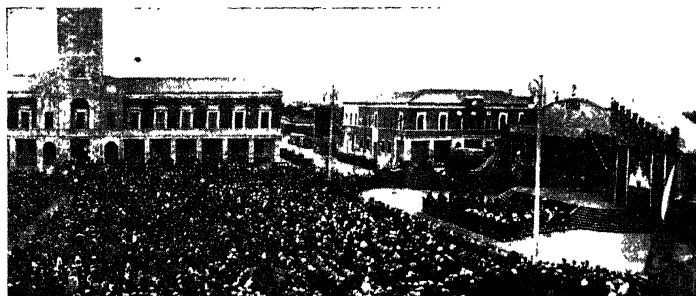
Italy is very rich in the variety of her popular life in all its aspects. From Sicily to Piedmont, there are as many types of human figures, dialects and costumes as may be found between Bengal and Bombay. Ethnically, Italy is one of the most mixed races of Europe. Almost all the currents of ancient and medieval population and culture movements have left their undying traces on the history and daily life of this people. The Teutonic hordes from the north have as much influenced the temperament and character of the people of North Italy as Greeks, Saracens and Arabs have moulded those of the South. A close and intimate study of the popular beliefs and superstitions of the country folk in Italy and of the expressions of popular arts in all parts of the country would reveal this fact that the Italian people combine in themselves the most remote legacies of their pagan past with the most sublime traditions of the Catholic Church. The people take a legitimate pride in these revived traditions of healthy and colourful past which brings with it a sense of self-esteem which is usually denied to the mass of workers who are victims of the machine age. Thus when Herr Hitler came to Rome on his official visit to Italy during May last, one of the most spectacular demonstrations that was shown to him was the popular dances of Italy attuned to the music of a huge choir of village musicians

gaily dressed in their regional costumes. These dancers and musicians were brought down to Rome from different parts of the country specially for this occasion, and the spectacle they offered amidst the magical illumination and the delightful colours of the Piazza di Siena was very impressive indeed. A few years ago when the Prince of Piedmont married, there were similar manifestations of folk costumes and folk dances in Rome.

The Italians are a feast-loving people. They like contrasts in colour as much as exuberance in expressions without violence. Thus almost every religious or national festival in Italy is generally accompanied by dances. Folk dancing in Italy is very widely diffused, and has many varieties of which a brief account will be offered in the following lines. As a rule the dance is held in the open air or in front of the house. In winter the ball used to take place in the wine shops or in the barns. Today it is held in the Dopolavoro halls and in summer in front of the Hall. The dancing is usually accompanied by the organette which is widely used in Italy, sometimes also by the shepherd's pipe, the bagpipes, the flute, the drum, the rustic viol and tambourine. Sometimes the dancing takes place in accompaniment of singing also, particularly the ring dances, such as the *Trescone* in Romagna, the *Su-duru-duru* in Sardinia, and the *Vala* of the Albanian folk in Calabria.

The most general form of dancing is naturally a kind of wheel or ring dance which

is regarded as the most primitive and most simple kind, and is therefore the most truly rustic of them. This ring dance is reminiscent of the magic rites and is particularly characteristic of the May-time festivals, which are very widely diffused throughout Italy.



Thespis Car at Littoria
An open-air theatrical performance executed and watched
by members of the Dopolavoro

Around the bonfires of early March, in the Trentino, the Marche and Romagna, song dances are performed, as also around the fires of St. John, whose festival is performed almost in every part of Italy about this time of the year (June), as well as during the festival of St. Anthony in Naples. The ring dances with their various figures may be looked on as the festal dance in more developed form. In Sardinia the *Su-duruduru* in some districts is executed by two companies, men in one line and women in the other, afterwards forming two distinct circles. Elsewhere there is one ring only from which at intervals a couple breaks off and with shrill cries cuts its capers in the centre.

Among the country folk the dance has always served a high social purpose, the most economic and merry way of celebrating marriages and religious festivals. At present the dance has lost most of its magical and religious significance, and serves mainly as an opportunity for young people to meet together when they can manifest their preferences. For this reason many figures in the popular dances have reference to the choice of a partner. Among these are the dances like the *Contentino dell'Ahi* (Jack's my fancy), the mirror dance, the dance of sighs, the chair dance (*seggiola*) and others. These different types of dances offer different ways and means whereby a girl may select her "knight" by indicating the boy of her choice. Dances of this order are the *Galetta*, the dance of the

Four Cantons, and the Wedding Dance, all of which bring out the wiles of the male performer. A typical example is the *Barbano* which is of Lombardian origin. Here a lad throws himself on the ground, pretending to be dead, while a couple dances around him,

approaching him from time to time and lifting now an arm and now a leg, as if to see whether he is really dead. Suddenly the pretending corpse leaps up and snatches his lady from her partner's arms. In Piedmont the Kiss Dance (*La Danza del Bacio*) is still in vogue, though this is rather a way of bringing a rustic dance to an end than a dance proper. The musician of the evening, at the close of the dance, strikes a high chord giving the signal for the kiss, and the couples embrace while the on-lookers shout in merriment.

The most characteristic and the most widely diffused dances are the *Tarantella* in Southern Italy, the *Saltarello* in Central Italy, the *Trescone*, the *Ruggero*, the *Bergamasco*, the *Pavana*, and the *Monferrina* in Northern Italy, the *Furlana*, the *Vinca*, the *Tortele* and the *Resiana* in Friuli. All these dances are characterized by the clumsiness of movement and by a certain heaviness of rhythm as is evident today in the shepherd's dance in Calabria. They generally lack the rhythmic excellence of Greek folk dances and the light-footed gaiety of Austrian dances, although many of them have now passed from the threshing floor to the ball-room being modernized and refined.

Anybody who has been in Italy at least for a week must have heard of the *Saltarello* and the *Tarantella*. Although these dances originated in a certain region, they are danced now all over the country, and they are considerably changed in execution in their passage from one part of the country to the other. In any study of the Italian folk dance this characteristic should always be borne in mind. This is a natural result of the subjective interpretation which the creative genius of each province lends to the respective dances. For example, the Sicilian tarantella, although in common with the tarantella of Sorrento it symbolizes a lover's meeting, representing the quips and jests exchanged by the couple and then the quarrelling and the reconciliation, is always permeated by that richness in

expression which make the Sicilian mimics the most entertaining. These dances, as they pass from village to village, become noticeably changed, so much so that one comes across



The "Tarantella" dance
The boy-dancer imploring his sweet-heart on
his knees to forgive him

different types of these and of other dances, which, although bearing different names, are simple variations of the same dance.

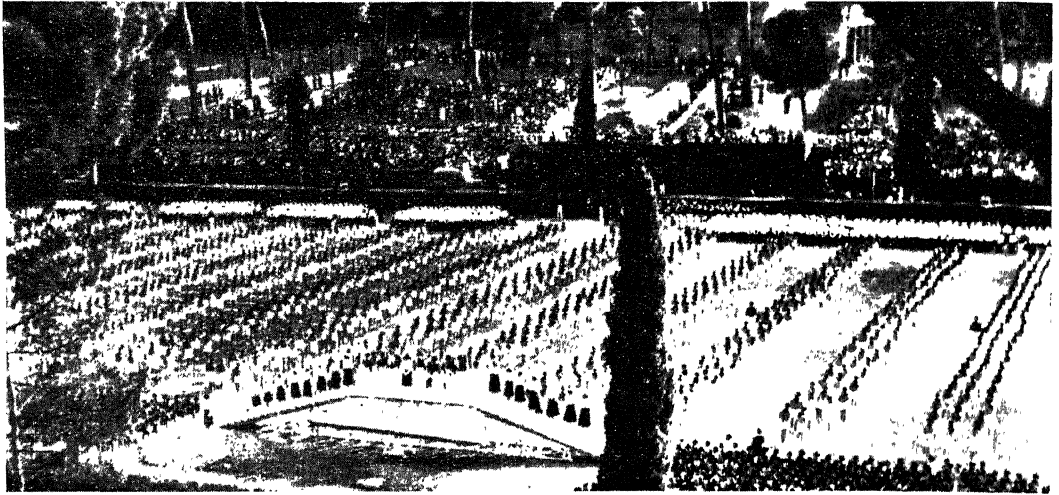
The tarantella had its origin in Naples and on the Neapolitan coast, although it is equally in vogue now in Sicily. The name of this dance is supposed by some to have been derived from *Tarantismo*, that is, the mania caused by the bite of the spider, or from *tarantula* which means venomous spider. But those who know well both the movements of the tarantula's victim and of the Neapolitan tarantella will find many important differences between them. The more reasonable and probable interpretation holds that this dance was derived from *sfessania* which was in vogue in Naples in the 17th century. The dance begins with a young couple who fall in love

at first sight but the first steps of their dance which are inspired by joy and affection, are quickly followed by raised voices, ill-temper and disdain. The girl is in the wrong and when the boy is on the point of leaving her, she falls on her knees and implores him to stay. Her partner dances around her victoriously, then forgives her and raises her tenderly from the ground. But the dance does not end until the man shows his infidelity and is taken to task in turn this time by the lady who forgives her repenting lover asking for her pardon on his knees. The love element predominates, in all its different phases, in the development of this dance. It is performed in accompaniment of organettes, tambourines and guitars. In Sicily the tarantella forms a special part of the wedding festivity. After the bride has been conducted to the house of the bridegroom, their friends, in order to express



Piazza di Siena, Rome
Folk-dancers waiting for the performance which
they gave in honour of Herr Hitler

their joy and merriment, link arms for a dance which is often prolonged far into the night. During such festivities as the Carnival, the Sicilian always dances at home or in the public



Demonstration of gymnastics given by members of the Dopolavoro

squares. The tarantella is danced both by large or small groups of dancers. The various figures of the dance are very intricate and give rise in popular sentiment to various fanciful interpretations; the salute and the homage of the man to his lady, their quarrel, their flight and the kiss of reconciliation. The Sicilian tarantella differs from the Neapolitan variety not only in the steps and figures but also in the fact that the Sicilian species is not accompanied by music but merely by the clapping of hands.

The name of *Saltarello* is derived from the word 'saltare' which means 'to leap.' This dance dates back to the sixteenth century and has been recorded by many foreign observers in their diaries. In its modern form the saltarello is danced in the Campagna Romana, and specially in the Ciociaria, and is accompanied by the organette. It is usually danced on the threshing floor in the open air on summer evenings, after the cleansing and threshing of the maize. As a matter of fact, there is no leaping in the Ciociarian saltarello nor is it even a quick and lively dance. On the contrary, the *tempo* is a moderate and regular *allegro*. The dancers' feet which are usually bare, are scarcely raised from the ground, but glide lightly over the floor so that the movement causes no brusque motion of the body. The saltarello is danced in couples, or in groups of three, four or even five dancers, their arms interlaced with the hands resting on each other's shoulders, bodies inclining slightly

forward, and heads also slightly bent, almost touching in the middle of the group. This posture which is full of dignity, almost makes it appear as though the bodies were following in perfect harmony the movements of the legs, while the feet glide silently over the ground, giving the impression that they are never raised from it. The movement thus obtained is full of elegance, harmony and charm. The musician himself often dances the saltarello, thrusting himself among the dancers with the object of enlivening the proceedings and putting more life into the dance.

I have described here only a few of the most popular and widely diffused folk dances of Italy. There is an infinite variety of other interesting forms of folk dances of which it is not possible to give an elaborate account in the brief space of this article. The dances described above are of purely Italian origin, but among the Italian folk dances may be found some types which owe their origin to the Greek ideal or the Moorish contact, particularly in Southern Italy and in Sicily. The *Ndrezzata* (woven), for example, is one of those typical armed dances which still keep up the tradition of the classical Sword Dance and remind one of the Moorish dances. In the island of Ischia near Naples, women also take part in this dance which is danced to the music of cymbals, reed pipes and vocal music as well. The traditional setting is in eight couples, but the number may be increased, provided there is always an even number.



"Folk Revival in Italy"

Dancing pairs from different parts of Italy, dressed in their regional costumes greeting Herr Hitler in a Dopolavoro dancing demonstration in the Piazza di Siena in Rome

The men hold a club in their right hands and a wooden sword painted blue in their left. The women brandish the club in their right hands and a white painted sword in their left. The dance is almost entirely composed of a crossing and interweaving of blows dealt with the clubs and swords. These rapid and sharp blows are accompanied by a sharp stamping of the feet, continued changes of position and by a song, whose age-old words have been handed down to the lips of generations and are therefore probably different from the original. Today the song is somewhat like the following when translated into English :

Trallera, trallera, Trira lliira, lallera . . .

Annina, hurry up,
Make up your bundle,
The boat is ready and we must leave.

See how the little boat
Glides along the water.
Tell me, ne, what have I done
That we don't love each other any more.

Master Raffaele was a famous smoker,
It took him more than an hour
To light a pipe.

E lla, e lla, e lla
That's all you can do
You are a Master Raffaele
Don't bother about it any more.

I don't know what you want,
May be a bed of violets

There is no more time now,
You will have to be content without.
You are shameless and proud,
I shall tell your mother
There's another bridegroom coming
A little gipsy with his zither. . . .

The Italian people have an innate sense of the beautiful. This aesthetic sense has made it possible for them to discard what was ugly in the primitive dances, and to preserve and perfect all that was beautiful in the ancient folk arts of the race. The treasure of folk lore in Italy is an inexhaustible source of joy for its people, and the cultivation of art for art's sake is not restricted merely to cultured society but also extends to the masses in their own limited sphere. Perhaps it is not much known in our country that in Italy there still exists a form of popular theatre which corresponds exactly to our *Kabi*, as it is called in Bengal, where two singer groups compete with one another in making improvised poetry and putting their rivals to shame. Often in the summer while making excursions in the little villages of the Campagna Romana I have come across these village minstrels, both men and women, who possess a remarkable gift of inspiration and poetic imagery, and reminded me of some of the best *Kabi* performances of Eastern Bengal in the height of their popularity.

THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

By Miss PADMA CHINNAPPA

TODAY we hear of so many "isms." All of them emphasise the need of greater governmental control over the social, economic and all other activities of a country. In England this tendency is not observed to the same degree. The English love their freedom, freedom of thought, speech and action. They understand and appreciate the value of voluntary organisation much more than the people of any other country. And we are impressed by the efflorescence of this national characteristic in all their social movements.

A foreign visitor to the famous London Hospitals is surprised and puzzled when he is told that all these institutions are run out of public funds. Even higher education in England is conducted by voluntary bodies. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge do not even get a grant from the government. They depend on public funds—on the benevolence of men like Lord Nuffield and others.

Out of this spirit, settlements have come into existence in England. About twenty years ago in the East end of London there was hardly any settlement. Now there is a settlement in every depressed area. This article is intended to give an idea to our Indian public as to what kind of services are rendered by these institutions known as settlements.

Most of the workers in a settlement are women. Men are usually employed in the managing committees. Practical work is carried on by women.

The settlement work could be classified as follows : Firstly, work among children, secondly, among adolescents, thirdly, among women, fourthly, among men, and lastly work among old people. It is not necessary that a settlement should cover all these sections, but the larger the settlement is the greater the number of services rendered by its workers. This article deals mainly with the work done among children and adolescents.

The relationship of the parents and teachers has been a serious problem. Both are the builders of the future of their children. Psychologists have, of late, been emphasising this relationship. They consider a right understanding of it of great importance for the proper all round development of children. Due

to industrial struggle and class differences, workers have drifted apart from the other classes and they have been left to themselves. In the past the teachers never tried to understand the parents of their students. And there was no initiative in this direction from the side of the parents either. Now when the teachers wish to get to know the parents they find it almost an impossible task. It is useful for a teacher to be acquainted with the home conditions of their pupils. But unfortunately, parents and teachers have always remained strangers. The settlements have realised this urgent need of co-operation between the two. They have organized Care Committees and After-Care Committees, the aim of which is to build a bridge of understanding between the parents and the teachers.

The workers of a settlement co-operate with the medical authorities of the schools. A settlement is usually situated in the midst of slums. The workers of the settlement keep closely in touch with the headmasters or the headmistresses of the schools. The settlements are recognised by the education authorities. Usually the activities of a settlement cover a borough. Work is carried among children who attend elementary schools in a borough. The local authorities come to an agreement with the local settlements to have a clinic. Every housewife knows about the local settlement. The workers of the settlement have approached her many a time and she has begun to look upon them as her wellwishers, friends and helpers. Undoubtedly the local authorities cannot find a better system of getting into touch with the housewives and of arranging for clinics. It is convenient for the medical authorities and economical for the educational authorities to have their clinic at the settlement. Besides the voluntary workers are always ready to offer their services in case the doctor needs their help as nurses.

CARE COMMITTEE

The chief aim of a Care Committee is to carry on health work. A child from the age of five to fifteen comes under the education authorities. They are responsible for his health and education. As regards health the authorities

need the co-operation of the parents. Here the settlement offers its help. The workers obtain the addresses of the parents of the school children from the school authorities and get into touch with them. The workers of the Care Committee visit the homes of the school children and request the mothers to make appointments with the clinic doctors for the examination of their children. This arrangement prevents overlapping of appointments for the doctor and saves the mothers from the trouble of waiting at the clinic. A Care Committee worker acts as the secretary to the doctor. She sees that the mothers bring their children to the clinic. A Care Committee visitor is a friend of the mothers. She arranges the day and time for attendance at the clinic according to the convenience of the mothers. She visits the house of a school child and says to the mother, "Mrs. James, it is high time that your son John gets his teeth examined. When can you manage to bring him to the clinic? You have either Wednesday or Friday." Mrs. James would answer, "Thanks Miss I can manage Friday afternoon, not morning though." It is the duty of the Care Committee to warn the parents of their children's ailments, and to insist upon the child being taken to a clinic. These workers are not authorities, but their suggestions are accepted very gratefully and are followed. The social worker hardly ever comes across unpleasant experience. Of course they have to handle the mothers very tactfully. The mothers of the school children are usually members of their afternoon clubs.

In the settlement there are nursery schools, play centres and evening classes for the school children. Unfortunately London has grown in a very haphazard fashion, and every year it is growing. It has known no town planning. Especially in the East-end there are not many parks, commons and playgrounds. Houses are overcrowded. There is not space enough for the children to play inside the houses. Children play in the streets. They hardly get any scope to give vent to their gushing energy. We often hear delinquency cases among children, such as damaging motor cars, breaking window panes and stealing. It is mostly the environment which is responsible for the delinquency. The settlements have done excellent work in this direction. Children come to play in the play centres and attend evening classes organised by the settlement. They are taught useful things such as sewing, light handicraft and first-aid. Training in girl guide and scouting is also given. Dances are frequently thrown for the pleasure of the inmates. Infants are entertained in the nursery

schools. There is always a crowd of school children on the waiting list, so popular have these settlements proved. Undoubtedly these classes have saved many a child from going astray.

There are many people in London who have not known the fragrance of wild flowers, and who have never seen large patches of uninhabited land—the countryside. With their very meagre income they cannot afford to go to the country on pleasure trips. They are born in the slums, they breathe the air of the slums and would also perish there. The settlements of England have proved a boon to the working classes in this respect. They organise the Children's Holiday Visits Committee. This committee is financed by the benevolent rich. The settlements help the children to visit the country out of their funds. Many delicate children have improved their health by their visit to the countryside. Parents pay for their children according to their means. They pay only a trifle and that in instalments.

AFTER-CARE COMMITTEE WORK

This is one of the most useful social works which have been rendered by the settlements. A child leaves an elementary school at the age of fifteen. His judgment is still unbalanced. He does not know his own capabilities. Many parents wish their children to follow professions which they have chosen for them. Some parents are too glad to have their children contribute even a few shillings to the family exchequer irrespective of the nature of the jobs. These parents do not care whether their children are occupied in blind alley jobs. In choosing a career often the schoolmistress can be more helpful than the parents. And that is what the After-Care Committee is meant for. It usually consists of the Headmistress of the school, a class teacher, some outsider, the head of the evening school and two members from the settlement. The committee sits once a year at the time when the girls and boys leave schools. Before the committee meets a visitor from the settlement who is also a member of the After-care Committee, visits the homes of those girls and boys who would shortly be leaving school. There she talks to the mother. The visitor enquires of the mother as to what career she has chosen for her son or daughter (as the case may be). The visitor has with her notes about the progress of the students at school. She would suggest to the mother that her child has been very good in a particular subject—may be needlework, why

should she not become a dressmaker? The mother might agree or may say that she wants her child to be a typist or something else. A visitor has to find out the professions of the fathers of the girls and their home surroundings and culture. She reports these things to the After-Care Committee. At the committee meeting the adolescent is accompanied by her parent (usually the mother). The headmistress has the school and medical reports before her and a list of vacancies at some firms and factories. In the meeting the parent is again asked her wish as regards the future career of her child. The headmistress being the best judge advises the mother about her daughter's intelligence, ability and prospects. If a particular girl has very good physique she might be recommended domestic service. One with poor health would be advised to avoid employment in a factory. The suggestions are not binding on the mother but they are more often accepted than not.

During the course of the meeting the adolescents are asked to join the evening classes. They also join the club for young boys and girls. They attend these clubs to improve their knowledge in many ways. They take part in debates. Often a well-known outsider is invited to speak on a useful and interesting subject for their benefit. Social dances are arranged by

the club once a week. Singing and dramas are organised frequently.

The aim of the After-Care Committee is that adolescents should engage themselves according to their mental and physical ability in the most useful work. Settlements are doing the most useful work in this line.

Besides the above there are clothing centres and libraries in the settlement for the children. Winter clothes are provided free to the poor and deserving children at the clothing centres.

The historian of the 20th century will have to write at considerable length an account of the services that are being rendered by these settlements. The working class children are proving their value by playing their part as true citizens. These voluntary associations have saved and continue to save innumerable English children from ruining their lives and proving a source of danger to the life of the community. The English are proud of their hospitals and their universities. But the working class of England will always be proud of their settlements.

Such settlements would render great service to the poor in almost all the big towns of India. Would the Congress governments take heed and devote part of the funds set aside for Rural Development to the encouragement and establishment of this extremely useful system of settlements?

AMERICAN WOMAN'S FAITH IN SPIRITUALISM

Fights Election with Telepathy

By MRS. CHAMAN LAL

ENGLISH WOMEN ADVISED TO DRAW WATER— LORD'S ADVICE CAUSES RESENTMENT
AMONG FAIR SEX—WOMEN OF 75 LEADS EXPEDITION—WOMEN'S
EXCHANGE IN AMERICA

MEN legislators and ministers in India beware! An American woman born in materialistic West, is conducting a Spiritual experiment which, if successful will naturally be followed in India, the ancient home of spiritualism, and think of the results, when women candidates, generally far more spiritual than men, will carry on election campaign by telepathy, for that is the new American idea. America, I found as the land of ideas.

Of all the countries we saw during our World tours, we found America to be full of genius, interest and new ideas. A news cable appearing in the *Daily Express*, from its New York correspondent today supports my

contention. The correspondent cables as follows:

New York, Friday.

"In a musical and very earnest Southern drawl, Mrs. Ruth Johnson, the Shawnee, Village school-teacher told me over the long-distance telephone today of 'a new era in the history of thought' into which she is leading the world by conducting her election campaign solely through the medium of telepathy.

"Next Tuesday she believes she will show the world, for on that day 3,521 electors of Shawnee will vote for a new Commissioner of Charities and Corrections.

"Mrs. Johnson's six opponents are conducting their campaigns in the old style by meetings, election addresses and posters. But Mrs. Johnson is just getting up at five in the morning, sitting with her head in her hands, concentrating hard and sending out thought waves which are telling voters, 'Vote for Mrs. Johnson.'

WHILE THEY SLEEP

She is sure voters are receiving the messages in their subconscious minds even while they sleep and they will react accordingly in Tuesday's polls.

"Ah have complete confidence Ah'll be elected," Mrs. Johnson told me. "Ah am receiving much help from other telepathic practitioners all over America. Some are 2,000 miles away."

"They've written from New Jersey, Colorado and Chicago, saying they are concentrating at the same time as Ah am. Telepathy travels 300,000 miles per second."

Let me hope Mrs. John-on wins. Because the experiment will support Gandhiji, who advocates Spiritualism in politics. If this experiment succeeds all honest candidates need not go on election tours, they can simply sit at home.

WOMEN TO DRAW WATER

ENGLISH LORD'S ADVICE

"Drawer of Water" will no longer mean a slave since Englishwomen are being seriously advised to draw water from the wells in order to keep physically strong. I have seen women drawing water in some American villages but none in England. I have never drawn even a small bucket of water in my life and I wonder how Englishwomen would like the new campaign but it is true that women who draw water are healthier and stronger and free from tuberculosis generally.

As woman to women, Miss Charlotte Paterson, of Poole, member of Dorset County Council Standing Joint Committee, sees nothing wrong in women having to draw water from wells with a pail.

People are being brought up too soft nowadays, she told a pressman yesterday, in agreeing with a statement by Lord Shaftesbury, Chairman of the Council and Lord Lieutenant, who has caused indignation throughout the county, that "for the welfare of the rising generation we should find women strong enough to draw water."

But Miss Paterson thinks Lord Shaftesbury "Made his statements to the committee half-jokingly, and that a mountain is being made out of a mole-hill."

She, nevertheless, endorses his comments because "it is a good thing for the nation if fathers and mothers are hearty and strong."

"Neither I nor anyone else wants to see the strength of women taken, but it is good for future children that their parents should be strong and healthy."

Lord Shaftesbury's statement was made when the subject of water supply to a village policeman's house was discussed. It was stated that the constable's wife was not strong enough to draw water, and Lord Shaftesbury suggested that a constable might be placed there whose wife was strong enough to draw water.

The Committee, however, decided to fit a pump to the well so that the woman, wife of the constable at Wimborne St. Giles, will be relieved of the hard work of drawing water in a pail.

The women who have to draw water from wells found a defender at the committee meeting in Mr. F. C. James, county organiser of Dorset branch of the National Union of Agricultural Workers.

Mr. James said yesterday: "It is time that pumps were placed on all wells so that women should be able to draw water in comfort. I would like to see every village house attached to a water scheme so that the women can get their water from a tap.

"In many cases I know in Dorset the work is too heavy for the women, and they have even to wait till their husbands come home at night so he can draw water for his wife to boil a kettle for his tea."

WOMEN OF 75 TO LEAD EXPEDITION

My sisters in India will be surprised to learn that an English woman of 75 is going to lead an Expedition. She is Miss Constance Warner, white-haired leader of an expedition which will cross the African jungle to the elusive mountains of the Moon. At the age of seventy-five, this remarkable woman is undertaking an adventure which would appal people of half her years.

But as Miss Warner explains, "I have been on safari most of my life, and am as strong as a horse.

"So naturally I don't want weaklings on this trip. I want fifteen adventurers able to pay their own expenses—and they must be tough!

"They must be prepared to sacrifice the comforts of civilisation, and not be frightened when the lions roar, or scared by the sight of elephants and rhinoceros.

"They must be prepared to think it fun to travel country overrun by wild animals.

"They must be prepared for thrills, plenty of them. But there will be no shooting on my expedition, except by camera."

Starting at Mombasa, the party will travel more than 2,000 miles down the Nile, down the Ithu river, the Serengetti Plain, and through Uganda. Thence by boat from Jabu to Khar-toum.

"This is the first time that the trip will have been done right through by any expedition.

"Our objective will be the Mountains of the Moon, that invisible range which crosses

the Equator, and seems to be perpetually hidden from view by a massy roll of cloud, a kind of shroud of mystery."

Miss Warner is an East End social worker, has been travelling all her life and has had plenty of experience away from civilisation.

She has spent years trying to find out what is around the bend of the trail and over the hill ahead.

She has even crossed the Persian deserts alone. But she has kept no diary, never written or talked of her adventures, though she must have had many.

She hates publicity about her adventures and says: "I never talk about them. I go off on these trips because I love the wilds, that's all."

All respects and good wishes to such a pioneer woman.

ANCIENT INDIAN IDEA

WOMEN'S EXCHANGE IN AMERICA

The age-long ancient idea of co-operation and exchange of work among rural women in

India has found great popularity in America. Our sisters living in cities who may not have seen the scheme working in Indian villages will be amused to learn of the success of the idea among busy women of America, whose brains are undoubtedly best amongst world's women.

Vera Leslie tells of an ingenious scheme by means of which women solve one another's problems.

Have you ever heard of the American "Women's Exchange"? I must confess that I hadn't until I paid a recent visit to New York.

Whether the Women's Exchange would work in other countries I don't know, but it is an ingenious idea which certainly solves an amazing number of the American housewife's major and minor problems.

In this exchange you can find someone to mind your baby or children while you do their shopping; some one to teach your child music if you will do some cleaning in return: a woman who will cope with your arrears of mending in return for lessons in cooking.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



MISS PADMA CHINNAPPA, whose photograph is reproduced here, holds London Diploma in Social Science. Her article on the Settlement Movement in England is published elsewhere in this issue.

MISS PRABHA SEN-GUPTA stood first in the first class in Sanskrit in the last M.A. Examination of the Dacca University. Miss Sen-Gupta had also stood first in the first class in the same subject in the B.A. Honours examination last year.

Miss Padma Chinnappa



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

SEX IN EVERYDAY LIFE: By Edward F. Griffith, M.R.C.S., F.R.C.P., with introduction by Sir Walter Langdon-Brown, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.P., Emeritus Professor of Physic in the University of Cambridge, Consulting Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and Foreword by the Rev. A. Herbert Gray, D. D. London George Allen Unwin Ltd. Price 10s. 6d. net.

This book claims to contain a complete summary of all the latest scientific information on the subject of sex, together with a discussion of the ethical and religious problems involved. It is divided into two parts and an appendix. The first part is devoted to a consideration of practical scientific data; the biology of sex; the functions of the ductless glands in relation to the sex life and personality of the individual; the psychological relationship between mind and body, and the meaning and nature of the sex instincts. The second part of the book deals with the ethical and religious problems raised by the discoveries outlined in the first part, together with such matters as the history of marriage, preparation for marriage, healthy children, sex education and the transference of sex energy. The appendix is devoted to a consideration of a large variety of subjects, such as the medical aspects of contraception, the indiscriminate sale of contraceptives, etc.

Dr. Sir Walter Langdon-Brown thinks that the thinking public will obtain in this book reliable information on matters which so deeply concern human health and happiness.

The Rev. A. Herbert Gray, D.D., says in his foreword that though he is not prepared to endorse every sentence in the book—for admittedly it discusses some very difficult issues, yet he is truly grateful for it, because no one can miss the earnest determination of the author to find what is the true way of life in sex for us all. "And as this desire is joined to a great deal of scientific knowledge, the book has a peculiar value. Sex is lifted by the way in which it is handled here. It is our great need to have the matter so lifted."

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN: By P. K. Sen, M.A., LL.D. (Cantab.). Published under the auspices of the Centenary Committee, Peace Cottage, 84, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Demy 8vo. Pages 157–viii. Many illustrations. Cloth-bound. Price not mentioned.

The get-up of the book is fine. The printing is neat and the book can be read with ease and pleasure.

In view of the birth centenary of Keshub Chunder Sen, such a book has been a need widely felt. The author has supplied what was required. The book is neither too brief, nor too long. Dr. Sen being one of the

household of the New Dispensation is well qualified to write on the life, teachings and achievements of the great religious and social reformer. Perfect and gentle equipoise marks his treatment of even those episodes in Keshub's life which gave rise to heated controversies in his life-time.

What is required most of all in this year of his centenary is to understand Keshub—to know what he was, did and stood for. Dr. Sen's book will enable us to do so.

Besides an introduction it contains nine chapters dealing with his family and ancestry, boyhood and adolescence, preparation for ministry, vision of a larger reconstruction, the 'bhakti' or devotional movement, visit to England, Navavidhan or the New Dispensation, parting of the ways, and the closing years.

The idea of something destructive is generally associated with the expressions religious reform and social reform. But true reformers not merely reject and destroy, but they also construct. And Keshub was such a Builder-reformer. As a man of religion Keshub's life was in some periods marked by asceticism and austerities. He underwent strenuous moral and spiritual discipline. His life exercised great influence even on those of his contemporaries who were not Brahmos, making our youth of those days morally superior to their fellows in the West. Considering that he lived only for 45 years, his achievements were great indeed. They related not merely to religious and social reform in a narrow sense. He started the first youth movement. What he did for temperance was very remarkable. He did much for national education and the abolition of caste and untouchability. Women of India today do not know what he did for the emancipation and uplift of womanhood. Some sections of the book are devoted to "Cheap Literature," "Industrial School," "Workingmen's Institution," "Temperance, Band of Hope," "The Ladies Normal School." The Bharat Ashram (the Hermitage of India) was a unique institution in which "about twenty-five families, consisting of men, women and children lived together, having their devotions, studies and meals together, and showing the noblest dispositions of love and goodwill towards each other." This Ashram showed Communism at its best.

Keshub Chunder Sen was an apostle of the harmony of all religions, of the world fellowship of faiths, inculcating reverence for all scriptures and teachers.

He did much for Indian journalism by founding and conducting for a time the *Indian Mirror*. He started also the first pice paper in Bengali, the *Sulabh Samachar*, which attained great popularity and had a large circulation.

STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1937-38. Pages 336. In wrappers 10/-, \$2.50; bound in cloth 12/6, \$3.50.

The new issue contains, as usual, the most important statistics of the world on population, labour, production, trade, transport and finance.

Notes help the reader to avoid pitfalls in this mass of information on such varied subjects as international trade, public finances, currencies and their increasing complications, capital issues and recent trends of population.

Important new material is given in all sections and especially on age structure, fertility, net rates of reproduction and expectation of life, much of it never before computed or published. Mortality has fallen sharply in this generation, as shown by the general increase in the expectation of life at all ages, but most for the young. Not in India, however. Fertility has also fallen sharply in almost all countries—not in India, and in many reproduction is no longer sufficient to maintain the population. This fact is masked, because the reproductive middle-age groups happen to be exceptionally large. But the proportion of old-age groups tends to increase. In England, for instance, children under 10 were over one-fifth of the population in 1911, about one-seventh in 1936; whereas people over 50 were less than one-sixth in 1911 and nearly one-quarter in 1936. This is a warning to the advocates of birth-control by the use of contraceptives.

There is a new table on alcohol showing its importance for industry as well as for drinking. We in India do not want it for the latter purpose. Another new table shows the production of sulphuric acid, interesting as an indication of industrial activity; it contains the most complete information for a series of years so far published on this subject. Here India makes a very poor show. Another table contains the world index of stocks made for the League's volume on Production and Prices. The tables on currency show that every country in the world has devaluated or controlled its exchange in recent years,—not India, and that there is now only one country which has fixed and is effectively applying a new gold parity.

The following examples, selected at random, illustrate the wide range of information which can be obtained.

The German birth-rate, which in 1933 fell to 14.7‰, amounted to 19‰ in 1936 and 18.8‰ in 1937. The production of foodstuffs and raw materials, according to the League Index, increased by nearly 6 per cent in 1937, and is 16 per cent higher than it was ten years ago. State expenditure and public debt have increased. Gold production has doubled in the last ten years, and shows a record, as do silver, several other metals and petrol. The volume of air traffic increased four times between 1931 and 1936, and reached a record in 1937.

We in India would appreciate the inclusion of educational and literacy statistics, and statistics relating to libraries, the publication of books, periodicals and newspapers, national wealth, national income, income per capita per annum in different countries, etc.

X

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA: *From Manu I, 7864 B.C. to the Mahabharata battle 3139 B.C. (Pages 45-94).*

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA: *From the Mahabharata Battle 3139 B.C. to the close of Sri Harsha's reign 646 A.D. (Pp. 151-235).*

THE DATES IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY: *From Manu I, 7864 B.C. to the close of Sri Harsha's reign 646 A.D. (Pages vi-xv, 95-150).*

All these three booklets are written by Mr. Aryasomayajula Somayajulu. By an argument which would convince nobody but himself the author places the accession of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta family in the year 258 B.C. and then he proceeds to "calculate all dates in Indian History by reckoning backwards and forwards." Regarding the period preceding the Mahabharata battle (which took place in 3139 B.C. according to his calculations) he assigns an average of 45 years' reign to each of the 85 kings of the solar race, and thus obtains the date 6964 B.C. for Manu VII, "the present Manu or Noah who sailed in the Arc during the deluge". By calculating on the same basis the reign—periods of the 20 kings from Manu I to Daksha II he assigns to Manu I—the Adi-Manu or Adam—the date 7864 B.C.

These books do not deserve serious consideration, but should serve as a warning to those who wish to indulge in the pastime of writing the history of India without any adequate training or preparation.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC: *By Rev. C. F. Andrews. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pages 224. Price 3s. 6d.*

Race movements in the Pacific offer problems of singular interest. Long before the Spaniards and the Portuguese suspected the existence of the Pacific, the Ocean was not only explored but peopled by the Polynesians, the Indonesians and other Oriental races. Twice, in the course of the 19th century, we notice that the two far-off islands of Hawaii and Fiji received large immigrants from the Far East and from India. Numerically the Japanese and the Chinese dominate over the Hawaiians just as the Indians do in Fiji. Yet very few Indians realize that the Indian element in the Fijian population grew out of a floating mass of indentured labourers who went out of India to serve in the plantations of the Europeans, under conditions which were condemned as "semi-servile" by the eminent historian Sir W. W. Hunter. Rev. C. F. Andrews was requested by the Indian leaders to study the situations of the Indians in Fiji. With a devotion and love all his own, he toiled for years to ameliorate their conditions. Three-fourth of his new book under review records the history of this progress (economic, social and constitutional) as he watched in the course of his three voyages in 1915, 1917 and 1936. For years these chapters of his book would help to guide the steps, no less of the European administrators than of the Indians, and the native Fijians. The last few chapters of this book embody his penetrating observations on India's place in the Pacific, the problem of the Tropics, Australia and India and such other themes, so important in the future evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations and in the satisfactory adjustment of the relations of Europe and Asia. The book breathes throughout the spirit of profound human sympathy and understanding. It should find its place in the libraries, colleges and universities of India. Indians and specially Indians abroad are grateful to the author for this valuable study.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, Volume XI: *Published by Kern Institute, Leyden. Pages 125 with 13 plates, 1938.*

The Kern Institute of Leyden bears the name of one of the greatest orientalist of Europe, the late Dr. H. Kern,

who collaborated with Max Muller in his monumental work, 'The Sacred Books of the East,' studies of Sanskrit and of Buddhism formed his chief interest, as is well-known to Indian scholars. But many do not know that Kern was also the pioneer in the comparative study of the Indian and Indonesian (Javanese, Balinese, Kawi, etc.) languages. His worthy disciples Dr. J. Ph. Vogel is now the professor of Sanskrit in the University of Leyden. Dr. Vogel was once a member of the Indian Archaeological survey, giving us a valuable Catalogue of the Mathura Museum and a series of monographs on Indian Art and Archaeology. He took the noble initiative of publishing the Annual Bibliography which for the last ten years is rendering yeoman's service to the cause of Indian and Greater Indian studies. Whenever a promising research scholar happens to visit Europe, we recommend him to visit even for a short while the small yet perfect cultural laboratory of the Kern Institute, which has been enthusiastically described in a previous number of *The Modern Review* by our esteemed friend and colleague. Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The volume under review gives excellent photographs of the excavations at Rajgir, Nalanda, Lauriya, Nandangarh and ancient Paithan (Hyderabad). From French Indo-China and Dutch East Indies come every year important finds noticed in French and Dutch periodicals and all of them are duly registered here. Most welcome additions are the entries of the important Japanese publications carefully listed by Professor Fukushima of the Imperial University of Tokyo. So Prof. Stefan Przeworski of the Polish University of Warsaw has started giving references to books and articles on India and the Orient published in Poland and Russia. Thus the Annual Bibliography has come to be an indispensable handbook for all orientalists, and we recommend it strongly for the support of scholars and librarians. India is well-represented on the editorial board with Dr. B. C. Law, Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda and Dayaram Sahni. Hiranand Shastri and G. Yazdani, Ananda Coomaraswamy and S. Paranavitana of Ceylon. We request Indian scholars to send regularly to the Institute the names of the authors and articles appearing in the important vernacular journals of India that are likely to be missed by our learned colleagues of the Kern Institute. They will incorporate them in the Bibliography if the titles are transcribed neatly in Deva-Nagari or in the Roman Script.

KALIDAS NAG

OUTWITTING OUR NERVES: By Josephine A. Jackson, M.D., and Helen M. Salisbury. *Special Indian edition.* Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. "Treasure House of Books," Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

Many people believe that mental disease is on the increase owing to the stress and strain of modern civilization. Whether the statement be true or not it can safely be stated that mental disorder is responsible for a good deal of suffering and incapacity in modern life. In its milder forms mental disease is seldom recognized as such and is generally taken to be a natural peculiarity of the sufferer. The disability that such "peculiarity" produces is often of a very severe type and the patient himself not knowing that it is a curable affection seldom seeks relief from the medical practitioner. Unfortunately most of the medical practitioners of the present-day have had their training in such a manner that they are apt to minimise the significance of mental disorders. The patient is often rebuked for his suffering and dismissed with an assurance that it is nothing. The trouble, however, continues. The book under review supplies in a popular and breezy style much useful information about mental

disorders. It will certainly be very eagerly read by "neurotics" and "psycho-neurotics." Even an ordinary normal person will learn a good deal from this book that will be useful in his life. One should not expect absolute scientific accuracy in a book which is primarily intended for the lay person. As the author of the book have tried to steer a middle course in the multiple streams of psycho-therapeutic thought a certain amount of deviation from accepted opinions has been inevitable. On the whole the book may be recommended as an excellent production and it can be safely placed in the hands of everybody whether normal or abnormal.

G. BOSE

SAKUNTALA: By Kalidasa (prepared for the English Stage by Kedar Nath Das-Gupta in a new version written by Laurence Binyon). Published by Macmillan & Sons Ltd. Price Rs. 2.

It was a happy thought to issue a reprint of this book after seventeen years. The Sanskrit classic deserves recognition by modern lovers of poetry in the West, and in this form, seems to be well-adapted for stage production. The lyrical appeal of this play combined with its deep humanity, and its dramatic skill has invested *Sakuntala* with a charm which has not been lost in the English version. The translation carries the authentic note; perhaps a straight and sensitive prose-rendering would, in the hands of Mr. Binyon, serve as a better medium.

Rabindranath Tagore's introduction serves to indicate the background as well as the moving significance of the play.

POEMS: By Thomas Hennell. Oxford University Press. Price 5s.

As the introduction puts it—"Mr. Hennell's work is not yet sure of itself, but it is genuine and it is fresh." The poet is at the very first stage of his journey and it would be unfair to expect more from his works than a flavour of unforced naivete. But genuineness and freshness, in an artistic sense, are rare in this collection. Poetic reporting abounds—

"After June's glory, scarlet in the straw

Cherry, plum, grape and medlar here one saw"

—the reader well knows that such "Garden Memories" can be continued or truncated, they would not be inevitable either way. When the poet attempts intellectual poetry, his technique betrays him—

"That mind which first instructs one, shapes or sets

A thought-style unperceived, nor which one soon forgets"

—he is talking here of school-boy lessons. Yet there is a touch of beauty when the writer speaks of—

"Strange sunlight brightens . . . the autumn air"

—the poetic experience here tends to become artistically genuine and if you like, fresh.

The young poet admits—

"More rhyme would flow from my easy pen,"

—and the reader should in fairness hold himself in patience for further productions in which facility will have been disciplined by poetic principle.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF RURAL BENGAL: By Kham Bahadur Saiyed Moazzem Uddin Hossain, M.L.C. Published from 35, Elliot Road, Calcutta. Page 28. Price annas eight.

With the inauguration of Provincial autonomy, and the elected representatives of the people assuming responsibilities of administration, popular voice demand-

ing a change in the economic order is becoming louder and louder every day. On a rational analysis it will appear that any scheme of a comprehensive change must depend on the basis of a radical change in the rural economy of the country. Rural problems of Bengal have been the subject of many enquiries and investigations, official and non-official, and these have also been objectively studied by wellknown economists and publicmen, but hitherto very little had been done in practice. In this brochure of 28 pages Khan Bahadur Saiyed Moazzem Uddin Hossain, M.L.C. brings in a very true picture of the economic condition of the masses of Bengal, by presenting relevant facts and figures, mostly collected from official publications. One reading the brochure between the lines, will easily realise the great thought and earnestness with which the Khan Bahadur has endeavoured to study the subject. The Author's suggestion, regarding establishment of Agricultural Banks, under Government auspices and other measures for the spread of education and improved sanitation are well reasoned. A progressive and prosperous country can never be built up on an illiterate, insolvent and diseased people. This is a useful publication.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN AGRA DISTRICT : By H. L. Puxley, M.A. (Oxon), M.A. (Yale). Published by Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. Pp. 85.

It has been a common experience all over India that the existing system of marketing of agricultural products is rather wasteful and detrimental to the real interests of the cultivators. Attempts should therefore be made by the Government as well as other agencies to improve the existing "merchant" system of marketing by standardisation of weights and measures, fixation of standards and grades of commodities, carrying out market surveys and so forth. The ideal solution in this respect is however co-operative marketing—the cultivators themselves to undertake the functions which are at present discharged for them by the multitude of middlemen.

The value of the present study lies in the fact that it contains a very useful survey of the existing system of marketing produce (a) in Barhan Village and neighbouring naglas, Tehsil Itmadpur, and (b) in the mandis of Agra, Hathras and Itmadpur—all in the Agra district. The object of the study is to find the wastage in the existing system and devise the best methods of starting co-operative marketing societies.

The survey conducted by Mr. Puxley is highly instructive and should amply repay a perusal by those who have the future of co-operative marketing at heart.

THE GOLD PROBLEM : By Bhanskar N. Adarkar M.A. (Cantab). Published by the Author from 152, Hindu Colony, Dadar, Bombay 14. Page 164 + appendices and Index. Price Rs. 2.

The book is a hurried survey of the Financial developments which centred round gold, since 1929 and covers such topics as the value and distribution of gold, international Capital movements, the Exchange Equalization Accounts, the foreign exchange policies of the leading powers and the future of gold. To understand the financial implications of the presentday world a fair knowledge and grasp of these subjects are essential and we welcome such publication. We are however constrained to say that in order to be able to carry conviction to the average run of readers, the style and manner of presentation should have been more clear and impressive. We also wish that the book contained

more than passing reference to India in relation to the gold problem and had not repeated the old shibboleth of her hoarded gold in the spirit of the foreign writers. With all its shortcomings, the book with its charts and figures may however be regarded as a handy and useful work for the students of Economics.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

HOW TO BE A JOURNALIST : By Adolph Myers of the Times of India. Published by Times of India Press, Bombay. Pages iv+150+x.

It is said that the best lawyer is not he who knows the most law, but he who can find out where the law is. Modern Journalism is a vast and intricate subject; and Mr. Myers' book is an excellent introduction, and Mr. Myers a good sympathetic guide to it. The free-lance and the novice will find much in it; and the bibliography at the end will tell him where to find more. We have no hesitation in recommending this good little book to those who aspire to learn journalism.

J. M. DATTA

ROMANCE OF THE COW : By D. H. Jani, B.A.C. Bombay Humanitarian League, Bombay. Pages i+xxi+235. Price Rs. 5.

The 'cow question' in India at once brings into the mind of its people a picture of riot and bloodshed. The animal is the object of traditional veneration with the majority of its inhabitants. Some have gone so far as to call it the last and only lasting bond that unites the heterogeneous elements known as the Hindus. The author of this book shares the veneration for the cow, but, as a scientist, he knows that the 'cow question' in a truer sense is a problem for India to solve. On cattle economy depends finally to a considerable extent the rural economy of India. An 'Agriculturist-Vieroy' makes the official world today recognize what the ancient rulers of society preached as a gospel and the new guides of the day like Mahatma Gandhi tried to bring home to all. The author has thoroughly and minutely examined the problem from all angles. He talks of the 'Romance of the Cow' but he discovers romance in its practical utility.

'COWHERD'

MARXISM : By Cyril C. Clump, S. J. 'The New Review' Calcutta.

The Catholic Church has successfully met many challengers in the past. It proved itself to have more vitality than many others—perhaps because in a world of decaying ideals and declining values, man ultimately seeks refuge in faith. So, the Church has stood its ground—and will stand that in spite of Herr Hitler. The challenge, however, to the Church in the present age does not come from Adolf Hitler, but from a German Jew. Marxism is the religion of the day—with its realistic theory of Dialectical Materialism and its socio-economic technique of class struggle and revolution. So, the Catholic Church must meet this menace. For a beginner of the Church the small book will prove useful—a statement and criticism of Marx's theory and its practice in Soviet Russia. It is not an elaborate examination of Marxism, and, so Marxists may be pardoned if they do not take serious note of this Catholic criticism. The book has its use, however, for the Catholics.

'SANDHANI'

KANTHAPURA: By Raja Rao. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pages 270. Price 7s. 6d. net. 1938.

The story is presented in the form of recital by the village grandmother of a series of happenings in a remote village, Kanthapura, in South India during the 'non-co-operation' days. It gives some idea to the foreigners as to the extent of the influence of the Gandhi-movement on the obscure lives of the villagers and of their sufferings in the hands of the local guardians of law and order. A peculiar feature of the book is its style, the non-stop and interminable character of which, in the views of the author, is in keeping with the average Indian's way of thinking and talking,—a generalization probably more correct for some parts of India than for the rest.

S. K. BOSE

MOTHER OF PROSPERITY: A Short Biographical Sketch of Shri Chounde Maharaj. Published by Shri Gowardhan Samstha, Poona 2.

This book was published to celebrate the 60th birth-anniversary of Shri Chounde Maharaj and published from the Cow Protection Organization founded by him.

Shri Chounde Maharaj is a well-known figure in Maharashtra and his activities cover many provinces of India. He has been successful in his endeavour of drawing greater attention of the public to the problem of cow protection—a subject so sadly neglected. By his efforts he and his organization have saved the lives of thousands of cows.

His forceful propaganda brought down the number of slaughtered animals in Vandra, the slaughtering place of Bombay, from 61 thousand in 1921 to 14 thousand in 1928. This he attained by requesting owners not to sell their cattle but hand them over to his Goshala for free maintenance, when they ceased to be of use. "Narrow spirit of provincialism did not allow this propaganda to foster and a separate goshala was founded at Mulund" and the good work practically lost its intensity.

Shri Chounde Maharaj tried several times to establish co-ordination between the various cow protection organizations, but he failed in spite of his best efforts. Shri Chounde Maharaj's life shows what a non-English educated poor man with a strong will and having faith in the mission of his adoption, can do. He has reared up splendid organizations almost single-handed. Bengal, where the cows need probably more protection than elsewhere, needs an inspired man like Shri Chounde Maharaj.

SATISH CHANDRA DASGUPTA

THE NATURE OF MYSTICISM: By C. Jinarajadasa. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 80.

This is an essay on the nature of mysticism and its different forms. The forms are found to be six in number. Each of them has a theme, a method, an obstacle to overcome, and an ideal to pursue. The account given is good, though somewhat meagre. Mystics, we are told, "are those children of God who know no age, who sing of sun-rise in the darkness of the night, and who see the vision of Man's Ascension in the tragedy of his crucifixion."

OLD DIARY LEAVES: (Sixth Series). By H. S. Olcott. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This is the last of the series of accounts that the founder-President, H. S. Olcott, has left of the Theosophical Society. It is certified to be the true history

of the Society, apparently implying that untrue histories are also in existence.

The growth of the Theosophical Society has, no doubt, centred round the life and activities of its founder; and, for that reason, the history has assumed the look of an auto-biographical sketch. Besides, the materials here presented were preserved in diaries kept by the founder. We have here an account of tours and lectures by the author, interviews granted by him, receptions held in his honour and his triumph over his enemies (p. 72).

The book is certainly of importance to Theosophists. But even non-Theosophists will find it exceedingly interesting and instructive. The reference to Swami Vivekananda (pp. 128 and 136) and the Appendix thereon (Appendix B) are, however, rather unfortunate and may rake up old and perhaps undesirable controversies.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN INDIA: By B. B. Mukherjee, M.A., Department of Economics, Patna College, Patna. Published by Thacker Spink & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1937. Price Rs. 4-8.

Mr. B. B. Mukherjee has described in some 250 pages the methods and conditions, the systems and practices, and the persons and agencies employed in the marketing of agricultural produce in the various parts of India in the light of the practices prevailing in foreign countries and has pointed out the defects and drawbacks and the improvements required in the position in India.

The information collected and collated is both valuable and useful but it could have been organized and displayed very much better than has been done. In each chapter, the author jumps from one matter to another and from conditions in one country or part to another without observing any precedence, order or system, the transition in many cases is abrupt and not logical or natural. The defects and drawbacks of the position in India are not brought together at one place nor are the suggestions for improvement collected at the end. Consequently, the reader does not get a clear view of either the problem as a whole or its solutions.

These are however defects in the treatment—the subject-matter itself is good and the views of the author are well thought out and generally sound as may be gathered from the following extract:

"The future of agricultural marketing will therefore involve a large measure of State intervention varying from tariff protection, bilateral treaties to the application of science to the productive and distributive processes. The inauguration of regulated markets, licensed warehouses, standardization of weights and measures, grades and standards would be as necessary as the provision of banking facilities for moving the wheels of trade and in some cases it might be necessary for the State to adopt some of those direct methods for controlling imports or developing the exports of agricultural produce which many countries of the West had done with success . . ."

I commend the book to all students of rural economics in India.

GURMUKH N. SINGH.

ENGLAND: THROUGH INDIAN EYES: Sriman Narayan Agarwal. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Page 85. Price annas twelve.

Sriman Narayan Agarwal's impressions of his short sojourn in England are more readable than most travel books because in addition to the usual more or less washy personal detail he adds piquant comment on English men and manners. The examples of the English-

man's ignorance about India—even of such outstanding men as John Drinkwater—call forth a sad smile, while the picture of the modern Mr. Stephen Spender (the 'left' poet) makes one chuckle with delight. One wishes the author's sojourn had been longer.

S. H. V.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE RIGVEDA-PRATISAKHYA: *With the Commentary of Uvata edited with Introduction, Critical and Additional Notes, English Translation of the Text and several Appendices by Mangal Deva Shastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), officiating Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares. Published by Motilal Banarasi Das, Lahore. Pp. xi+432.*

This *Pratisakhyā* (=PS) was edited with a translation into German by Max Müller about seventy years back. There were two other editions also, one by Regnier and the other in the Benares Sanskrit Series. The present is the fourth edition. The whole work is here divided into three volumes, Vol. I containing the Introduction and the Text of the PS in its original form, i.e., in the form of stanzas; Vol. II the same Text splitted into Sutra form, as well as the commentary of Uvata together with the *Varga-uvaya-vṛitti* of Visnumitra; and Vol. III an English translation of the text, Additional Notes, and several Appendices. Vol II (in Nagri character) was published in 1931, and Vol. III is now before us. Vol. I is not yet published, but let us hope that we shall get it soon.

Dr. Shastri has been a student of this PS for a long time at least from 1919 when he was in Europe examining manuscripts of the work in different libraries in the continent. He has collated many manuscripts also in different places in the country. And the result is specially presented in Vol. II with which we are now concerned here.

The work before us is a highly technical one, and as such is not very easy to understand in many places. Therefore an English translation of it was a long felt desideratum which is now supplied by Dr. Shastri for which Sanskrit scholars are grateful to him.

Besides the translation and additional notes, there are three Appendices giving (1) readings found by collating manuscripts in Europe, that could not be incorporated in Vol. II, as it was already published; (2) analysis of the contents of the PS; and (3) a comparison of the PS with the Grammar of Panini. These are followed by not less than five Indices of such matters as the authorities quoted, and words, etc. that occur in the book. Here the Appendix that contains the comparison of the PS with the grammar of Panini has a special value inasmuch as it will greatly help us in deciding the question of the priority of the present PS to Panini's grammar—a question in which the minds of scholars are still engaged. There are two views, one represented by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, supported by Prof. Keith holding that Panini borrowed from this PS, and the other held by Dr. Paul Thieme and Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya opposing the former. Apart from other things discussed *inter alia*, so far as Panini, VIII. 4. 67 is concerned, it appears from what he has said the other day (*Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 388ff.), that Dr. Ghosh has made out his case. With regard to the Appendix under discussion Dr. Shastri proposes to show the inter-relation between the PS and Panini's Grammar and trace "the development" of the latter in the Introduction to Vol. I. From this it seems that he subscribes to the views of Dr. Ghosh. Scholars will be glad to know as soon as possible what he thinks of the problem and on what grounds.

The present volume of Dr. Shastri shows his considerable labour and deep scholarship. By writing it he has indeed done a great service to the cause of Vedic studies.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

THE MAHABHARATA. CONDENSED IN THE POET'S OWN WORDS by Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar. Translated by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATA. CONDENSED IN THE POET'S OWN WORDS by Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar. Translated by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D.

Students of Sanskrit will feel highly indebted to Messrs. Natesan & Company for bringing within easy reach the greatest and most popular epics of India. We extend our hearty welcome to the cheap, handy and uniform volumes, as published by them in quick succession, containing abridged editions, accompanied by English translations, of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavata Purana. A notable feature of the volumes under review is the index of proper names with a short account under each name. A reference to the place or places where they occur in the body of the books would have been all the more useful. Curious students, eager to supplement their reading from the originals, will also keenly feel the absence of references to chapters and verses of the original texts in the case of the portions contained in the editions. The insertion of topical headings in the Bhagavata volume is welcome. As a matter of fact, it is preferable to and more helpful than the mere mention of the numbers of the big divisions or *purvans* as have been done in the Mahabharata volume.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

SANSKRIT

SHRI BHAGABAT GITA: *Revised and edited by Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Sastri with its gloss 'Siddhidatri' and 1, 2 and 3 chapters of Commentary 'Chandraghanta.' Published by the Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, Kathiawar. Pages 28+77+153+113. Price Rs. 10.*

The editor considers the Gita with the current text of 700 slokas as incomplete on the strength of a particular sloka in Bhishma Parvan, and is consequently bent upon finding out the existence of or making up a Gita of 745 slokas. Evidently he overlooked the fact that the particular sloka is not to be found in most of the authoritative editions of the Mahabharata. Further, it has been rather definitely proved (by Pandit Rajendranath Ghose) that Sankaracharya flourished about 1300 years ago, and not as the editor thinks, 2500 years ago. Even Sankara, not to speak of Sridhara Swami, Madhusudan Saraswati and Nilkantha, did not find the existence of a Gita with 745 slokas, (or if he found it, he did not even take any notice of such a Gita) and wrote his commentary on the Gita with 700 slokas. So it may safely be said that the scholars who consider the particular sloka (referring to the Gita as one of 745 slokas) as an interpolation are quite justified. This argument cannot be defeated except by the authority of any MSS. older than the age of Sankara himself, which, we are afraid, the editor has not been, nor perhaps will he, able to produce.

The editor enumerates the 700 slokas of the current text of the Gita as follows—"of these 700 stanzas, 575 are spoken by Sreekrishna, 84 by Arjuna, 40 by Sanjaya and 1 by Dhritarastra." Here again, it is a mistaken calculation.

“राजा किलैंकं नव

ब्रह्माधीनाचष्ट स रुजयश्च ।

पार्थः शराद्धौ युगसप्तवायान्

कृष्णश्च तद् सप्तशती हि गीता ॥”

‘cf. ‘Bharat-Kaumudi’ Commentary on the Mahabharat by Mahamahopadhyaya Haridas Siddhantavagisa) which may be translated as follows—“Rajah spoke 1 sloka, his son (Duryodhana) 9 slokas, Sanjaya 31, Arjuna 85 and Sreekrishna 574. All these together make the Gita of 700 slokas.”

The editor has taken much pains to answer some ‘fantastic hypothesis,’ regarding the problems of the Gita. We appreciate his line of argument in certain directions but may we suggest that he will do well if he goes through

भगवद् गीतायाः प्रचिन्निवाद प्रविवादः

of the well-known modern commentator of the Mahabharata, referred to above?

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

CHHINNA-PATRA, BHANUSIMHER PATRABALI, PATHE O PATHER PRANTE: By Rabindranath Tagore. Published by the Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2, Re. 1, and Re. 1 respectively.

Rabindranath Tagore’s Bengali letters—such of them as have been or may now be available, are being published gradually. The first two volumes had been published before, and are going through reprints. The third is published this year for the first time. Other volumes will follow. Rabindranath is our greatest and most prolific letter-writer, playful and serious—often unexpectedly witty and humorous. It is greatly to be regretted that some of his most important and longest letters are lost for ever, the addressees (some of them dead) not having perhaps preserved them and the writer himself not having kept copies of them, as they were not meant for publication.

The first volume, the biggest of the three, contains extracts from letters, most of which were addressed to the poet’s niece, Srimati Indira Devi, from the years 1885 to 1895. He was then rambling in Bengal’s villages, and Bengal’s rural scenery and life are to be found mirrored in these letters.

The second volume consists of letters written to a little girl. Most of them were written from Santiniketan. Naturally, therefore, moving pictures of the course of life at Santiniketan run through them. These letters do not contain any ‘substantial’ news; playfulness and smiles form part of the atmosphere; glimpses there are of the girl’s childlike inexperience of the ways of the world; and withal the writer’s playful affection for the child.

The third volume consists of sixty letters written to Mrs. Rani Mahalanobis, wife of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, both of whom were the poet’s companions in his European tour in the year 1926. In the introduction the poet gives a delightful picture of how throughout the tour, whether in cabins of steamers, railway compartments, or hotel apartments, Srimati Rani took charge of all the luggage, managed the tour programme, and created order out of the confusion caused by the two males—the old poet and the young professor. The letters written to her by the poet give the reader an idea of the workings of the poet’s mind which were the outcome of his experiences in those days. These letters, therefore, are invaluable material for part of the poet’s inner biography.

There is not a dull sentence in any of these three books. Their effortless ease and literary flavour are peculiarly their own.

BANGLA KABYA-PARICHAYA: Edited by Rabindranath Tagore. Number 1 of Lokasikha Granthamala (Popular Education Series). First edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, Price Rs. 3.

This is an anthology of Bengali poems from early times to our own day, the works of many living young poets of both sexes being also included. The writers belong to all religious communities and castes in Bengal. In order to make the collection fit for use by all and sundry, young and old, in the family and in school and college, love poems (ordinary and erotic) have been excluded from it. But it is noteworthy that the collection has not for that reason become dull and insipid in the least. The selection shows critical acumen and catholicity of taste and appreciation.

Some nursery rhymes have been included.

Prose poems, poems in free verse—a recent creation in Bengali literature, mostly by Rabindranath Tagore himself, have not been included. Their number and volume are small and they have not attained any distinctive colouring of the times; hence the poet has not found it easy to select any of them, though he likes them and has himself composed them with the same ardour with which he has written his poems in verse.

Bengali poems began to be written many centuries ago, and there have been numerous poets. Hence, in order to make the anthology of moderate dimensions, the omission of some poets was inevitable. The editor has said in his introduction that he could not include many poems because they did not come to his notice. This is quite true.

The editor says in his “Nibedan”:

“Such a collection of poems cannot possibly be complete in any one edition. Undoubtedly many things are lacking in this first edition. Many poems did not come to my notice. Selections in many cases might have been more appropriate. The compilations which have not satisfied the composers might perhaps have been more satisfactory if their directions had been followed.

“The current of modern poetry is flowing ceaselessly. Hence the expectation remains in the compiler’s mind that in future editions the compilation will attain fullness and excellence.”

The editor says that he feels some delicacy as regards this anthology, as the number of his own poems is larger in it than that of any other poet. This, he says, is not due to their superior merit, but because, he having been writing poems for at least the last sixty years, the quantity and number he has written are large. Those who were entrusted with the selection of his poems for this volume gave him a very long list, which he blue-pencilled ruthlessly—to their great dissatisfaction.

The seven-page editorial introduction is a remarkable production. In it, among other things, he says that Bengali poems fall into two main divisions: the older, which owe nothing to the influence and inspiration of European literature, and the modern, which owe their origin to the inspiration of occidental literature. His comment on the complaint that the latter are not therefore, “national”, is worthy of a courageous original thinker like him. The homely illustration which he uses in this connection is enjoyable. The potato, he says, is a foreign crop as regards origin. But it has ousted other tubers, which are indigenous, and is not less cultivated, consumed and appreciated because of its foreign origin. His remarks apply to Bengali fiction also.

D.

HIMALAYA-PARE KAILAS O MANAS-SAROVAR (Kailas and Manasarowar across the Himalayas): By Promode Kumar Chatterjee. Published by Kedar Nath Chatterjee. Prabasi Press, 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Pages iii+248. Price Rs. 2-8. Illustrated cover, coloured plates and eighty-nine line drawings.

Turning over the pages of this rather big-sized, well-bound volume, what strikes one as something out of the ordinary is the illustrations very different from those one meets with in a production of this kind, the sketches being drawn with fine, strong and easy strokes artistically characteristic of the author illustrator.

Promode Kumar Chatterjee, erstwhile in charge of the Indian Arts section of the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala, is the author of this book of travel. His is not an unknown name. As an artist of distinction he bears an India-wide fame. With the publication of this book he makes his mark as a writer of ability. His sense of proportion and balance, his graphic qualities and his power of re-presentation have stood him in good stead in the field of literature.

An account of travels is always interesting. There are several books of Himalayan journey in Bengali, some quite well-written, some ordinary and commonplace, and some obtrusively subjective. But this book is a new departure. There is no whining about troubles encountered during and physical fatigue inevitable in such a journey. There is no attempt at romance-making, no attempt at working up the style to an artificial pitch. The descriptions are never fanciful. They are accurate even to the smallest details and based on experience and observation. One does not stumble at every page on descriptions smacking of fiction. Free from the froth of subjective ebullitions and enumerations of unimportant personal details, the book treats of the journey in all its different aspects as the author experienced it and of the great mountain with its beauty and sublimity, pine forests and tops covered with eternal snow as he saw it for himself. To him the Himalays are more than a mountain, it is endowed with life and spirit and inspiration. The call of the Himalayas is irresistible. The *rishis* of the Upanishads, the Pandavas of the Mahabharata and the Buddhist missionaries could not resist it. It is so even to this day. Twenty years ago a young pilgrim heard this call and left the city and the plains for the heights. He was unlike other pilgrims. It was in 1918 that the author in the restlessness of his youthful spirit resolved to visit Manasarowar famed in story. He found a companion in an orthodox elderly Brahmin, a writer of some repute, whose unbounded self-conceit and egotism afterwards caused a sort of estrangement between the two. The character-painting of this pompous Pundit and the pen-pictures of Lokmanji, Lalgir, Lalsing Patil and Nathji are masterly; and Ruma Devi the young Bhotia lady, of religious temperament, very womanly in her qualities, hospitable, tender and dignified, has been made immortal in these pages.

The author and other pilgrims pass into Tibet by the usual route—Askot, Carbyang, Kalapani and Lipudhura and reach Kailas, the abode of Siva, the most sacred mount of the Hindus and the most famous. And then they arrive at the banks of Manasarowar, the beautiful lake with blue billows, there to bathe in its holy waters and return by another route to Almora and thence to the plains. The information given about the people inhabiting this part of the plateau and the regions in and across the Himalayas and their manners and customs, is really valuable and proves the author to be a keen observer of men and

things. His account interspersed with diverse historical, geographical and descriptive details, moves like a stately stream through hills and dales and forests and human habitations and strange localities, proceeding on its way steadily and missing nothing. His style is graceful and dignified and has a charm of its own. The value of the book is immensely enhanced by the drawings, coloured pictures and beautiful sketches executed on the spot or from memory with consummate skill by the author, depicting men, objects, events and landscapes. The striking design of the cover representing a pilgrim with his staff treading his weary way up across the mountains with Kailas gleaming at a distance has been made by the distinguished artist Jatindra Kumar Sen.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

HINDI

GALP'A-SANSARA-MALA: General Editor, Sripat Rai, Vol. II. Gujarati, Edited by K. N. Trivedi, Saraswati Press, Benares, 1938. Annas eight only.

The promoters of this *mala* or series are of opinion that there are nine major and four minor modern Indian languages, with a distinct fictional literature of their own. They have therefore arranged for translating into Hindi ten or more short stories carefully selected from these nine and bringing out a volume of each, to be incorporated into the series, the last volume is to consist of the best stories in the four minor languages. The work may then be extended to the translation of English, French and Russian short stories. The whole enterprise would then take three to four years. Each part will consist of 200 to 250 pages in good paper and the price will be annas eight each part, permanent subscribers to get a copy at the rate of 6 annas per part. If the promoters can secure two thousand permanent subscribers the scheme is bound to prove a success.

We may confess we have not seen the first volume of the series. The second volume which is under notice does not falsify the hopes that the prospectus raises up. K. M. Munshi, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, R. V. Desai, Meghani and Parekh are distinguished names in Gujarati literature, and people who cannot claim any acquaintance with Gujarati will welcome the volume as enlarging their horizon and bringing the vision of a United India closer to them. The representative character of the book will attract readers from all classes, and the variety of interests as well as the measure of excellence may be recommended as further claims on the readers' attention. The scheme should prove a glorious success.

P. R. SEN

TELUGU

SANTINIKETAN: Translator and publisher, A. Chalamayya. Santikutir, Pithapuram. Crown 8vo. Pp. 302+18. With a portrait of Rabindranath Tagore, and another of the Maharaja of Pithapuram, who is a munificent patron of Telugu literature. Price: paper covers, Re. 1-8; cloth, Rs. 2.

This book contains Telugu translations of some of Rabindranath Tagore's religious discourses at Santiniketan. The value of the discourses and that of the translations will be understood from the following foreword by Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu, M.A., L.T., D. Litt., LL.D.:

"The heaven-illuminated Seer of Santiniketan is a world-honored Teacher of sanctifying Truth. His sublime discourses, gathered into several volumes, with the happy title of *Santiniketan*, are an inexhaustible mine of spiritual wealth. This choice selection of *thirty-two* of those rare gems constitutes a priceless casket. Gifted!

with sustained zeal for selfless work in the promotion of true culture, my good friend, Mr. A. Chalamayya, has through this well-executed version into Telugu of those soul illuminating discourses, rendered praiseworthy service to all sincere seekers after God in the Andhradesa. He is eminently qualified for the responsible task undertaken. The formative period of his life was spent at that sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, the Bolepur Ashram; where his soul was nurtured with wisdom and devotion. He possesses a thorough command over Bengali language—especially of that unique idiom associated with the name of the *Gurudev*. He has already produced several useful—instructive and popular—works in Telugu. His daily occupation is to mould youthful lives to noble ends. Hence, it may be confidently, expected, under Providence, that this publication will prove a distinctly valuable addition to the section of Telugu literature devoted to the quest of the eternal verities.

"Selected and arranged with great care, these highly thoughtful discourses open with an exposition of the profoundly mystic *Pranavam* and lead up to the sublime serenity of *Tapovanam*, comprising a wide range of topics of abiding interest as powerful aids to deep contemplation and devout worship. Their perusal impresses even a very casual reader with the charm of rich imagery and poetic grace, all inducing prayerful meditation and soul-deep devotion. The significance of *Brahmotsavam*; the exposition of *Santam, Sivam and Advaitam* in an interrelated sequence; the reality of *Prarthana* and its necessity, reveal the master's power to stir the soul to its depths. *Satyam Gnanam Mananam Brahma*, is a sacred chant of the Rishi as the visions are all-sustaining, the all-penetrating and the all-embracing Reality as the Eternal One. Lastly, there is *Tapovanamu*, the sylvan shrine of the Rishis and the cradle of the age-long and ever-expanding culture of Bharatavarsha. Here is brought out the striking contrast between the nature-evolved civilization of the Orient with its contemplative serenity and the desire-urged civilization of the Occident with its restless activity. Here is set forth the theme that India's culture has sprung out of the seer's meditations amidst forest cloisters and the poet's raptures under nature's impulses. It is also brought out vividly that life is here actuated by a spirit of surrender and sacrifice, unmindful of acquisitions and enjoyments.

"Choice is difficult where every object is a jewel; but to the devout spirit it will be a most profitable occupation to read and revolve over the discourses titled *Rasadharmamu, Purnatvam, Niyamamu and Mukti, Mukti margamu, Anantuni-Ichcha*, etc.

"In rendering these discourses from Bengali into Telugu, the learned translator has evidently endeavoured to keep as close to the original as the two idioms permit. Hence, a certain Bengali tinge is unavoidable; however, the language throughout is chaste and the exposition clear. It is, therefore, hoped that the book, pursued with discernment of mind and kinship of spirit, will amply fulfil its purpose of commending serious thoughts, lofty sentiments, exalted ideals and holy endeavours. With that hope, this humble offering is rendered at the Seat of Grace."

X.

GUJARATI

RATAN : By Chandravadan C. Mehta, B.A. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard. Pages 91. Price Re. 1 (1937).

Ratan is the name of a village girl, nurtured on the lap of nature and brought up along with her uncle's son, Hira, who later on, being sent to a town to be educated,

forgets in the pleasures of that life both Ratan and his village except for indenting on her for moneys. She reduces herself to a life of penury in order to support him. However, he at last comes to his senses and returns home and looks after his patrimony. But it was too late. Ratan had contracted T.B. (tuberculosis) and she succumbed to it. The writer calls it *Katha Kanya*—a narrative poem and it is composed in *Prithis Chhand* which reads more like prose than verse. Pure verse in the popular sense would have brought out the beauties of the poem much better than the present form which is used by very few writers. The subject-matter is not so well adapted to it as that where it is used by others. However, the production is an original one; so far as the description of Ratan and delineation of her character is concerned no such romantic picture of a village maiden so far has been drawn in Gujarati verse. It is graphic, telling and thrilling and raises the unlettered but highly sensitive village girl to a height to which, till now, she has been raised by none. Scenes of nature seen in villages, local affairs, and other matters are treated in a way which makes one think that the writer is a village boy himself. Though it is not so, he is a town man. The present performance contains in it the promise of better work hereafter.

ARUN : Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Uttejak Mandal, Nairobi, East Africa, September (1937).

As a rule *The Modern Review* does not review periodicals, the publication of Arun is however a matter of outstanding importance and hence noticed here. It is an indication of the Gujarati colony in East Africa having become so very stable and strong in numbers as to have felt the necessity of founding a Gujarati Library Society there and bringing out a mouth-piece. We welcome this literary activity of Greater Gujarat and wish *Arun* all success. The first issue is printed at Nairobi and is a very creditable performance both from a literary as well as a mechanical point of view.

PURVAMIMANSA PRAVESHKA : By Jayadatta Shastri. Printed at the Lakshmi Vijaya Printing Press, Sidhapur. Cloth bound. Pages 163. Price Re. 1-8.

Those interested in Mimamsa Literature and Philosophy will find this book useful. This author's Padarthas. Praveshika is not noticed as it is an old work.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF RAJA PRAFULLA NATH TAGORE : Compiled and Edited by Bhupendro Krishna Ghose. With a Foreword by Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, K.C.S.I. The Book Co. Ltd., 4/3 B, College Square, Calcutta. Pages xxiii+275.

SOME SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY : A symposium. Edited by Clifford Manshardt. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Pages 141. Rs. 3-4.

CIVIL SERVICE ESSAYS : Published by the Vocational Guidance Institute, 12, Shahi Mohalla, Lahore. Pages v+ii+208. Price Rs. 2.

HINDI

NIM KE UPAYOG : (USES OF MARGOSA) : By Kedarnath Pathak, 'Rasayanik.' Published by Shamsundar Rasayansala, Gayaghat, Benares. Pages 108. Price annas twelve.

PERSIAN AND PASHTO

KABUL : Published from Afghan Academy, Kabul. An official organ of the Afghan Academy, published monthly and dealing with Science, History and Literature.

WORLD AFFAIRS

A CATASTROPHE AVERTED

ONCE more the world has escaped another holocaust. History in the first week of this August appeared suddenly to be developing the big crisis that awaits it in the Far East. After eleven days of fight on the Manchukuo-Soviet frontier, Japan and Russia have made a truce agreeing to negotiate for a delimitation of the frontier on the basis of the Russo-Chinese map of 1860. Both sides were to withdraw their lines to positions at least 90 yards from the disputed hill, Chang-Ku-feng, and a commission of two Soviet and two Japan-Manchukuo representatives would carry out the demarcation of the frontier according to the map. It required, however, a serious stand of the Soviet, backed by severe artillery firing, heavy bombardment, air action and all the use of the instruments of a modern warfare, with of course loss of life and limb of the combatants, to help Japan to arrive at this temporary solution of the border dispute. Powers do not see wisdom until their heat is worked off by this familiar process of letting out blood. Some corpscles are no doubt lost—the private soldiers' lives and the citizens' wealth. That, however, is necessary for the health of the body-politic.

SOVIET BAITING

Border disputes on the Soviet-Manchukuo region are not unusual things. According to Japanese authorities they had had 3,000 such 'incidents' within the last few years. The present should have but proved one more, accepted with accustomed diplomatic coolness as part of the day's game in the life around the zone. Soviet Russia has in the past taken the Japanese rebuffs in this 'sportsman-like spirit.' She could not act otherwise. The territories are encircled by Fascist forces; the world was in the grip of a reaction; the old Guards were within the land conspiring for an overthrow of the present regime. The Soviet could not risk a war with Japan. But it was clear to all students of the Far Eastern affairs that, with the Chinese 'incident' still to engage her attention, Japan should not now expect so much of 'reasonableness' in that part of the world. For Siberian forces are by now well equipped as Japan has taken pains to convince herself and the nations. The effect of the 1937 'purge'

of their generals has been a renewing of the morale of the army after a period of thorough reorganisation. A frontier incident may not therefore, be passed as lightly as before. M. Litvinov at Moscow could reject Japanese plans for peace and talk of force and not protests. The moment, it was quite patent, was not so favourable to Japan as to indulge in Soviet baiting again. The war in China has been for Japan a heavy strain in men and money; Japanese "Big Business" was an unwilling party to a campaign in which the militarists have plunged them; Japanese people at large must have been feeling that a military adventure has to be paid for for a longer period than they were told with lives of their sons and brothers. It is not likely therefore for the Japanese statesmen to provoke a war in Siberia and thus to subject the patriotism and patience of their people to further trials.

The Soviet also possesses more strategic advantages in such a campaign. Its real seats are far off from the reach of the Japanese bombers. Siberia is too sparsely populated in comparison with China to appreciate the might of Japanese aeroplanes. On the contrary, the teeming population of the little island, its busy human hives of Osaka, Nagasaki or Tokyo may have the Chinese experience now presented to them by the Soviet air-fleet in any serious conflict. Even before the Japanese army on the land sweeps on to Vladivostok, Soviet airmen would fly the 700 miles of land and sea to reduce some of the Japanese land and city to ruins. These are familiar truths known to every Japanese. Japan therefore must not have been eager for the war that darkened the sky during these early days of August. For once the Japanese Ambassador, M. Shigemitsu, had to concede at M. Litvinov's warning the Soviet demand.

Nor could Soviet want a war. Of course the anti-Comintern pact, the repeated challenge of the Japanese in Siberia, and the Japanese ambition in the Far East, would force the U. S. S. R., sooner or later to settle its scores with Japan. But the day had not certainly arrived for the Soviet too. For, the biggest partner in the Anti-Comintern crusade was not in the East but in the Central Europe. The real menace to Moscow was not from the Japanese

bombers or Japanese army 6,000 miles away, but from the Nazi aeroplanes and forces within its striking distance. An engagement of the Soviet in the East would leave Czecho-Slovakia more open to the armed attack of Hitler, which, even without it, appears to be a possibility in the coming weeks. And the Soviet has more vital interests in the independence and integrity of the Czech State. It, therefore, would not welcome any big fight in Siberia at this hour. That death grapple with Japan is to be postponed until, on the one hand Japan is more exhausted by the Chinese war, and, on the other, the Eastern European threat has been warded off or has worn off through a different alignment of forces in the Continent. Till then the U. S. S. R. would avoid war in the East. It may resist, now that Japan is committed in China, with more strength than before the Japanese affront; but would not risk its life and existence before Hitler has ceased to be a menace in Eastern Europe and Japan is in a quandry in China so as to make the work a light job for the Soviet in the East. It is obvious therefore none of the parties wanted a war. So, the incident did not ripen into war.

THE INTEREST IN THE INCIDENT

Who then started this Far Eastern conflict? It appears that the only power to profit by such a clash was to be the Berlin arm of the anti-Comintern 'Triangle.' Preparations for the autumn manoeuvres in the Czecho-Slovakian border and in Rhineland significantly coincided with the Siberian frontier incident. The tension and the scare that accompanied it bore an uncanny resemblance to the same that Europe witnessed in the third week of May when the fate of Czecho-Slovakia appeared to be hanging in the balance. The hand at the Siberian fight might be the hand of Tokyo but, it was suspected, the voice was the voice of Berlin. As the situation developed however doubts were cast on this assumption. Germany had withdrawn her experts from China as Japan pressed, opening, incidentally, China to stronger Soviet influences thereby. But in the war that was about to break Japan could have only a restricted support from the Nazis in munitions and other things. The Baltic could not be blockaded against the U.S.S.R. Germany of course rightly thought the crisis would blow off. Possibly nothing more could be and should be expected of the ally who was to turn the moment, as he knew, to his own advantage by an immediate march on Prague and by lining up defence

army along the Rhine. But Tokyo apparently wanted more than limited aid. It is presumed, therefore that it was not Berlin that set the key. The Japanese militarists need nothing of the kind. If politicians and people at home are not eager to fight two wars at the same time, the army is too patriotic to be satisfied with one. This is said to be particularly true of the leaders of the Kwangtung Army which contains the pick of the Japanese troops, and, is too impatient to remain as a reserve in Manchukuo while their friends elsewhere are covering themselves with glory. Politicians and political tact count for little in the Japanese military counsels. The Kwangtung Army officers in particular do not claim to tread in the cautious course that is laid down for it by those bespectacled gentlemen. The Army knows the role of Japan better than her politicians; it knows its own role too—to carry the Rising Sun over new and distant lands, ever and ever. So, that Army in Manchukuo launched this 'little adventure,' regardless of the consequences and blind to the political realities of the times. Fortunately, the U. S. S. R. was not as yet in a position to turn the opportunity offered by the rashness of the Japanese guards to their fullest advantage—a final settlement of the account in the Far East with the militarist, expansionist, anti-communist Japanese Imperialism. So, Tokyo records a relief that the truce has brought.

POWERS IN THE FAR EAST

It is idle to speculate what the Soviet-Japanese conflict would mean to the powers in the East. Great Britain would have little cause to regret. The Soviet is a menace to the Imperialist everywhere, particularly in the East where its gospel of national self-determination for oppressed nationalities has made it a hope and a light to the people in the East under foreign yokes. A defeat for the U. S. S. R. is a victory for Imperialism and world Capitalism. But a defeat for Japanese arms is no less welcome. It means an end of the Imperialist ambitions of Japan, a check for the only serious rival in the East of the Britisher. Whoever would lose, Britain stood to gain; for, out of the terrible conflagration neither would emerge, Soviet or Japan, strong or vigorous to prove any longer a danger to British domination of the East. The U. S. A. would view the war from almost the same angle as Britain—only a little more inclined to see the Japanese danger in the Pacific removed than the Soviet defeated.

CHINA UNYIELDING

China certainly would greet a Soviet-Japanese war with all her heart. It would immediately promise her the life and existence for which she has been fighting so hard. What however the effect of this clash around the hill Chang-Ku-feng would be it is not easy to say. The expansion of the Japanese line had opened points for intrepid action by the Chinese, and, the Eighth Route Army was reported to have enlisted the Manchurian forces at the moment to join it in cutting off considerable portion of the territories in Jehol and Chahar areas of North China. The Soviet truce would not still release for some time the forces that marched to the borders from the North. This means an opportunity for the Chinese until fresh Japanese troops enter the area. On the Yangtze too the Japanese expedition is held up. It is not spent as the Chinese hope; the transfer of troops may be mere routine affair as the Japanese state. China need not feel secure; for, for reasons we have examined above, no border conflict is likely to enlarge into war as yet. But she may feel sure that every such tension delays the Japanese programme further and time is on China's side. A long campaign as it intensifies the Japanese crisis at home will bring to China's support increasing help from the Soviet in expert advice and armament, if not in actual intervention at the closing stage of the struggle. The Japanese know this of course, and, they intend to push on with their drive and finish the job before the Soviet can be freed to intervene. Close on M. Ikada's speech therefore comes the decision (dated London, August 16):

Intensified measures for national mobilization are to be put into practice following the decision of the Cabinet "to place Japan on an emergency footing, both moral and material."

It is announced in Tokyo that the Cabinet has decided to strengthen all the necessary measures for meeting protracted warfare by co-ordinating all national resources, bending the full energies of the country to crush the Chiang Kai-shek administration and establish lasting peace in East Asia.

GERMAN MANŒUVRES

If Germany did not plan the Manchukuo border clash to divert the Soviet watch in Europe, Europe was uneasy at the vast war preparations that were afoot in the Third Reich in the closing days of July and the beginning of August. "This seemed to suggest," wrote the Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, "an offensive action against Czecho-Slovakia accompanied by a

'containing' action against France, and that the blow would fall this year (perhaps in August)."

In fact the war scare started in Germany first. "Teutonic thoroughness," apologetically referred to by *The Times* Diplomatic Correspondent caused nervousness even among the Teutonic civil populations and 'created,' to cite the *Reuter's* Berlin report, 'a veritable war psychosis'. Unusual attention was given by the German press—not a free institution in the totalitarian state—to the manœuvres, and only the French press, it appeared, refused to be panicky at what it deemed exaggerated reports of the activities on the other side of the frontier. Yet the features that were to mark the manœuvres of the year are too thorough-going and obvious to cause no alarm: *viz.* the participation of reservists, the definition of the duties of the civilians, conscription of labour for completing Rhineland fortifications, threat of shooting dead trespassers in large areas, and the plans to reproduce the war-time conditions exceptionally closely. Is it anything short of mobilization that we see in the latest cable to *The Times* from Berlin as the manœuvres begin:

Until September 5 each of the 52 divisions of the German Army will carry out divisional training in its own area. Thereafter, until September 25 each of the 18 Army Corps, representing Germany's peace establishment, will train independently as one unit. Foreign military attaches have been invited to the manœuvres in East Prussia on September 15.

It is believed that since Friday about 50,000 reservists have joined the colours and this figure will have risen to 100,000 by the week-end, with further steady increases as time goes on.

The peace establishment of the German Army, including the former Federal Army of Austria, is about 600,000. Germany will, therefore, have a million men under arms in a short time.

This figure may be materially exceeded by the middle of September unless, as seems unlikely, some of those called up this week-end are released before that time. To these figures must be added large numbers of men conscripted for work of national importance.

Large contingents continue to leave Berlin and other German cities. The number now working on fortifications in the Rhineland and elsewhere is estimated at about 400,000.

Many firms have been drained of labour and are working only with the greatest difficulty. The agricultural population, now that the harvest has been safely garnered, is responding to the heavy calls for food and animals for the Army with good grace.

No wonder if in spite of the expected Teutonic thoroughness the manœuvres are also an explanation for the recent slump in the Berlin Bourse and business generally. Autarchy in Germany, as Maj.-General Thomas the Reich head of 'Military Economics' warned, was not likely to lead to the Goering heaven of self-

sufficiency. The unusual conditions must therefore further worsen the economic life of the Reich. The heaviest sufferers in the further fall on the Bourse are, according to *The Times*, steel and armament and building shares, some of these falling ten points in a week.

The consequences of the sort of the 'trial mobilization' are not easy to predict. If military action is indeed intended as was feared the present activities with a large force under arms present the Germans, with a big advantage to hit quick—and in the modern war to hit quick means to hit hard and effectively. At least the manoeuvres are intended to impress others. "The German display of force," remarks *L'Oeuvre* of Paris, "seems to say 'If necessary we are prepared to go to the limit'."

LORD RUNCIMAN'S MEDIATION

When such display of forces is evident in Bavaria and Saxony and in the Rhineland as well, the atmosphere in Prague must 'appear to be unfavourable for the negotiations' for which Lord Runciman arrived there on August 6. Four separate parliaments for Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia with provincial autonomy, but with State finance, foreign policy and defence reserved to National Assembly were reported to be the main points of Czech Minorities Statute.

This was hardly likely to satisfy Sudeten Germans who demand complete national autonomy for the region habited by them. The chief stumbling-block is the Czech foreign policy as reflected in its alliance with Soviet Russia and France. Lord Runciman had gone there at the request of the Czechs, and, later was also welcomed by the Germans, as 'a mediator and investigator, independent of His Majesty's and any other Government', according to the announcement of Mr. Chamberlain. This has been interpreted to imply that "Germany cannot, in case of an attack on Czecho-Slovakia, count on the aloofness of Britain." But in the present state of European politics, and the politics of Britain which under Halifax-Chamberlain has more and more revealed its inherent Fascist character, Runciman mission, welcomed by the Germans, may serve the purpose of the Nazis better by a 'minority award' in favour of the Sudeten Deutsch of such a nature that the Czechs would be able 'neither to accept nor to reject.' To accept would mean slow absorption in the Third Reich. To reject would mean to lose the British goodwill, and, what is really vital for Czecho-Slovakia, the help of France which in spite of the Franco-

Czech alliance would not break with the British lead now. Thus, to reject would be a notice to Herr Hitler to invade. The Sudeten Deutsch are, on the other hand, to lose nothing—they can reject any term; but whatever is once conceded to them cannot again be held back by the Czechs. Again, to recognize another aspect, so long France has had the lead in the Anglo-French policy towards Czecho-Slovakia. "Now the lead is taken out of France's hands," says the *Guardian's* Paris correspondent, "and the 'primary fact' now is no longer the Franco-Czech alliance but the result of Lord Runciman's mission—that is, what 'Pertinax' calls the 'Runciman report.'" An autonomous Sudeten State is not a practicable solution in a country where the Sudeten Deutsch constitute no geographical entity, but 'are separated into eight fractions,' all adjoining Germany but divided in Czecho-Slovakia itself by purely Czech territories. Lord Runciman has therefore to choose between what "Pertinax" "calls 'the rights of man' in the western sense of the word and 'the rights of the people' in the Nazi sense of the world," so comments the Paris correspondent of the *Guardian*. But Lord Runciman will do nothing of the kind. He will of course choose 'the right' i.e., 'right' in the British ruling class sense of the word. And indications of this can be gathered from the leader of the *Guardian* too:

The crux of the matter lies rather in the kind of advice which the British Government and Lord Runciman ("independently") offer to the Czech Government. There have been reports that in the last few days the British Government has been urging the Czech Government to concede all the demands of the Sudeten Germans, though these demands are clearly not compatible with Czecho-Slovakia's freedom and independence. Mr. Chamberlain did not answer this point directly, but said that hitherto the British Government had abstained from making definite suggestions. But this is a matter of fundamental importance. No one, perhaps, who is informed about the situation now expects a "just" settlement or even, for that matter, a permanent settlement. Events have moved too far for that. The best we can hope for is a settlement which will satisfy the Sudeten Germans for the present but which will not lead to the disruption of the Czech State. There is, unfortunately, good reason to believe that the German Government itself is not really interested in the happiness and prosperity of the Sudeten Germans but in furthering its own expansionist aims in South-East Europe. If that is true, it would be better to leave the Czechs to man the walls themselves than to go to them as friends merely in order to open their gates to the enemy.

But the British politicians have sense of reality enough not to follow this. They needed 'this devoted pilgrimage to a cockpit of discords' as Garvin calls the mission.

SPANISH COCKPIT

British pilgrimage of peace in the Spanish cockpit is perhaps a good example to point to the world the mission of British Empire in the present-day crisis. The wayside is strewn all over with minor signposts—the Non-Intervention Commission, the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and lastly the Plan for Withdrawal of Foreign Volunteers from Spain. As a pilgrim in the difficult path Britain can certainly claim to possess in abundant measure the Christian virtues of meekness and patience. If more ships are being sent to the bottom, Britain, simply calls for an explanation from Franco. The evacuation scheme has been agreed to for, General Franco would be left by its execution in better possession of armaments and munitions; Mussolini is determined to set him at Madrid in power; the Pyreness are closed too against the Republicans through the British efforts for peace in the cockpit; still the Burgos authority are not anxious to reply to the British plan for withdrawal of volunteers.

The reason is the Republicans meanwhile have gained a victory in the Ebro sector. This is likely to arrest the Insurgent progress to Valencia. The Republican successes still go unchecked. Franco cannot agree to a withdrawal plan when victory is again eluding his grasp. France may be anxious because of the internal popular pressure to open the Pyrenean passes for the Republicans to import their war needs. But Britain is not impatient, nor lacking in understanding. Burgos did not reply, but the Italian reply in action has been quick and frank as usual:

The extent of Italian participation in General Franco's counter-attack in the Lower Ebro region is given in an official *communiqué* issued in Rome today.

The *communiqué*, which was published under a Saragossa date line, relates to the period from July 25 to August 5 last. It claims that the Italian volunteer air force inflicted heavy losses on the Spanish Republican forces.

The Italians were involved in 158 bombing actions during the period, 541 aircraft being employed while 455,000 kilograms of explosives were dropped.

Chaser planes also carried out intense action in accompanying the bomber squadrons and in reconnaissance flights.

In all, the Legionaries carried out 1,672 flights.

PEACE THROUGH ARMAMENT

The Spanish War proved that war can be 'localized';—but not for that matter restricted to any particular people. Interests today cut

across national barriers and know hardly any compartments. At the same time authorities of the States are so uncertain of the terrible forces of destruction that any big war may unleash, so fearful of the preparations of the enemies outside the borders and of the forces of social revolution inside the country, that no one wants to run the risk of a war unless of course diplomatically and in military strength the enemy is so weak as to be an easy prey, like Austria, or Abyssinia, to the aggressor. This is the reason why the Spanish War could be 'localized.' The same reason underlying the situation also explains why the Siberian border fight did not develop into the catastrophe that the world feared. The enemy is too prepared to be tackled easily. Peace now owes its existence only to war—to the unpredictable consequences of it. Armaments today ensure peace. The abnormal strain of such peace wears down not only the nerves of peoples but also the resources of nations. America in the comparative aloofness knows the price that all are paying. 'Isolation', it is known, can not go on for ever. Significant also is the statement that methods of peaceful understanding cannot also last long when force is the method all round the world. A recent nationwide broadcast of Mr. Cordell Hull, the U.S. Secretary of State, puts clearly the issue facing the world as the result of recent developments:

Is the future of the world to be determined by universal reliance on armed forces, frequent aggression, autarchy, impoverishment and international anarchy, or will peace, morality and justice based on economic well-being, security and progress prevail? asked Mr. Hull.

Referring to developments in science, Mr. Hull said that it would soon be impossible for some nations to choose the way of force and for others to choose the way of reason. "All will have to go in the same direction."

The intensive trade barriers between the nations must be reduced or the pressure of nations to gain access to the needed raw materials by conquest of additional territory and the mailed fist would become intensified.

The disintegration of the structure of world order proceeded with staggering rapidity and threatened the very foundations of civilization.

"When destruction and impoverishment are inflicted on other areas," he said, "we cannot escape impairment of our own economic well-being. When freedom is destroyed by increasing arms elsewhere, our ideals of individual liberty are jeopardized."

"Hence it is necessary that the United States should become increasingly resolute for effective efforts to co-operate with other peoples within the range of our traditional policies of non-entanglement—and support the only programme which will turn this lawlessness and place the world firmly on the only road leading to enduring peace and security."



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The New Irish Constitution

V. K. N. Menon discusses the New Irish Constitution in *The Twentieth Century*:

"In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, from Whom is all authority, and to Whom, as our final end, all actions of both men and States must be referred,

We, the people of Eire,

Humbly acknowledging all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial,

Gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our Nation,

And seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of Prudence, Justice and Charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations,

Do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

With these remarkable words commences the new Irish Constitution, passed by the Dail Eireann in June last year, approved by the people at a plebiscite in July, brought into force at the end of December, and now in full working order as a result of the elections to the new Senate in March, and of the unanimous election in May of Dr. Douglas Hyde as the first President of Eire.

From the point of view of Mr. De Valera and his Fianna Fail party there were two reasons for the adoption of a new Constitution superseding that of 1922.

Indeed, after Mr. De Valera had at last secured a majority in the Dail in 1932, and so, after the ten-year rule of the pro-Treaty party, succeeded Mr. Cosgrave—as the President of the Executive Council, he had been able to remove, by strictly legal means, all the clauses from that Constitution savouring of dependence on Britain. He was enabled to do this, of course, only by the Statute of Westminster, 1931, which permitted the Irish Free State to pass legislation contrary to an Imperial Act like this Act of 1922; but Britain and Mr. Cosgrave had presented him with this weapon. Mr. De Valera had to compel, first of all, the resignation of the Cosgrave Governor-General, Mr. Mac Neill. The Senate too was abolished in 1936. When this was done, the Governor-Generalship itself could be abolished at a stroke, and this too was accomplished during the Abdication crisis of December 1936. And the very next day, the Speaker, as successor to the Governor-General for the purpose, signed another bill abolishing the use of the King's name from all the internal activities of government.

But, secondly, to Mr. De Valera, the Constitution of 1922 had a bad record. The Act of 1922 had been passed by the British Parliament. It had therefore been born in sin,—and Mr. De Valera is a good Catholic and family man. It had also never been put to the people. Further, Mr. Cosgrave had removed the provisions for the referen-

dum and initiative from it when Mr. De Valera had attempted to appeal to the people against the then Dail to abolish the Oath.

It is thus that a new Constitution came to be made.

The preamble says:

We, the people of Eire Do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

Article 1 adds:

The Irish nation hereby affirms its inalienable, infeasible and sovereign rights to choose its own form of Government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions.

And, Article 5:

Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state.

And Article 6:

All powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial derive, under God from the people.

The people of Ireland, then, are sovereign, and the Constitution is their will.

There are no references, here or elsewhere, to any Treaty or British Commonwealth of Nations as there had been in the Act of 1922, which too had said, but somewhat incongruously, that the powers of government are derived from the people,—whether under God or not, it was not stated. But the word 'Republic' occurs nowhere even now, perhaps, out of a desire not to complicate matters needlessly with Britain.

By Article 2:

The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands, and territorial seas.

The passionate and justice desire for an undivided Ireland, which had been one of the two reasons for Mr. De Valera's rejection of the Constitution of 1922, and which had been felt, of course, also by the pro-Treaty party,—but compromised by it,—is expressed here. But the hard fact of Ulster remains.

Scottish Nationalism

Give a nation freedom, prosperity and hope, and the spiritual growth of that nation is assured for all time. Scottish Nationalists look forward to that day when an independent Scotland will contribute a worthy part to world peace, co-operation and progress. Says Arthur L. Henry in an article in *The Theosophist*:

It is not strictly accurate to refer to Scotland's awakening: there has always been a minority in Scotland who were never asleep in any political or spiritual sense

—they may never have heard of Scottish Nationalism, but they saw the light and knew what they wanted. They fought against the Act of Union of 1707, when Scotland's political freedom and individuality as a Nation were thrown away by a handful of traitors. The one thing they lacked throughout the centuries was a strong Voice, an inspiring Leader.

In 1928, they found their Voice in the formation of the National Party of Scotland, of which I had the privilege of being one of the earliest members, and as President we had the late Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, one of Scotland's greatest sons. On that historical occasion at King's Park, Stirling, 23rd June 1928—the year of the birth of the Party—he gave his most inspiring address to the people of Scotland. On the platform Mr. Cunninghame Graham stood bare-headed, addressing the crowd, his white hair waving in the breeze. Towards the end of an eloquent speech he said:

"It has been assumed that the prosperity of Scotland was the effect of the Union with England—*nothing more false*. Our prosperity was due to the economic development of the whole world. . . . It could not have been kept away from us even if England had done her worst. . . . The Union was superimposed upon us and it is to disentangle ourselves from the fetters placed upon us two hundred years ago that we, the Scottish Independent Party, address ourselves to you today. . . .

"You may say, friends, that what I have been touching on are merely sentimental questions. But sentiment is the strongest force to move mankind. All causes, that of Bruce, of Wallace, the Greeks at Marathon, and all the causes in the creation of the world till today have been set afoot by sentiment. Do you suppose, that if the Irish had gone on asking for reduced rents and nothing else, they would have achieved their freedom?"

"I think, friends, most of us have made up our minds, and those who have not, might look around these historic surroundings. Under the Wallace Crag our National hero led his men against Hugh Cressingham. . . . Within three miles Bruce broke the chivalry of England at Bannockburn. . . . Burns wandered in those hills. In Stirling Castle, our historic Parliament stayed for centuries, alternating with Edinburgh and with Linlithgow. The eternal hills still look down on us as they looked down on Wallace and on Bruce. . . . The same snell wind coming up from the Western Isles still breathes on us today. The same sun pours its rays upon us. The same mist fills the corries of the hills. The same spates fill our rivers. . . . And I would fain hope, that the same spirit fills the heart of every Scotsman in the demand which we have placed before our friends today."

The resolution in favour of Self-Government for Scotland was carried unanimously.

The British Commonwealth of Nations is a League of self-governing peoples with a common language. They all have the right to send their own representatives to their own Parliaments. Scotland—one of the oldest of the world's small Nations—has no such right.

The Bankim Chandra Celebration

Nagendra Nath Gupta writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was born in 1838 and died in 1894. He is known most widely as the composer of the *Bande Mataram* song, but he was more. He was the creator of a great literature, the author of some of the finest romances, the master of an incomparable style,

a humorist of a high order, a great thinker, a first-class essayist and critic, and the writer of some fine religious literature.

His birth centenary is an all-India celebration. Bankim is the Rishi who has taught India the *mantra* by which all her children can come together united by a single purpose and a single aim. Rightly appreciated, there is no loftier or purer national anthem in any language. It is not merely an exaltation of the motherland, a challenge to other nations. It is intensely devotional, reverent and full of burning enthusiasm. The land is the mother, the nourisher, the bestower of boons. The fruits and flowers, the moonlight and the birds are all celebrated. There is a note of pride also but that is to refute the charge that India is weak and helpless; otherwise, it is a song of praise, a psalm of devotion.

Bankim Chandra's patriotism glows in his writings.

It appears not only in the book in which the *Bande Mataram* song is to be found, but in his essays, historical writings and sketches. Most noticeable is it in his remarkable book, *Kamalakanta's Daftar*. On the face of it, the lines of the book seem to be like De Quincy's *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, but there is no real similarity between the two, nor any comparison. De Quincy himself was an opium addict. Bankim never touched that drug. His book occupies a place in literature. The humour is of the finest kind, while there are passages of exquisite beauty scattered throughout the book. Even Mr. Samuel Weller cannot rival the humour of Kamalakanta's examination and cross-examination in court. One looks in vain in the world's literature for another such piece of writing as Kamalakanta's paper on the *Durga Puja*. There we have patriotism at its sincerest and sublimest, the language rising to a height of nobility scarcely ever equalled. What opium eater, or prophet for that matter, ever saw such a vision as was vouchsafed to Kamalakanta Chakravarti, *alias* Bankim Chandra Chatterjee? Before the vision of this Rishi of the nineteenth century rose the image of a goddess—ten armed, mighty, bountiful. In her he recognizes his motherland. And he worshipped her.

In celebrating the centenary of his birth the people of India will be not only paying homage to his genius but announcing to the world that he was not a dreamer and visionary, and what he foresaw is bound to come true, that India will rise from the waters of oblivion and will be again a free and great country.

Sarat Chandra Chatterji

Sarat Chandra blends in his works the usual and the unusual in such a way that realities are invested with a new light, and uncommon aspects of human life are detected and placed before readers as if they were the merest commonplaces of existence. Observes Gijra Sankar Roy in the *Current Affairs*:

The dawn of the twentieth century saw the growth of a new spirit and the birth of a new literature in Bengal. Rabindranath stood forth as a seer and a creator who could read a new meaning into human lives, and speak

of the spiritual relation between man and God in a voice that went deep into the hearts of his readers.

It was not given to a novelist like Sarat Chandra to possess this poetic vision and to speak out these spiritual truths within the compass of his novels. He could not escape from the humdrum existence of common lives; he took up the problems of mankind not in their spiritual aspects, but in relation to their human interest, and offered some solutions for them. He always adopted a realistic view of things, and chose to remain close to life, and when he intended to give some exposition of his philosophy of sin, sorrow, death or love, he illustrated his meaning at every step by reference to living men and women whom he portrayed as characters in his novels without leaving anything vague and unreal.

In all the novels of Sarat Chandra, this blending has been effected in a masterly fashion; characters are brought before us with all the faults and excellencies of ordinary mortals, capable of loving and of being loved by others. And yet there is something so unusual in them that they can always make themselves interesting to readers.

His capacity for emotion which is at the background of all the novels of Sarat Chandra is not a little due to the emotional nature of the author himself. If Rabindranath did not desire to possess a heaven devoid of love, Sarat Chandra is not content to live in a world where everyone is merely trying to do the right, and making life one long stretch of level barren sand, unrelieved by the heights and depths of human experience.

Another noticeable feature of Sarat Chandra's novels is that in almost all the stories, the female characters dominate and form the main centres of interest.

Sarat Chandra in his novels seems to give us a message,—the message that 'humanity' is to be regarded as supreme in all affairs of life.

According to Sarat Chandra wealth is not a means of greatness; it occasionally stultifies human lives, and has to be sacrificed in the end. Social barriers sometimes creep up to ruin human lives as in *Palli Samaj*, but here again, while realising the good things that are inherent in social conventions, Sarat Chandra has sought to establish that society exists to give human greatness a scope to manifest itself so that it is surely its own fault if it could not live in concord with the greatness of Ramesh and Rama.

Sarat Chandra however looks at life from the level stand-point of the common men, and what he creates is full of vigour because we see and recognise in it friends and companions with all the joys and sorrows of life, with all their violent passions and emotional outburst. If Rabindranath shuns and avoids corruption, Sarat Chandra seems to revel in them. If Rabindranath presents a carefully worked-out plot, Sarat Chandra makes his plot take care of itself and unravel as best as it can. His main intention is not so much to evolve a plot as to create a character. And the characters he creates act, re-act and unfold themselves, the plot itself being thus opened out before the interested eyes of the readers bit by bit.

To each man, according to Sarat Chandra, is allotted his sphere of existence, and within that sphere, it is possible for him to live a strong and healthy life. It is the vitality in a man's actions by which he is ultimately to be judged, and any man who either shuns evil or is callous to the good can never attract his interest.

Sarat Chandra is pre-eminently the novelist of Bengali life of his own age. He lacks the inspired

vision and the spiritual outlook of the great poet, but he is a great author who by his own emotion gained an insight into the emotions of others, and who has tried to read some meaning into the lives of the common men we see around. Much in his stories is left to the imagination of the readers, but the imagination need not be stretched at any point. Deep down we may discern a lyric note in the stories of Sarat Chandra, a note made richer by his own experiences and emotions which find a vivid and varied utterance in the characters and incidents he has created.

The Problem of Rural Industries

Rural industries undoubtedly occupy a very important place in the Indian economy. What is required is something like a policy of 'discriminating protection.' T. Satyanarayana Rao observes in *Triveni*:

Rural industries can conveniently be considered under three classes. Firstly, there are industries which supply subsidiary occupations to the agriculturists during their spare time. Secondly, there are the activities of the village artisans like the carpenter, the blacksmith, the oil-crusher, the goldsmith and so on. Thirdly, there are industries which are organized on a small scale in rural and urban centres, and produce for local consumption, sale at markets and even export, like hand-loom weaving.

The importance of subsidiary occupations lies in the fact that under present conditions, agriculture does not absorb all the available time of the agriculturist.

The available spare time is sometimes exaggerated, but the Agricultural Commission's estimate of two to four months in a year can be taken as correct. Even this spare time is occupied in many cases by agricultural operations like manuring, carting, repairing houses, attending to cattle, and so on.

The processes for preparing agricultural produce should offer convenient subsidiary occupations for the agriculturists; but even here rice-mills, cotton-presses, flour-mills, and oil-mills have spread all over the countryside. The movement in favour of hand-pounded rice for reasons of health will help the labourers to some extent in competing with the mills, but the fact that these mills have become important links in the chain of marketing agricultural produce makes them very powerful rivals to compete with.

There are other subsidiary industries like dairy-farming, cattle-breeding, poultry-farming, bee-keeping, and vegetable gardening which go easily along with agriculture. They are also profitable, but the main difficulty here is one of marketing.

The subsidiary industry which is advocated by the most influential and popular political organization in the country is that of hand-spinning.

This industry is now receiving subsidies from some provincial Governments. But this cannot be calculated upon as a permanent proposition, because of the very low yield from hand-spinning, and because of the very high prices of Khadi goods (under the new minimum wage plan) which make them prohibitively costly for poor people. Though Khadi sales have been increasing,

due to political considerations, it is clear that only the rich and the middle class people are purchasing it, mainly in urban centres.

It may be asked why the agriculturist should purchase Khaddar. Why should he not spin and make his own cloth when he has nothing else to do? Viewed as a domestic occupation when the villager has nothing else to do, it is certainly a better way of spending one's time than idling it away in gossip. But the peasant is hardly so very rational. The saving is so small that it does not catch his imagination. The peasant could save money in many other ways if he cared—he could give up smoking, he could walk or travel by cart or by boat instead of by bus, he could avoid factional troubles and litigation, and spend less on ceremonies. But he hardly does any of these things. In the same way he prefers to enjoy leisure rather than work at the spinning-wheel and save a few annas. Thus, as a domestic occupation in spare time, hand-spinning has a place, but it does not appeal to the ryot. As an industry it has no permanent place because its products are too costly in comparison even with hand-loom products.

Then the position of the village artisans is to be considered.

These people formed an integral part of the self-sufficient village economy of old. But with the breaking up of that economy their position has also considerably deteriorated.

The products of organized manufacturing shops of the towns and imported goods are replacing their products to a great extent. Even the potter's wares are replaced by cheap aluminium vessels and the cobbler finds it difficult to compete with cheap canvas-shoes and sandals turned out by the factory.

But the artisans still hold their position, because, after all, the villages are far off from urban centres, and there are so many small services which the villagers need. Their position can be strengthened by their adapting themselves to the new environment, using convenient factory products like ply-wood, sheet-metal, nails and bars and so on, to produce the articles needed by the villagers.

Then there is the third type of rural industries, which are carried on by artisans either in their homes or in *Karkhanas*, and which produce articles both for local consumption and sale elsewhere.

There are several important cottage industries like the metal-ware industry, the slate and marble industry, the wood and underwood industries, the bamboo, cane, palmyra and other reed products, lacquer work, gold and silver-thread industry, the leather industries, the carpet industry, the ivory industry and so on. Several of these industries are, in spite of great handicaps, competing successfully with factory products.

Typical of these industries is the hand-loom industry, which is widespread all over the country.

It is estimated that in the Madras Presidency alone there were about 259,451 looms working in 1928, and in the whole of India, the hand-loom were producing after the war 1,190 million yards per annum. The output should be much more at present. In the Madras Presidency, it was estimated that the hand-loom produced in the decade ending 1920, five times the cloth produced

by power-loom. This industry has certain advantages like the cheapness of labour, the low cost of looms, the specialized nature of the cloth produced by the weavers (like *sarees* of certain types), the comparative strength and durability of the hand-woven products, the inherited skill of the weaver and the assistance of his family.

The problem of marketing is more important than all the other problems. While cottage industries have some technical advantages like cheap labour power, which enable the optimum technical unit to be small, as regards management, finance, and marketing, all the advantages lie with the large units.

Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis is the technical name for the theory of mental life established by Sigmund Freud of Vienna. It is also known as the psychology of the unconscious. In order to comprehend Freudian psychology adequately, misconceptions must be removed and the true significance of the technical terms used in his writings should be clearly understood. Writes S. M. Mohsin in *The Calcutta Review* :

Taking his cue from the modern conception of instinct, Freud understands by the term "instinct" in psychoanalysis as the inborn condition of impulsion, of dynamic pressure, originating from the unstable character of protoplasmic matter, producing the need for reaction and impelling its execution. The function of instinct then, consists in setting up a disturbance in the equilibrium of the organism in producing a state of psychophysical tension. The tension seeks to neutralise itself. It does so by issuing forth in a certain course of activity. Instinct thus deals with the hypothetical energy which impels the organism to activity, rather than with the form which this activity takes. Instincts, in other words, are the free and mobile energy charges which are adopting diverse "aims" and taking different objects for their final discharge or gratification. The sexual drives become one kind of the aims of instincts, the ego tendencies another kind. When Freud speaks of the "sexual instinct" or the "ego" "instinct," he refers to the partial aims and objects of instinct and not to the original primal impulse which aims at the restoration of equilibrium or relaxation of tensions howsoever achieved. Is this not unfair to Freud then to charge him of explaining all human strivings in terms of sexual relationships?

The writer then discusses the principle of repetition compulsion as expounded by Freud.

Freud has been victim of much criticism for preaching "psychological hedonism." He is charged of regarding all mental activity to proceed from the feeling of unpleasantness aroused in consciousness as the result of a disturbance in the equilibrium of the organism whose restoration gives rise to the feeling of pleasure. Undoubtedly the criticism is well founded if confined to Freud's earlier writings where the "pleasure-principle" assumes the unitary role of regulating the course of all mental processes. But it is unfair to judge a thinker by taking an isolated view of the different portions of his work. We should rather judge him by his total achieve-

ment. Freud in his "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" explicitly states that the pleasure-principle is not all pervasive; that there is on the other hand a principle beyond it—the repetition compulsion—which is "more primitive, more conservative, and more instinctive" as it harkens back to the earliest beginning of life, to which the pleasure-principle itself ultimately leads though by a much complicated, circuitous and protracted route. Freud finds a substantiation of this principle in the dreams of war-neurotics "which continually take the patient back to the situation of his disaster from which he awakens in renewed terror." If dreams only afforded pleasure to the dreamer through phantastic realization of unfulfilled wishes, they could not have conjured up an experience which has no pleasurable value. Another proof of the principle he finds in children's plays. Children imitate many adult activities inspite of their being fraught with painful consequences. Similar repetition tendencies are to be found in the "punishment phantasies" displayed in certain abnormal symptoms. The phantasy, or the activity determined by it, is itself too painful, as it involves infliction of punishment on oneself, still it becomes a dominating phase of the attitude of the patient. Freud quotes many other instances of "repetition compulsion" from biological finding and discovers another duality between "death instinct" and "sex instinct." Freud is not very intelligible to us in his enunciation of the death instinct; but this shows our lack of comprehension. An Ernest Jones rightly remarks, like all men of genius Freud is well ahead of his time and only if we reach his level of mental development that we might be able to understand him.

Pushkar : The Lotus Lake of Rajputana

Pushkar is a well known place of pilgrimage. It is a favourite resort for those who want to conquer the self through austerity. Ram Chand Manchanda writes in *The Indian Review* about this famous *tirtha*:

Pushkar is the name of a lake, forest, town, and a Tirtha. It is picturesquely situated in a valley surrounded by a ring of rocky hills of the Aravalli range, seven miles away towards the south-west from Ajmer, the headquarters of the province of Ajmer-Merwara. It consists of a series of three apparently separate lakes, *inter se* connected through subterranean streams. The highest one is called the Kanishtha, or Buddha, the middle one, which exists only in imagination, Madhya, and the lowest one Jyeshtha (eldest). It is situated in a valley within an area of six miles, and 2,389 feet above sea-level.

According to an account of Pushkar as given in the Padma Puran, it is the birth-place of Brahma, the creator of the Hindu Trinity, who, in a Council of Gods held at Vajjarath, at Sumera, decided to create a temple on earth, and like other Gods of the Trinity to receive the offerings and be worshipped. The Council selected this place on account of its purity and fascinating beauty. Brahma, while visiting this place, had a lotus in hand which fell down, and the spot at which the flower fell gave rise to springs of water which assumed the form of a lake after the shape of a lotus lily.

In Sanskrit, Pushkar means a lotus lily and hence the name Pushkar.

The visitors do not find now-a-days any lily growing in it, nor a lotus lily can be traced. But investigation revealed the fact that the shallow parts of the lake abounded in lotus lilies, and the leaves provided food for the cows and the seeds for the pilgrims. The Brahmans, who claim to be the owners of the lake, felt tempted to make money by the sale of the lotus. This led to a split amongst them and ultimately to a ruinous and protracted litigation terminating in favour of the party that was for making money by the sale. Strange as it may appear, the lotus lilies disappeared from the lake after the decision of the case, to the great disappointment of the quarrelling Brahmans and the pilgrims visiting the Tirtha. This is one of the mysteries of Pushkar.

With the rise of Jainism, and Buddhism, the lake seems to have attracted their attention in the arid sands of Merwara, and the cut-up dry country of Merwara. This lake, the water of which never dried up, was a place of immense importance, and like all other important places such as Benares, Muttra and Gaya, the Buddhists took possession of it during the days of their power, established Viharas and, temples and founded great prosperous cities, the ruins of which lie buried under sand rolled up from the Merwara deserts. These ruins of the cities' temples and fortifications of the Jains and the Buddhists need excavations by the archæological department to lay bare the material evidences of their pristine greatness and glory.

According to Hindu belief, Pushkar is as old as the creation. It is considered to be as one of the most ancient places in India, and as a matter of fact, contemporaneous with the birth of the modern Hinduism itself.

It is mentioned in this oldest epic that Viswamitra, a renowned Rishi, performed his *tap* and went through a course of self-mortification at this place. It is also mentioned that a celestial fairy, Menaka, came down to earth to have a dip in its sacred waters to wash off her impurities. The Mahabharata also mentions Pushkar, a place visited by the Pandavas, as it mentions Katsah Raj as the lake (Vishv-Kund) turning into Amar-Kund for the sake of the Pandavas.





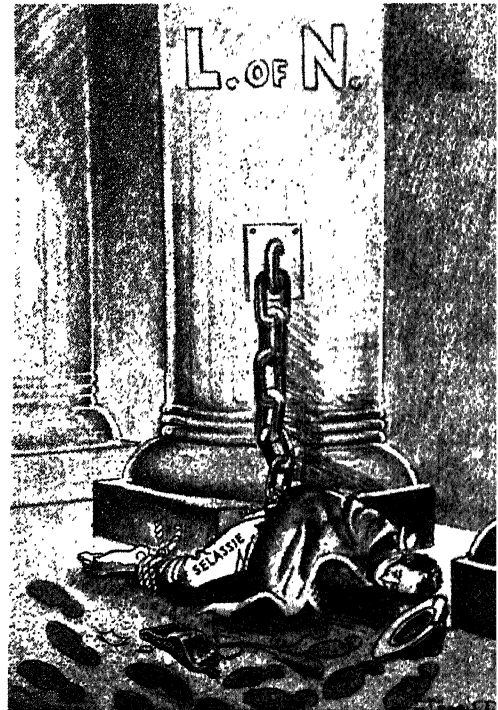
Clasping his hands to keep him from shooting
—Chicago Tribune



Got a strangle hold on him, but he refuses
to strangle
—Chicago Tribune



World without honor
—Chicago Tribune



'Collective Security'
—New York Post

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China's Mohammedan Millions

The Chinese Mohammedans are devout followers of the Prophet, in no way less devout than their "brothers-in-faith" elsewhere; but they have cast in their lot with the patriots of China who resist the onslaught of the aggressors. The *China at War* writes:

The Chinese Mohammedans have seldom been other than a dormant factor in China's national politics. These virile people, of whom there are more than 48,000,000 in China, have been living a life very much unto themselves, pre-erving intact their customs, traditions and rituals which their ancestors brought with them from the Near East 1,5000 years ago.

Today, with the fire of armed resistance burning brilliantly throughout the land, the Mohammedans have caught the day's spirit. Settled in the northwestern provinces, especially in Kansu, Ninghsia and Sinkiang, their geographical position has given them a highly important role along one of China's life-lines.

Renowned for their ferocity and fighting ability, these Mohammedans today form a new Great Wall in China's North-west which the Japanese will find well nigh insurmountable if they attempt to drive a wedge between China and Soviet Russia from the Amur River to the western border of Sinkang.

It is an open secret that for many years Japanese conspirators had marked off China's northwestern provinces as a "Moslem Empire." It was not for nothing that they helped General Ma Chung-ying, leader of a Moslem uprising in Sinkiang in 1931-1934. Their plan, however, died with General Ma's defeat and his subsequent flight into Soviet Russia, where he was interned.

Through an enlightened and benevolent policy, the Chinese Government in the past few years has succeeded in drawing there 48,000,000 citizens of Moslem faith closer. Many an object lesson has been afforded the Mohammedans that while union means strength, division spells ruin. The choice with them is clear. And they have chosen to stand by the National Government in the existing crisis.

These Mohammedans, to be found mostly in Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai (Kokonor) are well trained and organized for fighting purposes. In Ninghsia, their commander is General Ma Hung-kwei, a devoted Mohammedan and a skilled soldier. Over in Chinghai is General Ma Ling, governor of the province, with General Ma Pu-fang in active charge of the troops.

Kansu, another province with more than a sprinkling of Mohammedan population, has now as its governor General Chu Shao-liang, one of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's trusted lieutenants, who distinguished himself a long time ago as a good soldier and able administrator. His role in Kansu, which is sandwiched geographically by Ninghsia in the north and Chinghai in the south, with Sinkiang fencing off its western frontier, is to co-ordinate the Chinese Government troops in the North-west with due regard for their religious differences.

It is noteworthy that General Pai Chung-hsi, Deputy Chief of the Chinese General Staff who has been Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's right hand man in military affairs since the outbreak of the war, is a staunch Mohammedan. He is a popular figure with the vast majority of the Chinese Mohammedans in the North-west, who generally look up to him as their leader.

China's Art Treasures Saved

Even under the severe stress of the war, the Chinese patriots have not forgotten their art treasures. The following news item appears in the *China at War*.

These art objects, the majority of which had been earlier saved from the Palace Museum in Peiping, were packed and shipped out of the doomed city by boat, by rail and by truck.

The immensity of the task can only be realized when it is mentioned that there were altogether 20,000 cases and that their removal had to be effected at a time when transport of all description was being commandeered for troop moving purposes.

Just a few days before the Japanese entry into Nanking, these art treasures, preserved through the centuries and representing the golden age of China's art, were already on their way to safety.

Because of pressure of time and because of last minute difficulties in securing means of conveyance, about 1,000 cases containing things mainly of an easily perishable nature were left behind in the bomb-proof vaults which last year were specially built at a great cost.

Regarding the whereabouts of the retrieved cases, the majority of them are safe thousands of miles up the Yangtze River in a city in Szechuan, while the others are in a westernmost town in distant Shensi.

Romain Rolland Ends His Long Exile

The *Unity* writes editorially:

It was a dramatic, indeed a historic moment when Romain Rolland returned last month to France, to end an exile in Switzerland that had endured for twenty-four years. The great French novelist was at the height of his world fame when the Great War broke out in 1914. Only a few years before he had completed his immortal masterpiece, *Jean Christophe*, which won for him and for his native country the glory of the Nobel Prize for Literature. To have been swept into the tidal flow of French patriotism which was released when the German troops crossed the border, to have joined his voice to the

shrill cry of barbarism which leaped from the lips of his compatriots everywhere, the intellectuals as well as the great masses of the people, would have been easy. But Romain Rolland was artistically an internationalist and spiritually an idealist, and he would not sell his soul to the horrid business of war. All he could see in 1914 was a world of culture, enlightenment, and beauty, the single civilization of Europe, rent even unto death by fratricidal strife, and on behalf of humanity he lifted his heroic voice in protest and dismay. To be a pacifist in France in 1914 was a supreme instance of moral courage. Who can forget, when will mankind ever forget, those scathing denunciations of militarism and appeals for peace which came from Rolland's pen in the early months of the war, later gathered into the volume entitled *Above the Battle*? Furious was the wrath turned upon this man for his unswerving fidelity to the highest ideals of the soul. Premier Clemenceau vowed to high heaven he would try and execute him for treason. Exile was inevitable. Yet Rolland never faltered—witness his *Clerambault*! But now the years have passed, feelings have softened as ideas have changed, and Rolland returns to the home of his ancestors in the village of Clamecy, in Burgundy, to live and in the end to die among his people. What this countryside means to him is shown in his *Colas Breugnot Burgundian*, one of Rolland's most delightful books, full of humor, pathos, and infinite charm.

Eire's First President

W. M. Crooks writes in the *Spectator* about the life and achievements of Douglas Hyde, who has been elected first President of Ireland under the new constitution:

After a brilliant university career, of which the distinctions included First of the First-class Honors in Modern Literature with a large gold medal, the Vice-Chancellor's Prize in English Prose and an LL.D. degree, Hyde left Ireland in 1891 for a short time to act as *locum tenens* for a friend who was Professor of Modern Languages in the University of New Brunswick.

Before leaving Ireland he had already become known as a great Celtic scholar, having published one or two books both in Irish and in English. After his return he started in 1893 what has really been his life's work, the foundation of the Gaelic League, of which he became the first president and remained in office for twenty-two years. The object of the League was to revive Gaelic culture in its widest sense; to revive not only the study and use of the language and the literature, but the arts, customs, games, dress, etc., of the Gaelic people. The League was non-political, but it naturally appealed mainly to the Nationalists and among them especially to the young. The enthusiasts of the Gaelic League were largely stimulated by the success of the Czechs in restoring their language—almost dead at the beginning of the nineteenth century—to its place as the language of the nation ere that century closed.

After Parnell's death there was apparent an ever-widening gap between the political Nationalist Party and the Youth of Ireland. Parnell, though a constitutionalist and an opponent of physical force, held the wilder spirits in young Ireland by a mystic tie. John Redmond had no such hold on them. Alarmed by the increasingly patent fact that the political Nationalist Party was drawing no

recruits from the ablest of the younger men, I spoke to John Redmond about it. He recognized the fact, but he did not seem in the least to realize the new spirit and intellectual life surging among the younger men and the immense strength behind that spirit.

I suggested to him that he should invite Douglas Hyde, who was the real leader of the youth of Ireland, to join the Nationalist Party. John Redmond was not averse to the idea, but was not enthusiastic about it. However, he invited Douglas Hyde to the next Patrick's Day banquet in London and asked him to propose the toast of 'Ireland, a Nation,' which he did. John Redmond embraced the opportunity of sounding Hyde as to whether he would join the Nationalist Party. Hyde took time to consider it, but ultimately declined the offer, because he felt in honor bound to the numerous Unionists who had joined the Gaelic League on the ground that it was non-political, and that if he became a Nationalist M.P. he could not remain President of the League, which would probably be destroyed by his action. A wise and far-seeing decision.

The gap between the Nationalist Party and young Ireland widened until in 1916, to the astonishment of the Irish Nationalists and of the English people, the once all-powerful Nationalist Party was wiped out by the uprising of young Ireland, of whose existence and power both Irish and English politicians seemed inexplicably unaware. This powerful new movement, which was the offspring of the Gaelic League, called itself 'Sinn Féin.' Its name—which means 'We ourselves'—shows its ultimate inspiration. About 1888 there appeared in Dublin a small volume of poems, mostly anonymous, by various hands. One of these—they were all written in English—was called *The Marching Song of the Gaelic Athletes*. It was a spirited little poem, of which the refrain, 'In ourselves we trust alone,' expressed its soul. It was by Douglas Hyde.

From that acorn idea of self-reliance the oak of the Gaelic League and of Sinn Féin, which was its offshoot, grew. Much of its development was unpalatable to Hyde, especially when it became political, and resulted in his resignation of the Presidency of the League. His mission is spiritual and intellectual. He has never been an active politician, though he has served as a member of the Senate in the Irish Parliament. He is essentially a man of peace, a unifier, not a divider, of men. Hyde's work in Ireland inspired that self-reliance, till then largely wanting, which has made modern Ireland under Mr. De Valera what it is today.

Politics as a career

The Rotarian publishes an article on Politics as a career by the late Viscount Snowden, who, in his lifetime, had been in the inner counsels of a political party for about forty years, contested ten parliamentary elections, and sat in Parliament for twenty-five years.

Very few members of Parliament outside the Labor party make Parliament a whole-time career. They have business interests or a profession to which they devote much of their time, and from which their incomes are derived. The same may be said of many Labor members.

now that the party has attracted men of wealth and position.

A man who is looking to a political career should have means beyond his modest allowance as a member of Parliament, for it is quite insufficient to support him in reasonable comfort. If he is a married man with a family and lives away from London, he cannot do it except by practising the severest economy. It is not possible to give his children much of an education, or to place them in a profession.

The insecurity of a political career must be taken into account. It is the only profession which depends for the opportunity to practise it upon the decision of a fickle electorate. There are very few constituencies now-a-days which can be regarded as "safe seats." A young man may be shaping very well in Parliament, and when the election comes, he loses his seat. If he has been relying upon his Parliamentary salary, he finds himself without means. If he has been supplementing his income by journalism or outside work of some kind, he will find his market value has declined.

The advent of the Labor party opened up the possibility of a political career to poor men of ability who were formerly excluded. The restriction by the trade-unions when selecting candidates to officials of the union narrows the choice, and seldom succeeds in getting men with a wide and genuine political knowledge. But the non-trade-union Labor candidates are selected rather for their political knowledge and work, and the result is that the average of political capacity is at least as high as that of the other parties.

A new candidate is usually expected to "win his spurs" by first undertaking a fight in a rather hopeless constituency. He is a lucky man who enters Parliament on his first attempt. He gains electioneering experience in his first fight, and this helps him in his later contests.

In my long experience I am convinced that in electioneering, honesty is the best policy. The voters like a man to be straight, whether they agree with him or not. And if they respect him for his honesty, he is not unlikely to get their votes.

The story is told of John Stuart Mill's being asked in an election meeting if he had said the workingmen were liars. Ninety-nine candidates out of 100 would have denied it or equivocated. Instead, he replied, "Yes,

and I am prepared to say it again." The audience rose as one man and cheered him to the echo.

Is it essential for a candidate to be a good speaker? Not at all. I have been beaten by an opponent who couldn't utter two consecutive sentences intelligibly. Too great fluency may be a positive disadvantage to a candidate.

It is, of course, desirable that a candidate should be able to state his views clearly and intelligently, and that is enough. I was once addressing a meeting of agricultural workers, and when the applause on my rising had died down, and before I could begin to speak, a big fellow on the front seat shouted out, "Make it plain, Mister, for we're a lot of ignorant devils."

The most attractive quality in a politician is sincerity. It will carry a candidate to success at the polls, and will secure for him the ear of the House of Commons. I am not denying that in some cases electors are carried away by the oratory of plausible and self-seeking demagogues, but such men are usually found out in time. The House of Commons has an instinct for sizing up such characters, and never tolerates mere bounce.

A man who is determined to make a success of a political career must not be discouraged because success is slow in coming. It will come only as the reward of hard work and unceasing effort. Even failures should be a stimulus to perseverance. There is the well-known case of Disraeli, who broke down in his maiden speech, but threw this defiance to a jeering House: "The day will come when you will hear me!"

Is a political career worth following? The men who succeed and attain ministerial rank would in most cases, no doubt, say it is. These men have enjoyments and the thrill of the chase which are denied to the ordinary member. The back-bench member has, on the whole, a dull and monotonous life. He loses his individuality in the flock which obediently follows the crack of the party whip.

No man can make money out of politics, even if he attains high office. But the member of Parliament who remains a humble private member, and who conscientiously does his duty, has the consolation of knowing that he has done his country some service, even if the ambitions he once entertained of high success have ended in disappointment.



INDIANS ABROAD

KENYA PROBLEMS

THE 'White Highlands' proposals are still before the Indian colonists to fight and defeat. By that peculiar order known as 'administrative practice' Indians are debarred from acquiring any land in the Highlands. As pioneer colonists and British subjects the Indians have always claimed the right of equal treatment. They have striven hard for a change in the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Kenya Government. The attempts have not met with any conspicuous success as yet. The Empire does not stand for real equality in spite of its professions. It disapproves racial discrimination only against the Europeans, and not against the black or the brown. Still the Indians should never relax any effort to gain what they have a right to, and certainly the Government of India should try to redeem the good name of the Empire in this respect.

JEWISH SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS

A further possible cause of difficulty and danger is now being added to the difficult problem of the East African Indians by the proposals of the British Government to afford all facilities to the Jewish refugees from Europe to settle in Kenya. The Jews are no doubt in a sad plight. They deserve all sympathy. But it has to be seen that no new problems are created in Kenya by the attempt at solving this unfortunate question. It is presumed that the Jewish colonists will settle in lands, will take to farming in Kenya, and contribute to the general prosperity of the people. An eloquent extract from a Jewish paper in London speaks of the golden promise:

"Kenya would undoubtedly profit by selective, organized and properly financed immigration of the right type, for a larger European population means greater spending power and a greater variety of commercial enterprise, greater exports and therefore greater revenue, greater imports and new scope for British manufactures and greater amenities of all kinds . . . That the new settlers will be almost exclusively Jews is inevitable in the circumstances and need cause no anxiety."

With the example of the success of the Jewish attempts at Palestine before us it may be said that the country will quickly develop under Jewish capital and energy. It is doubtful, however, if the European colonists, the masters of the 'White Highlands,' will socially

admit these European 'untouchables' into their company. Similar doubts may be entertained about the eagerness of the Jewish people as a rule to settle in land. In Palestine, until the community tried persuasion, the Jews were proved to be a town-dwelling community. It is here that the Kenya Indians must have grave apprehension about the proposal. Indians there are mainly artisans and traders gathered in cities and towns. The Jew from, whatever quarter of the globe he might come, must enter the business life of the colony and make for himself his own room. As the *Sunday Post* of Nairobi points out (*The Statesman*, Aug. 15. 1938):

Any influx of Jews on a large scale would certainly affect the 'balance of power' in this country as between European, Indian and native. In so far as the immigrants penetrated into the business life of the community—and who can doubt that this would be one of the most noticeable effects of an addition of Jewish people to the community?—the Indian hold on local business would be challenged.

In East Africa, it has also to be noted, there is a large Muslim community who, for obvious reasons, are not likely to welcome the Jewish immigrants. Their coldness is bound to change into hostility as their economic life will be threatened by the new-comers, backed by a better organisation and finance. The Jewry may find little cause to thank the generous spirits like Lord Winterton who with the best of intentions would throw them in the same state as Lord Balfour did it in Palestine. The Jew thus will raise unknown problems in the colony, to the European, the Indian and to the native people of Africa; the delicate political balance of which is likely to be affected by his presence, and, that, mostly to the disadvantage of the Indians in Kenya.

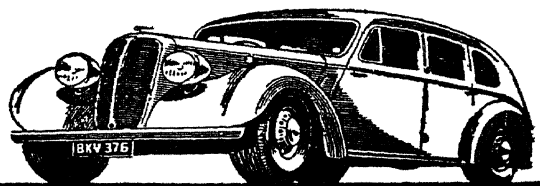
One particular point, bound to raise more resentment in the Indian people against the Kenya 'administrative practice' of excluding the Indians from the Highlands, is likely to place the anomalous and invidious character of the practice before all of the proposals for Jewish settlement materialise. The Jew from Europe, from Germany, Italy, Poland or the Balkans, as the case may be, will be eligible to acquire lands in the Highlands from which the Indians of the British Empire are shut out. The Empire-link is really well worth preserving!

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EAST AFRICAN UNION

The proposal for an East African union of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar emanating from the European Colonists have been, we noted last, stoutly opposed by the Indian communities. A sort of fiscal co-operation in the lands is in existence; but the Indians bitterly oppose any political union in which the Kenya Europeans with their deep racial prejudice is bound to play the dominating role and the Indian as a result in Tanga, Uganda, etc., are to be subjected to the same fate as in Kenya itself. In the Dar-es-Salam meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of East Africa the European element carried a proposal in favour of the union against the obvious opinion to the contrary of the Indian representatives, who, as minority, took no part in the proceedings.

Closer union between Rhodesia and Nysaland forms the subject-matter of an inquiry by a Royal Commission. Before it the Indian Chamber of Commerce of Nysaland submitted a memorandum approving of closer co-operation but expressing concern at the loss of separate identity of Nysaland. Indians in this connection demanded removal of restriction on their immigration in South Rhodesia and similar other grievances.

SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING PROBLEM

Discontent in the slum clearing method of Durban came to a head as is known, when the Indian community was forced in some cases to resort to passive resistance. The Indians of course are not in love with the slums—these are their lot as a result of the variety of past causes, *viz.*, the unenviable condition of the first immigrants whom mere prospect of bread was sufficient to bring over anywhere and reconcile to any condition of life; the thoughtless administration of the early authorities, and the planless growth of the city. The proposal for clearing of the slums is welcome. But the Indians object to a scheme which makes no provision for housing its occupants before even the shelters are pulled down. Stay orders have been issued in some cases against such demolition of residence.

INDIAN LABOUR WAGES IN MALAYA

The following letter received from Malaya speaks for itself. It need only be pointed out that the Chinese labour, more determined and conscious had, under the present circumstances, by a strike at the Hong Fatt Tin Mine, their

wages increased to 80 per cent. The need for the hour for the Indian labour is organization and leadership to give right direction to the unrest among the Malayan Indian labour. Runs the letter :

The announcement in the local papers that the Government of India have stopped assisted emigration to Malaya, at least as a temporary measure until the supply and demands reach an equilibrium is received in this country with mixed feelings. The Indian organisations, throughout Malaya welcome the news. The planting circles, though considerably disturbed over this decision, are putting on a bold front and have challenged the decision of the Government of India by announcing a further reduction of wages to 40 cents for males and 32 cents for females with effect from 1st August, 1938. In this attitude of the planters it is freely whispered that they have the support of the Malayan Labour Department. Individual planters are reported to hold differing views. There are some who feel that the Government of India should have been consulted in advance and that the United Planting Association of Malaya should have taken the Agent of the Government of India into their confidence before any decision was taken in the matter of reduction of wages. Others hold that Malaya should not yield to pressure, that it is time that the Indian bluff is called off while yet others opine that, if necessary, the Colonial Government should be asked to bring pressure on the Indian Government. The majority, however, look upon the announcement from a practical point of view and remain undisturbed. They, of course, base their argument on past experience.

According to them there are two principal sources of Indian labour supply to Malaya, by way of (1) assisted emigration and (2) unassisted or voluntary emigration. Figures indicate that the latter and the methods employed to bring about the latter flow of labour from India can always be relied upon. For example during the years 1931, 1932 and 1933 when the country was experiencing the worst slump the total number of assisted immigrants was only 148 while the arrivals of unassisted immigrant labour during the same period was no less than 27,743. Again in 1937 alone while the assisted emigrants from India numbered 54,849, the unassisted emigrants were 46,925. These figures are very telling and the section of planters who seem to rely on unassisted emigrants are justified in their feeling of security especially as Malaya today has a surplus labour.

The thinking section of the Indian community, on the other hand, look upon these figures with alarm and misgivings. Newspaper reports from Simla, however, contain some reference to this and the feeling here is that unless some effective measures are taken to check this regular flow of unassisted emigration of labour from India, the present decision to stop assisted emigration cannot go far to improve the situation. The atmosphere is tense and all are keenly watching further developments.

G. H.

Trade Commissioner for India in U. S. A.

FIRST DIRECT OFFICIAL LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND
AMERICA HAILED BY AMERICANS AND
NEW YORK INDIAN COMMUNITY

On the fourth of July, the anniversary of the historic American Declaration of Independence, there set foot on American soil the first official representative of the Government of India, Mr. Hardit Singh Malik, Trade Commissioner for India to the United States of America. The significance of the occasion was fully appreciated by our compatriots in the United States of America, who felt that the appointment of the Trade Commissioner to the United States of America was recognition of India's changing status in the comity of nations.

A delegation of the newly formed Indian Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., consisting of Sirdar Jag Jit Singh, President, Messrs. Magan S. Dave and S. S. Sarna, Vice-Presidents, and Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, General Secretary, left the mainland at South Ferry on a United States Government Coastguard Cutter and met Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Malik and their daughter and son on the high seas at quarantine.

On behalf of the Indian Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., Sirdar Jag Jit Singh, President, extended a cordial welcome to Mr. Malik. Messrs. Singh and Dave garlanded Mr. and Mrs. Malik in Indian fashion. Mr. Malik graciously acknowledged the welcome accorded to him by the officers of the Indian Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc.

A galaxy of American press was present to interview Mr. Malik, who made the following statement: "I consider it a great honor and privilege to be sent here to represent my country in trade matters, and I welcome

the opportunity it gives me to develop trade relations between our two countries. If I can get results along this line, I shall be a happy man."

The Paramount Movie Cameraman made a moving picture of the garlanding ceremony and of the welcome speech and Mr. Malik's response. Meanwhile, against the magnificent background of New York's famous skyline, the S.S. Queen Mary was moving towards its pier. At the pier, a welcoming party consisting of Indians and Americans, boarded the ship. In the welcoming party at the pier were: Mr. and Mrs. J. Mohammad Ali, Mr. J. L. Ali, Mr. and Mrs. Hari G. Govil, Mrs. Magan S. Dave, Mrs. S. C. Mukerjee, Mr. J. Nath, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Chaityn, Messrs. Tara Singh, Ram Lal Bajpai, K. Y. Kira, K. Shridharani and many others. Another garlanding ceremony took place on the boat at the pier, Mrs. Dave, Mrs. Govil and Mrs. Mukerjee garlanding Mr. and Mrs. Malik. The Mayor of New York City and the Police Commissioner of New York had, at the request of the chamber, extended to the guests the courtesy of a police escort of two motor-cyclists. Amidst blowing sirens of the police escort, the automobile procession with Mr. and Mrs. Malik, their two children, and the welcoming party made its way up Fifth Avenue to the Essex House where Mr. Malik and his family are staying temporarily.

This reception of the first Trade Commissioner for India to the United States of America symbolizes the dawn of a new era in direct Indo-American relations and has been hailed as such by the press in this country.

Hindusthan Academical Association of Vienna

INDISCHER AKADEMISCHER VEREIN

The opening ceremony of our new premises. Bharat Bhuvan was performed by Prof. B. Sahni of Lucknow University, at 5 P.M. on Sunday the 17th July, 1938, in the presence of a large gathering of prominent Indian visitors, German residents and members of the Association. Prominent among those present on the occasion being Mrs. B. Sahni, Major Dr. M. G. Naidu, Nawab Ali Nawa Jung, Retired Chief Engineer of Hyderabad, Mr. S. A. Vahid, Indian Forest Service, Mr. Latif, Sub-judge, Nagpore, Prof. Dr. Avasare of Baroda, Mr. Richard, Mr.

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George of Colombo, Prof. Dr. Demel, Frau Fulop Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Vogt, etc.

The proceedings commenced with a group photo and singing of Bande Mataram. The President of the Association, Dr. R. Krishniah of Mysore in requesting Prof. Sahni to declare the new premises open traced the history of the Association which was started a decade ago by Sriyut Subhas Chandra Bose, Prof. Rajaram of Rurki Engineering College and Sir Shri Vastav of Cawnpore, through the active spade work of a band of enthusiastic students and doctors who were here for study at that time. The most outstanding amongst them being Dr. K. N. Gairola. The Association has been nursed by successive office-bearers and brought up to its present prominent position.

P. A. S. RAGHAVAN,
Secretary.

Indians in Mauritius

In furtherance of the labour policy of the Local Government six labour inspectors have been appointed to watch over the welfare of the Indian labourers. Industrial Associations of Workers have been established all over the Island and it is expected that the working classes will make full use of them to further their interest. Mr. Jaya Narayan Roy, M.A., LL. B., and Mr. K. Hazareesingh are among the six inspectors. One of the qualifications that were required for that post was a thorough knowledge of Hindusthani, as the inspectors will have to deal entirely with Indian labourers.

Small Indian planters—formerly far off from the official world—are now entertained at receptions given by His Excellency the Governor Sir Bede Clifford at the Government House. His Excellency is very keen on furthering the welfare of the Indian community and in the Budget of the current year he has made provisions for the appointment of a Hindu and a Moslem Lecturer in Religion and Philosophy at the Royal College and two Moral Instructors

of both communities for the Prisons. Selections for these appointments have already been made.

B. H. S.

A School for Indian Children in Portuguese East Africa

The *Lourenco Marques Guardian* (August 2, 1938) writes editorially :

The opening last Sunday by the Indian community of a Temple of Knowledge, the Indian name for which is Veda Mandir, signifies a further development in the life of Lourenco Marques. Leading officials, following the acceptance of an invitation by His Excellency, the Acting Governor-General, Dr. Nunes de Oliveira to open the institute, also attended.

The building wherein Indian children will receive proper education is a handsome one, elected at a cost of £3,500 subscribed by local Indians. In this building will be taught, besides Indian languages, Portuguese so that the children of today, the citizens of tomorrow, will be prepared in a fitting manner for the life before them in this country. The significance of this is clear. It shows that a knowledge of Portuguese is indispensable and indicates that Portuguese influence is to have a greater bearing.

It is well-known that the Indian a decade or two ago was a per-on bound to peculiar habits, customs and religion. Changed environment, conditions in new countries and a realization of the advantages of living in contact with the Portuguese has brought about changes and modifications and, today, it can be said the majority of Indians in this Colony enjoy a life at least the equal of most Europeans. They are treated well, are respected, and have liberty of action.

The presence of leading officials at the opening of the school is proof once more of the tolerance and consideration shown by the Portuguese for law abiding and hard working colonists. In this case it is a recognition particularly complimentary to the Indians who, since their first people arrived in this land have never given, as His Excellency said, the slightest cause for censure. Affirmations such as these, made by so important an official as the Governor-General, must be received with much satisfaction by these people. It must also be gratifying to them to know they are considered valuable collaborators in the development of this part of the Portuguese Empire.

Sunday's ceremony showed up in favourable light the discipline and orderly behaviour of the Indians and their respect for those above them. The hanging of the portraits of the President, the Prime Minister and the Acting Governor-General in the school was a happy thought and a fitting expression of their sentiments towards the people of the country in which their homes are now.



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NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi's Seventieth Birthday

We write this note before the celebration of Mahatma Gandhi's seventieth birthday has commenced anywhere. There is no question that everywhere it will be celebrated in an impressive manner. It is to be earnestly hoped that the pomp and circumstance which invariably mark such celebrations will not stand in the way of the participants' realizing what Mahatma Gandhi stands for and what he has worked for.

He has all along laid the greatest stress on truth and non-violence. There is much lip-loyalty to truth and non-violence, which, it is evident from some of Gandhiji's recent writings, has given him pain and perhaps some sleepless nights. Unquestionably loyalty to truth should be whole-souled. So also loyalty to the principle of non-violence.

To eschew hatred and anger in thought, word and deed is a very difficult ideal to follow—one almost impossible of realization. But an earnest endeavour should, we feel, be made.

Personally we, who are very very far from the realization of this ideal, think that all use of force is not violence, though when force must be used the ideal is to use it without anger and hatred. In the present stage of human civilization, force has to be used for the prevention and suppression of anti-social acts, generally called crimes. There are certain occasions when even killing would be justified: for example, when a woman finds that she cannot save herself from

being ravished except by inflicting what may amount to even a fatal blow on her assailant, it would be quite right for her to do so. It is both her right and duty. If she be disabled, some one else coming to her rescue may also quite rightly do so, or rather ought to do so, if there be no other way to save her.

We cannot assert dogmatically that if, for maintaining or regaining the independence and freedom of a country, non-violent means prove ineffectual, recourse should not be had to armed force, though our conviction is that in the present circumstances of India, our struggle for freedom and independence can only be and ought to be absolutely non-violent.

The leading part which Mahatma Gandhi has taken in India's struggle for freedom and the way to success which he has pointed out have raised untold millions of Indians from the slough of political despondency. They may not all be his followers. But his teaching and example have filled their minds with a new hope and confidence. They feel that India can and will be free.

There are dissensions in Congress ranks, and even some of the leaders have not been true to the declared principles of the Congress—which is to be deplored. The Congress can lead India to her goal only by being strictly non-communal, democratic and nationalistic. Though Gandhiji is not infallible, just as other human beings are not, he is better qualified than any other Congress leader to call the Congress back to its true principles and to keep it loyal to them. Apart from any feelings of personal

attachment to him which numerous Indians have, mere selfishness must make us all wish him long life.

His devoted services to the "untouchables" are unsurpassed. He has made himself one of them. If others adore him while despising them, he cannot help it; he must be pained by it.

It would not be practicable—and it is not necessary, to recount all his services to the country and the world. The great impetus which he has given to village industries is known to the public. He has worked for the peasants and the factory workers without entertaining and rousing hatred against the landlords and the capitalists; and without hostility to the ruling princes he champions the cause of the disfranchised and oppressed people of the Indian States. He has been misunderstood for this kind of attitude and activity.

His services to world peace have been recognized by many in India and abroad, but not yet as generally as they deserve to be.

The purity, spirituality and simplicity of his life have given a new value to human personality, apart from accessories.

Question of India's Freedom "A Matter of Life and Death"

"India is at present deeply concerned with the question of her own freedom, which is a matter of life and death for her and not so much with minor political details," said the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, explaining the background of the Congress ideology at a conference of press representatives, mainly of Indian newspapers.

She deplored the complacency with which her arrival was made the occasion for reports indicating that everyone was happy with the working of 'provincial autonomy' in India. She said that this deeply pained her, as also such manifestations of ignorance as a statement in one press report that she started her daily round of activities with a yogic exercise, standing on her head, and that the United Provinces was a backward Indian State.

Backwardness and superstitions did not matter now, nor small amenities such as roads and parks, but only bread and butter and the free air of freedom. India was fighting for her independence and all her activities in the political field today were conditioned by that sole objective.

Questioned on the subject of the threat to the Czech democracy, and whether India as a protagonist of freedom would not choose to side with England in the event of a war for the protection of democracy,

she drew attention to the Congress resolution on the subject and added that the matter was for the people of India to decide, but this could only be done by an India

which was free to decide for herself. She asked if India could fight for a democracy, while democracy was denied to her, and said: "No, that is a contradiction in terms."

Questioned about her future programme,

the Hon'ble Mrs. Pandit said that she would devote the next ten days to the matter of her health and the question of social activities, if any, would be decided later.—*Reuter*.

That the question of India's freedom is a matter of life and death for her children, is *literally* true, was shown by us in the last number of *The Modern Review* in the note on political subjection and length of life. The table of expectation of life in different countries given in that note proves to demonstration that in subject India people die on an average much earlier than in other civilized countries for which statistics are available. And all these countries are free and independent or almost independent or autonomous in their internal affairs.

Some months ago Mrs. Pandit had said that the kind of 'provincial autonomy' given to the provinces did not mean that they had obtained Swaraj. She did well to repeat that observation in London in different language. Recently Mr. Sampurnanand and other notable Congressmen have said similar things. As Swaraj has still to be won, all nationalists should concentrate attention on what is indispensably necessary for its attainment, refraining for the present from bringing to the forefront the particular fads or fancies of particular persons and groups.

Though some of the British newspapers are guilty of "manifestations of ignorance" in what they have written of her, deservedly high tributes have also been paid to her by others. For example, the *Manchester Guardian* has written:

Until last year only one woman in any part of the British Commonwealth had ever held Cabinet rank. Mrs. Vijaya Pandit . . . is Miss Margaret Bondfield's first successor, but, unlike Miss Bonfield, she holds two Ministerial posts in the Government of the United Provinces of India—those of public health and of local self-government.

Considering the energy with which the Government has been working since it took office in July, 1937, and the arduousness of Mrs. Pandit's duties (culminating in the weeks she spent touring through all parts of the province affected by the recent cholera epidemic), it is no wonder that the doctors ordered her to take three months' leave.

WORK IN THE HOME

Most women in India, she thinks, have little sympathy with women in political life, fearing that their homes are likely to be neglected. One reason why she had attained a certain measure of popularity among women was that they had seen her trying to run her house and look after her children in the ordinary way, and realized that her

political work had not prevented this. It was a big strain, but the women's movement would certainly be injured if people thought it wrong for them to enter political life. Mrs. Pandit gave a sketch of her ordinary day, making it clear that she could run her house and fully carry out her mini-terial work.

Her three young daughters take a great interest and pride in her work, and so does her husband, who is a member of the Legislative Council. "If I am able to achieve any success," she said, "a large part of it will be due to my husband's co-operation and moral support."

Mrs. Pandit shared in the great awakening of Indian women that took place in 1930 . . .

"My father had died," she said, "and my mother, a woman of the old school, with her main interest in her home, gave up her whole life to the movement. My brother, my sister, and I were sent to gaol. I had an eighteen months' sentence, and spent the whole of 1932 in gaol. Then they attached my motor-car and remitted the last six months." . . .

One of the things she is doing as Minister of Health is to plan a network of small dispensaries all over the province to meet the needs of villages too far from hospitals . . .

Mrs. Pandit was an early advocate of nursery schools; she has recently started a training school for nurses, and she wants to establish a nursing service for the poor and for middleclass people in their own homes. While in England she wants to see what is being done here on the preventive side of public health.

Congress Swadeshi Exhibition

Autumn is a season of rejoicing in India. In different parts of the country Hindus have festivals variously named Dussera (Dashahara), Durga Puja, Ram-lila, and so on. On these festive occasions members of the family, relatives, and dependents are presented with new articles of clothing, and sometimes with other things also. In no part of the year are greater purchases made than now. Now is the time, therefore, for pushing the sale of Swadeshi goods. Foreign articles attract buyers by their cheapness, finish, and gaudiness, though many of them do not last as long as country-made goods of the same description. Many persons again buy foreign articles of some kinds under the mistaken belief that Swadeshi goods of the same descriptions are not manufactured and cannot be had. Some unscrupulous shopkeepers also sometimes mislead customers.

Exhibitions of Swadeshi goods in this season are for these reasons particularly necessary and useful. Congress leaders in Calcutta rendered considerable service to the public and to the manufacturers of Swadeshi goods by holding a Swadeshi exhibition in the College Street Municipal Market last month. Not only were various kinds of goods exhibited there, but in addition demonstrations were given of the processes of manufacturing them. As the

entrance fee was only half an anna per visitor and batches of school girls and school boys were also admitted free, the number of persons who saw the exhibition was large, and there was much buying and selling.

Moving Exhibition of Swadeshi Goods

If the Congress Swadeshi Exhibition was a success and served a useful purpose, much more spectacular and striking was the Moving Exhibition of Indigenous Products organised by the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation on the 4th September last. If busy or lazy men, or if ladies for some reason or other, would not or could not see the Swadeshi Exhibition, here was the Exhibition brought to their very doors. They could see without any expense or trouble how many different kinds of things their enterprising countrymen were making for their use. Many of those who saw these articles for the first time had no idea that Indian manufacturers had succeeded to so large an extent.

A fleet of seventy motor lorries and buses, loaded with various kinds of country-made things, well arranged and displayed, glided smoothly and slowly through many important thoroughfares of the city, creating a sensation and drawing large crowds of curious spectators to the roadside and the roofs, balconies and verandahs of houses.

It is to be hoped the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation will repeat this successful experiment so that lasting results may be obtained, and that towns outside Calcutta and Bengal will emulate Calcutta's example. Most of our manufacturers and traders have not yet acquired the advertising habit, and even if they had, such moving exhibitions would have their value owing to their direct striking visual appeal.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities have been serving both the manufacturers and the buying public by their annual Puja moving shops.

Among the large number of firms which took advantage of the Moving Exhibition mention may be made of the following:

Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Calcutta Chemical Co., Himani Works, B. K. Paul and Co., Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Mohini Mills, Lily Biscuit Co., Banga Sree Cotton Mills, Sree Durga Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Sterling Pharmaceutical Products Co., Bharat Electric Bulb Works, Bengal Electric Lamp Works, Bengal Waterproof Works, Ladco, Nasco, Parijat Soap Works, F. N. Gooptu and Co., G. C. Law and Co., Bengal Enamel Works, Sur Enamel, India Electric Works, Jay

Engineering Works, J. P. Dutt and Co., Everest Engineering Co., Clyde Fan Co., Sreenath Mills, D. N. Bose's Hosiery, Kidderpore Hosiery, Deshabandhu Hosiery, Hari Hosiery Factory, Santosh Biscuit Co., M. L. Bose and Co., Bengal Immunity Co., Oriental Metal Industry, Standard Stationery Manufacturing, Orion and Co., Arya Bakery, Calcutta Mineral Supply Co., Darling Pump, Bengal Potteries, Suraj Mall Nager Mall, Panna Lal Seal Vidyamandir, Bangiya Diasalai, Calcutta Expanded Metal, Calcutta Metal Manufacturing, Bengal Glass Works, New Indian Glass Works, Vax Institute, Calcutta Celluloid Works, R. B. S. Rubber Mills, Bengal Salt Works, Indian Salt Manufacturing, Lakshmi Narain Cotton Mills, Maya Products, Flash Lights, Nath Brass-ware, Bengal Scientific and Technical Works, Tropico Sensidising, India Rubber Goods and Murial Laboratory.

Unique "Convocation" in Patna Senate Hall

In the Senate Halls of other Universities year after year degrees are conferred upon those who succeed in passing the Bachelor's degree and higher examinations. The Patna University Senate Hall recently witnessed a different, but not less important gathering for recognizing and rewarding pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Education Minister of Bihar, awarded prizes there to a batch of adults who were illiterate before but had become literate through the literacy campaign launched by him. The following passages are extracted from the impressive speech which he delivered on the occasion:—

I am extremely glad to be called upon to perform the most pleasant duty of giving away prizes to the first batch of those who a few months ago were steeped in the darkness of ignorance and in this short period of time through the devoted efforts of our student and teacher volunteers have been reclaimed to literacy and enlightenment. This great historic Hall has seen many distinguished gatherings and academic functions in which the highest academic honours have been conferred on eminent men of letters and science but never perhaps has this Hall witnessed a function which has been held to celebrate the success of hundreds of our unlettered adult countrymen in their efforts to seek knowledge and wisdom late in their lives. I have no doubt that today's function will be a turning point in the lives of these men and it will stimulate them to greater efforts for attaining a fuller and richer life.

To my newly literate brethren I take this opportunity of saying a few words. You have during the past few months shaken off your mental inertia and have, in spite of numerous demands on your time, come forward to receive the blessings of education and thus have set a noble example which will no doubt inspire others to follow in your footsteps. You must remember that you have taken upon yourself a great responsibility and that is to continue in the path of knowledge, a journey which you have just commenced. Let me remind you that you have another duty to perform and that is, not only to keep the torch of knowledge burning in your homes and hearts but also to illumine the darkness which today envelops your fellow brethren. Let each one of you make a grim determination that by way of thanks-giving

for the knowledge which you have been able to acquire, you in your turn will pass it on to others. Thus in this crusade against illiteracy and ignorance, I have every hope that we will be able to count on the active support of this new army of adult literate volunteers which will immeasurably strengthen our teacher and student volunteers and lead us to victory.

I shall be failing in my duty if I fail to acknowledge publicly the splendid and devoted services rendered by thousands of our teacher and student volunteers who at the great sacrifice of their hard earned leisure worked hard in spite of all difficulties to make the movement a success.

United Provinces Literacy Schemes

The U. P. Ministry for Education has a number of schemes under contemplation to spread literacy in the Province.

TEACHING OF ADULTS

First, the Ministry is requesting all teachers employed by local self-governing boards, numbering about 100,000 to give some of their spare time to the teaching of adults in their respective areas. For their good work, when this has been testified to by the Education Expansion Office and headmasters of district board schools, they will be awarded certificates of merit and appreciation by the Government, and for exceptionally good work they will be given cash bonuses, ranging from Rs. 15 to 50.

Secondly, those interested in spreading literacy are being asked to undertake regular educational work in the villages. They will be required to organize private schools in suitable village buildings. For their expenses, and as an honorarium, they will receive Rs. 10 per month from the Education Department.

Lastly, to utilize the services of those who may not be in a position to undertake whole-time educational work, the Education Department is planning to invite people to enlist as part-time workers. For every person made literate through their efforts they will receive Re. 1.

LIBRARIES AND READING-ROOMS

It has been found that those who leave school after learning to read and write often relapse into illiteracy for lack of opportunities and facilities to increase their meagre knowledge. Plans are, therefore, almost complete for the opening of 960 adults schools, 750 circulating libraries and 3,600 reading-rooms in villages in October, the aim being that within a radius of three or four miles there should be one reading-room, and that almost every village should be served by circulating libraries.

Each reading-room will be provided with at least one Urdu and one Hindi weekly paper, and magazines in Urdu and Hindi. For each library books worth Rs. 200 will be provided.

Experiments on Living Animals

A British Home Office Return recently issued reveals the surprising fact that nearly a million experiments were performed upon living animals in 1937, or 96,793 more than in 1936.

Of these, only 40,319 were performed under anaesthetics. The report admits that "in many cases of experiments performed without anaesthetics the results were negative."

It is shocking that in the vast majority of these million experiments on living animals no

anaesthetics were used. What positive results beneficial to the human race were thereby obtained? Not that we admit that men have any right to torture the lower animals for human advantage.

Bombay's Compulsory Purchase of Lands Attached in 1931, And Return to Former Owners

BOMBAY, Sept. 2.

It is understood that the Secretary of State for India has permitted the Governor of Bombay to accord previous sanction as required by Section 299 of the Government of India Act to the Congress Ministry's Bill seeking compulsory acquisition of lands confiscated during the Civil Disobedience movement from peasants of Gujerat and Karnatak.

In this connection it might be recalled that the Bombay Legislature passed a resolution approving of Government's policy of purchasing these lands at Government cost with a view to returning them to the original owner. As negotiations to acquire these lands were not very successful, Government proposed bringing forward legislation in the matter. The matter had to be sent to the Secretary of State for approval. According to the measures, the present owners of confiscated lands are to be paid the cost they paid for the land plus any expenses incurred in improving the lands, fifteen per cent by way of compensation and four per cent interest on the capital.

The example of Bombay should be followed in all other provinces where lands may have been confiscated for political reasons.

Persecution of Jews in Europe

It is sickening to read of fresh measures of persecution of Jews in Italy, Austria, and Germany. The papers contained news of a fresh pogrom, too, in Russia. In Poland also they are persecuted.

A Christian poet wrote in a different connection, "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun". But neither 'charity' in the original biblical sense nor any other virtue is a monopoly of any religious community.

References to 'Chatterjee' in the Book on "Lenin and Gandhi"

Our attention has been drawn to certain references to 'Chatterjee' in René Fülöp-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi*, pages 290-293. The first of the sentences in which 'Chatterjee' figures runs as follows:

"The publicist, B. C. Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*, declares that an independent India would never be able to maintain the hegemony over the Indian Ocean at present exercised by Delhi."

We do not know whether the opinions ascribed to Mr. B. C. Chatterjee on pages 290-

293 of *Lenin and Gandhi* are really his. We are concerned here with merely stating that they are not ours and never were, and that the name of the editor of *The Modern Review* is not B. C. Chatterjee.

If Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, really holds the opinions ascribed to him by the author of *Lenin and Gandhi*, it is only proper that he should get the whole credit for them.

We do not know whether this Note which we have written on *Lenin and Gandhi* will come to the notice either of the author of the original book or of the publishers of the English translation of the same. But we have written in the hope that the necessary corrections will be made.

Bengal Civil Liberties Union

At the last second annual general meeting of the Bengal Civil Liberties Union an abstract of the honorary secretary's report of its activities during the last two years was adopted. Great credit is due to Sri Jut Sures Ranjan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., the honorary organising secretary, for his single-minded devotion to the work of the Union. The greater part of the abstract of the report is printed below. The first paragraph relates to the condition of detenus.

On the 22nd December the first statement of the Union was issued regarding the serious condition of several detenus attacked with Tuberculosis, and since then up till now 71 statements have been issued ventilating the grievances of more than a thousand detenus, internees, and persons under other restrictions imposed under lawless laws and also those of people whose Civil Liberties have been wantonly violated by the Executive Government, the Police or other Governmental Agencies in exercise of their powers under ordinary laws especially in connection with labour and peasant movements. The statements have urged for abolition of Repressive Laws and Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners, Modification of Press Laws, Arms Act, Sec. 124A I. P. C. etc. and for Prison Reform in the light of the Reforms that are being introduced in all civilized countries of the world. A special statement containing typical facts and outstanding figures was issued on the 27th Oct. 1937, when the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta and a negotiation was being held between Mahatmaji and the Hon'ble Ministers. Facts and figures were specially prepared and supplied to Mahatmaji for the momentous purport between His Excellency the Governor and him-elf held at Barrackpore on 9-11-37.

A Special Report, containing 132 pages of typed and printed matter, was placed before the London Conference on "Civil Liberties in India" held at the Transport House on October 7 of the last year under the presidency of Lord Listwell. This report contained the following chapters:—

- I. Repressive Laws.
 - A. Their Scope.
 - B. Their Operation.
 - C. Condition of the detenus, etc.—Suicides, Deaths, Insanity, T. B. and other serious diseases, etc.
 - D. Number of several sets of prisoners under successive persecutions since 1915.
 - E. Miscellaneous.
 - F. Condition of Camps and Grievances of Male and Female Detenus.
- II. Press Laws.
 - A. Operation thereof in practice.
 - B. Books Proscribed.
- III. Civil Liberties as they are today : Chronicle of events since the inauguration of the New Constitution.
 - A. Repression as continued till now.
 - B. Lady Detenus and Political Prisoners.
- IV. Police Methods.
 - A. Fabrication of cases; Planting of Revolvers, etc.
 - (i). Midnapore Police Spy case.
 - (ii). Sylhet Revolver Planting case.
 - (iii). Revolvers and Explosives find case at Dacca.
 - (iv). Two other cases.
 - B. Char-Manair Report, 1923.
 - C. Police atrocities in districts during the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932.
 - D. Summary of Chaygaon case.
 - E. Present Day Instances.
 - V. Beginning of the struggle for the rights of the people since 1905 in Bengal.
 - VI. Agonies of individual Detenus, etc.
 - VII. Tragic wails of families.

The substantial service to the credit of the Union is that

It was able to bring out to the public (i) the real condition that had been for a long time prevailing behind the prison-bars and at the domiciles in the forlorn corners of remote villages; (ii) that numerous families of Bengal had been disrupted under systematic repression carried or by a reactionary Government; and (iii) that police persecution continued still after release, making it almost impossible for our youths to settle down peacefully in life. The cumulative effect of all these may be said to be that a consciousness has been awakened to the magnitude of infringements of Civil Liberties, and the sensitiveness that grew blunt has been a bit keen as to the safeguarding of the rights of the people.

And a greater appreciation by the public of the province manifested itself in the formation of Branch Unions in districts which again gave clear indications of a growing awakening.

As regards repressive laws, it is stated:

Though the detenus have been released and restrictions withdrawn, the administrative policy of the Government remains reactionary as before and a whole series of repressive laws disfigure the Statute Book. There are again clear indications in the passing of the Army Recruiting Bill, that in days not very remote the engine of repression may be in full operation. A vast amount of literature is still under ban and organs of communication and expression of thoughts and opinions are still sought to be gagged. While in countries where there are National Governments Civil Liberties Unions are growing in number and strength, it is the duty of the people of this country to see that a Civil Liberties Union is maintained.

A Civil Liberties Union should certainly be maintained in Bengal in fully vigorous working order. It has done very useful and necessary work during the last two years.

The following office-bearers were elected for the session 1938-39:

President : Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee.
 Vice-Presidents : Sj. Syamaprosad Mukherji, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Sj. Hirendra Nath Datta, Prof. Nripendra Ch. Banerji, Mr. A. K. M. Zakariah and Prof. Mrinal Kanti Bose.
 Secretary : Sj. Sures Ranjan Chatterji.
 Jt.-Secretary : Prof. Benoyendra Nath Banerji.
 Treasurer : Sj. Sitaram Sakseria.

The American Civil Liberties Union

The United States of America is the greatest republic in the world in the old accepted sense of the word 'republic.' Its people enjoy great political liberty, and their civic rights, too, are enviable. Yet they have a Civil Liberties Union, and it has to be very active, too. This is enough to show how greatly the people of India, who are not free, require the services of Civil Liberties Unions in all provinces—particularly in provinces like Bengal and the Panjab, with branches in all districts.

As to the work of the American Civil Liberties Union, *Unity* of Chicago writes :

The American Civil Liberties Union has through twenty years of impartial, unprejudiced, courageous fighting built up for itself the reputation of being the foremost champion of civil rights in this country. It has never failed to come to the relief of any one, however humble or even disreputable, who has been denied full freedom of speech and press, as see its annual report just issued. In the very necessities of the case, its clients have frequently been Socialists, Communists, and other radicals who have of course been the first to suffer the worst at the hands of reactionary public authorities. It has been this insistence of the Union upon defending the liberties of those whom no one else would defend which has besmeared it at the hands of bigoted opponents with the charge of being "red." But the Union has championed quite as vigorously individuals and groups of quite a different stamp—as for example, Roman Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, Ku Klux Klanners, and now capitalistic employers under indictment of the National Labor Relation-Act.

This last instance is interesting! Under the terms of the Wagner Act (as the law is popularly called), especially as administered by the National Labor Relations Board, employers are denied the right to state any opposition to or criticism of trade unionism to their employees, to distribute circulars among them, to communicate with them in any way, shape, or manner. The employer within the area of his factory, and among the people on his payroll, must keep absolutely silent on all matters at issue between them. Recently, for example, an employer was indicted by the N. L. R. Board, and will in due course be punished, for the heinous offence of distributing among his employees a speech by a Congressman attacking the C. I. O. If

this isn't a denial of free speech, we should like to know what such denial is.

Princely Sympathy and Munificence

DARJEELING, Sept. 9.

Information has been just received here that on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of his accession to the Premiership, His Highness General Sir Joodha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Maharaja of Nepal, has announced remission of the entire loan amounting to twenty lakhs of rupees, given to sufferers of the 1934 earthquake, and also refund of the amounts already paid.

On the news of this announcement reaching Darjeeling there was great rejoicing among the local Nepalese residents.—A. P.

Industrial Production in India

Commerce writes:

Official statistics available regarding the progress of industrial production in India during 1937-38 show satisfactory development. The progress that was noticed in the earlier two years, in the wake of general economic recovery, was maintained and even augmented in certain instances, particularly in the cotton mill industry. The following are the available statistics of production in some of the major industries:

| Commodity | 1936-37 | 1937-38 |
|--------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Cotton piecegoods (mil. yds.) | 3,572 | 4,084 |
| Iron and Steel (000 tons) | | |
| Pig iron | 1,552 | 1,644 |
| Steel ingots | 861 | 922 |
| Finished steel | 692 | 823 |
| Sugar (000 cwt.s.) (11 months) | 16,213 | 17,988 |
| Paper (cwt.s.) | 970,625 | 1,076,222 |
| Coal (000 tons) | 20,064 | 23,479 |
| Jute manufactures (000 tons) | 1,252 | 1,303 |

Vidyasagar Memorial Hall at Midnapur

MIDNAPORE, Sept. 10.

The foundation stone of the Vidyasagar Memorial Hall was laid this morning by Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan after Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., had opened the proceedings and thanked the donors for their liberal contributions.

In the course of his speech Sir S. Radhakrishnan referred to Vidyasagar as an eminent educationist, social reformer and leader of Indian renaissance. "This renaissance is not the recapture of ancient ideal or renewal of ancient achievement but a dynamic readjustment of ancient ideals to modern conditions."

Tracing the history of Hinduism, he said that its essential spirit was movement and its dark days were those when its champions became advocates of stagnation. The great teachers of Hinduism were not the conservative upholders of existing outworn ideas but radical innovators of new ways of thinking and acting. Vidyasagar was a religious man. We have failed not because we have followed things spiritual but because we have not followed them sufficiently. We have created a gulf between spirit and life and rested in a compromise. Religion is not belief in routine and ritual. It is not a system of enactments and prohibitions based on undefined fears and sanctioned by terrific penalties. Bigotry and

superstition are mistaken for religion. It is a life of peace and love. Vidyasagar was a friend of women. He was a constructive patriot. His many-sided activities indicate his versatile genius and his passion for India's freedom.—A. P. I.

Two Great Jews

Unity of Chicago records the death in July last of two of the world's greatest Jews—one in U. S. A. and the other in England. The former was Supreme Court Justice Cardozo, and the latter, Dr. Claude Goldsmid-Montefiore. The American weekly observes:

Amid the raging anti-Semitism of this hour, and the snarling prejudice and contempt of Jews, so prevalent even among those who would deny the taint of anti-Semitism, we think of these two men who make ridiculous every charge directed against their brethren. Glorious and indispensable to mankind is any race which can produce such sons.

Doctorate for Ex-Vice-Chancellor

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its meeting on September 10 last conferred *honoris causa* the Degree of Doctor of Literature on Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerji.

Paying his tribute to the services rendered by Mr. Mookerji as Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, said he believed the entire Bengali community would welcome the conferment of this Degree on Mr. Mookerji, who had done so much for the cause of education in the province. Mr. Mookerji had left a mark in the history of education in this province and the Vice-Chancellor felt sure that the policy shaped by Mr. Mookerji would guide the activities of the University for many years to come.

This honorary degree is fully deserved.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Decentralization of Industries

Addressing the students of the Institute of Science at Bangalore Mr. C. F. Andrews dealt lucidly with the subject of over-population and spoke mainly about the way in which industrial and agricultural science might help to solve the problem or at least lessen the evil.

He pointed out that huge centralized industries of western type such as are found in Great Britain, United States and Germany might only increase the present misery.

True, but in certain places and under certain circumstances, they might not increase the present misery, but relieve it.

"What is needed," he said, "is rather some form of decentralization, whereby the villages themselves may become thriving homes of industry. This would increase the earning capacity of the villagers without taking them away from their homes."

This is very much to be desired wherever possible.

Two improved methods of village craftsmanship, said Mr. Andrews, might be aimed at: (1) the construction of

better machines which could be worked by the hand and foot and (2) the introduction of power through the transference of electricity from power stations.

The first method is practicable everywhere in India with regard to some village industries. The electrification method is practicable in provinces whose Governments have not been fleeced by the Government of India. It can hardly be adopted in Bengal so long as the legalised spoliation of this Province continues. Sir N. N. Sircar writes in his "Speeches and Pamphlets" (published in 1934), pp. 106-107:

The percentage of total Provincial Revenues which are retained in the Provinces are :—

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Bengal .. | 30.3 |
| United Provinces .. | 78.4 |
| Madras .. | 69.5 |
| Bihar and Orissa .. | 92.8 |
| Punjab .. | 85.9 |
| Bombay .. | 40.7 |
| Central Provinces .. | 90.1 |
| Assam .. | 85.4 |

While slight corrections are necessary, as some part of Customs Revenue from maritime provinces is attributable to those inland, and a smaller portion of revenue from taxes is similarly attributable—yet the figures bring out clearly the condition of Bengal due to no shortcomings of her own.

Some further correction is necessary owing to Sir Otto Niemeyer's award. But after making all such corrections, one would find the relative wretched position of Bengal's finances unaltered.

With regard to iron and steel works Mr. Andrews saw little hope of any great decentralization. Everything should be done at such centres by careful town-planning to avoid making new slums. The Tata Steel and Iron Company had succeeded in this at Jamshedpur.

There may be other similar heavy industries, which must either be centralized in India by Indians or left in the hands of foreign manufacturers abroad for the exploitation of India.

On the other hand for lighter industries, there was a perpetual supply of skilled labour in the villages which was only being half-employed in agriculture. Just as in Denmark and Switzerland a new and thriving countryside had recently come into existence, owing to the revival of village industries combined with the use of electric power, so the countryside of India might take this form more and more in the future and thus lead on to a higher standard of living. Increase of spending power was likely in the end to mean a lower birth-rate. At the very least it would provide more food for those who were suffering badly today from malnutrition.—U. P.

We agree. Nothing would please us more than the revival of village industries through the use of electric power and improved cottage machinery. And we know that in the course of a few years some provinces will be able to supply electric power even to rural areas for agricultural and industrial purposes. We do not and will not envy them their good luck. But

what is to be done in and for the Provinces which owing to no fault or natural poverty of theirs have no public money for making arrangements for the supply of electric power both in towns and villages?

Distress Caused By Flood

Owing to many rivers having overflowed their banks in Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and U. P., extensive areas are under water in these provinces, and in consequence there is great distress among the people. Vast multitudes are without food and shelter and proper clothing. It is very difficult to cope with disaster of such magnitude. The resources of both the people and the provincial governments may be taxed to the utmost, but both parties must try their best to be equal to the occasion.

Perhaps the floods have been the most extensive and destructive in Bengal, half the province (13 districts, to be precise) lying prostrate under the destructive fury of its rivers.

It is a proper occasion for the Central Government to come to the rescue of the provinces affected.

Control of Floods

A Poona message says that the problem of flood control is being studied there under official auspices by the officers concerned.

This reminds us that, so far as we are aware, Dr. M. N. Saha's informative paper on river physics and river training contributed to the Sir P. C. Ray Seventieth Birthday Commemorative Volume was the first public discussion in India of the problem which called attention to its gravity. Since then he has contributed other papers on it to this *Review*. After the great North Bengal floods some years ago the Bengal Government asked Professor Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, its meteorological officer, to study the question of floods and submit a report. He did study the subject in its various aspects, passed in review the rainfall statistics for decades and produced a remarkable report. But unfortunately owing to the Government having fixed a prohibitive price for it, it has been as good (or bad?) as suppressed. Writing from memory and not having the report before us—perhaps no Indian editor got a copy from the Government, we are unable to supply more details. But we are positive that any committee which may be appointed to study the problem of floods will derive great advantage from a study of this report. We believe an Orissa

Minister has had talks with Prof. Mahalanobis on the subject of floods.

Talking of Orissa, one cannot but recollect that some years ago Mr. C. F. Andrews made a special study of the Mahanadi floods. Provincial Committees in Orissa, Bihar, U. P., etc., appointed for the purpose, will do well to obtain as much help as possible from Mr. Andrews, along with advice from Sir M. Vivesvarayya and other engineers.

Dr. Nalini Kanta Bose, Ph. D. (Gottingen), has also scientifically studied the subject.

In Japan a committee of engineers and other experts have drawn up a scheme for the conservation and control of rivers. The physical and geographical conditions in Japan are not the same in all respects as in the Indian provinces affected by floods. Nevertheless there must be similarities. The Japanese ideas concerning widening and deepening the river-beds, re-opening covered and silted-up rivers, elevation of railway bridges where necessary, widening and re-opening of culverts, and the like should receive the earnest consideration of our experts and authorities.

Many of our large rivers flow through more provinces than one. For this reason, the Central Government should co-operate with the Provincial Governments and co-ordinate the latter's endeavours.

Since the above was in type we have seen in the September number of *Science and Culture* a letter on "Floods and Prediction of Flood Levels by River Models" contributed by Dr. Nalini Kanta Bose of the Irrigation Research Laboratory of Lahore.

Bengal Bill to Muzzle Press and Public Opinion

A bill, named the "Bengal Official Records Bill" was published in an extraordinary issue of the official *Calcutta Gazette* on September 1 last. It is said in the statement of objects and reasons:

"A growing tendency has been noticed, both in the press and on the platform, to give unauthorised currency to the contents of unpublished state documents. This tendency has rendered imperative the necessity of taking legislative measures to suppress the dissemination in the press and on the platform of the contents of unpublished records of Government unless after due authorisation."

Its penal provisions may be summarized thus:

The provisions of this Bill are calculated to penalise, with imprisonment, editors of newspapers which may publish 'any unpublished official record relating to any affairs of State' or any related matter or any comment thereon, except with the previous permission of the

Provincial Government. The keepers of the presses in which such newspapers are printed will be severally liable.

Any person revealing such records or commenting on them on the public platform is also proposed to be similarly dealt with.

Where a newspaper may be the victim of the penal clauses, the Government may either forfeit any security it may have deposited or may even declare the press to be forfeited to the Government.

One can understand that the unauthorized and premature publication of military plans, army manœuvres, and the like may injure the State and the public and may, therefore, be penalised. Or, let us take another kind of official information which must be kept secret in the interests of the State. In paying a compliment to the trustworthiness of Indian officials, high and low, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech in 1913:

"Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

It is not the divulging of only official information of the kinds indicated above that the Bill penalizes. If passed into law it will enable the Government to punish the divulger of any kind of official information which the Ministry or other officials may wish for their own convenience and interest to keep secret. It will not be necessary for the prosecution to prove that its divulgence has injuriously affected the interests of the State or the public. On the contrary, let us give a few examples of the kind of official information whose unauthorized publication was in the public interest, but which the Bill, if it becomes law, will penalise hereafter.

Lord Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal was subjected to severe criticism in a minute by Sir Henry Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam. The former ordered that that minute should not be published. But it was published by Surendranath Banerjea in defiance of that order in his *Bengalee*. He thereby promoted public good. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* also published secret official information on several occasions, relating, for example, to Kashmir, Gilgit, Bhopal, etc., thereby serving the public but incurring the wrath of the powers that be. In recent times the *Hindusthan*

Standard has done quite the right thing by publishing two successive drafts of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M.L.A., in his speech at the Calcutta University Institute on the 1st September last read out extracts from a secret report of a Press Officer of the Government of Bengal and the following extract from a Note of the Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq :

"In my opinion we should at once undertake legislation to compel newspapers to reserve two columns at any rate for the publication of Governmental matters. If we cannot give them sufficient matters to fill the two columns, they will still keep the unutilised portions vacant in order to show that these columns have been reserved entirely for Government publications. It is on these conditions we can allow the press to function in our country."

The extracts read out by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose have not injured either the State or the public. On the contrary, they have warned the public of possible dangers ahead. But if the Bill becomes law, no one will be able to publish such things hereafter without running the risk of being punished.

By the by, Mr. Bose has not told the public whether Mr. Fazlul Haq's note contained any proposal for paying the newspapers for the reservation of two columns and whether Mr. Haq wanted also to lay down the condition that the papers must not criticise what appeared in these columns !

Congress Resolution On Defence Expenditure Carried

SIMLA, Sept. 13.

By 74 votes to 35, the Central Assembly carried the Congress Party's resolution urging immediate constitution of a committee of the Central Legislature with an elected majority to examine the arrangements in force for the control of Defence Expenditure and suggest means of reduction in defence costs.—U. P.

Bengal Legislature and Calcutta University

It is welcome news that the Government of India have informed the Government of Bengal that according to the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Bengal Legislature is not competent to undertake any legislation affecting the Calcutta University. The reason obviously is that the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University extends over two provinces, namely, Bengal and Assam. It is further reported that the Government of India does not at present intend to initiate any legislation in the Central Legislature affecting

the Calcutta University. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, the Prime Minister of Bengal, will therefore have to give up for the present his intention to rush his reactionary and communalism-ridden Secondary Education Bill through the Bengal Legislature.

Ten-Year Journalistic Fame

Browsing through the pages of Miss Ullman's volume entitled "A Portrait Gallery of American Editors" Mr. Reginald T. Townsend was reminded of John Farrar's remark at the luncheon table that the average editor's span of greatest usefulness averaged ten years—at the most fifteen. That is what Mr. Townsend writes in *The Saturday Review of Literature*. He proceeds :

Applying John's yardstick to the Editors in Miss Ullman's book, we found it amazingly correct. Of the forty-three Editors at the height of their power thirteen years ago but two out of the entire group, in this year of grace 1938, are still editing the same or, for the most part, any magazine. And of the thirty-nine magazines then published, thirteen had suspended publication entirely and several others had been merged or in the case of "Life" had changed their character entirely. Nine of the Editors were dead—two by their own hand—two had retired, one was editing the Sunday Section of a daily newspaper, and of nine we could find no trace. The remaining thirty had quit journalism entirely for other and we trust more substantial occupation. One had become Governor of a New England State; another Vice-President of a large Public Utility Company; several had gone into the more lucrative fields of advertising or public relations; two or three more fortunate than the rest, perhaps, were receiving pensions for their years of work, but there were several others still among the ranks of the unemployed.

So, now-a-days, when a young man or woman suggests taking up editing as a profession, I merely hand them the book with the summary. Not that it will do any good, for youth is ever (fortunately for the world) optimistic.

Dr. N. B. Khare's Affair

The speeches delivered, statements made, letters in the press published, and the leaders and notes written by editors against and for Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-premier of C. P. and Berar, and the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee and Working Committee have attained unusual proportions—bidding fair to become a modern Mahabharat, with its Kurukshetra at—(?). The Congress President, wishing perhaps to deliver the *coup de grace*, indited a very long defence of the Working Committee's action. But alas! Dr. Khare has come out again with a rejoinder.

It cannot but be admitted that both these gentlemen have super-abundant energy.

A British Paper on Dr. Khare

News Review, "the first British News-magazine" writing on "hairy" Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel (but printing at the same time his bald-headed portrait !), writes:

To prove the complete power he had gathered into his hands, Patel could have found no more redoubtable victim than Premier Khare, first Congressman to head an Indian Cabinet. Wealthy surgeon Khare was an old gaol-mate of the Mahatma's. Of Brahmin family noted for its fighting stock, he won himself an early reputation as a dangerous man to cross.

Beside running his own practice he found time to edit *Tarun Bharat* (Young India), most intransigent of Indian Nationalist news organs. He is an inveterate smoker of expensive English cigarettes, sacrificed an income of 20,000 rupees a year to head the Central Provinces Ministry with an income of a mere Rs. 6,000 and an occasional scolding from Sardar Patel.

"Patel's Broom"

The same British newspaper gives other bits, either substantial or spicy, about Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel, *e.g.*:

Most ruthlessly unorthodox member of India's nationalistic Congress Party is its "shadow" leader, hairy Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel. When elected President of the municipality of Ahmadabad, a northern cotton town, he secured a broom and ostentatiously swept the public lavatories and streets. More recently he has devoted much energy to cleaning up graft, slackness and political chicanery in the seven Provinces controlled by Congress.

Last week broom-wielder Patel raised the dust even in the far-away corridors of Whitehall's India Office. Wires buzzed with reports that he was sweeping Congress along the way to Fascism.

This confirmed the suspicions of British officials that Congress, in opposition to the All-India Federation Plan, is grimly attempting to establish a parallel government to the Raj.

How effectively the organizing has progressed was shown recently when the powerful Congress Working Committee calmly assumed the prerogatives of Central Province Governor Sir Frank Wyles. Kicked out of office with no more ceremony than is required to fire an office boy was recalcitrant Premier Dr. Khare.

REVOLUTION

Dismissal of provincial Premiers is one of the functions reserved under the Constitution Act of 1935 to the Governors. The Congress *coup*, therefore, came as the climax to a series of defiant gestures.

Since its foundation 52 years ago by retired British Indian Civil Servant Octave Hume, National Congress has reached its maximum irritation to Britain under the rules of pacific Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialist Subhas Bose. Ascetic Patel (55) the most powerful man in India today, is responsible for the party's latest tactics.

A barrister of the Middle Temple, Sardar Patel prefers parlour meetings to platform work. In his political armoury he carries three weapons: biting sarcasm, quiet intrigue, organizing genius.

An unwavering believer in the doctrines of Gandhi, Patel follows his master in every detail. When Gandhi

once criticised his moustache he shaved it off—but grew it again later.

In a land of ascetics, he is outstanding for frugality. He breakfasts on a pint of cow's milk and a handful of nuts, for lunch and dinner rarely eats more than a few vegetables, a little home-baked bread, some ghee (clarified butter) and a sip or two of lentil soup. Never will he touch a curry, tea or coffee, alcohol or tobacco.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

Similarly it is said of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, United Provinces Minister :

Dark-haired Minister Lakshmi has planned to visit France. With her she brought four grey cases, packed with two dozen vari-hued Indian saris, a few cotton bodices and an overcoat.

Did Britishers expect her to have red, golden, or flaxen hair, we wonder !

"Outlawing Anti-recruiting Activity"

The British paper from which we have made extracts in the foregoing notes makes no secret of why Britain maintains an army in India for which India has to pay, nor of how Moslems are played off against non-Moslems.

To keep India safe for the British the Indian Army maintains a strength of 57,045 Britons and 159,200 native-born troops. With every three Indian battalions a British one is quartered.

As for the composition of the Indian troops it is stated:

Steeped in warlike tradition, India's Moslem Sikhs provide the bulk of native recruits; fewer each year come from the less martial Hindu Nationalists.

"Moslem Sikhs" is delicious. Both Moslems and Sikhs will appreciate it. The British critic conceals the fact that the British Government has long stopped recruitment from the "Hindu Nationalists."

About the debate on the army recruiting bill, now an Act, the paper observes:

Last week when Home Minister Reginald Maitland Maxwell's Bill to outlaw anti-recruiting activity was being debated in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Government had good reason to bless this fact.

In the CLA Hindu Nationalists and the Moslem League together control a clear majority of the 145 seats. Only when one group can be played off against the other can Viceroy Linlithgow's 40 nominated members push through their own proposals.

Then comes a description of the playing off.

Taking advantage of the opportunity to flay British foreign policy, Congressman Satya Murthi declared that eventually Indian soldiers would have to be used to bolster it.

While the Chamber still echoed with his taunts, Moslem Leaguer Maulana Zafar Ali rallied to Mr. Maxwell's aid. Two facts prompted his decisions: (1) Congressman Murthi's native province of Madras provides

the lowest quota of soldiers to the Indian Army; (2) his own Punjab furnishes the highest.

Announcing his party's support for the Bill, even though it meant re-enacting legislation which the Assembly had repealed three years earlier, Maulana Zafar Ali helped to secure its passage by the Assembly.

Moslem Leader Jinnah fully approved Ali's stand. He made clear, however, that Moslem support did not imply permission to use Indian troops against the will or interests of India.

Precious little does Mr. Jinnah care for India's interests! And he knows as well as the merest tyro in Indian politics that, as things stand, India has no power either to withhold or give permission for the use of the Indian army in any way which Britain likes. So what he said was mere eyewash or bluff. It has become quite plain from a subsequent statement of his that he voted as he did (along with his followers) in the economic interest of the Moslem sepoys, recruits and would-be recruits. But thereby he did not promote even the economic interests of the whole or even the bulk of the Muhammadan community. For outside the Panjab & N.-W. F. P. Moslem recruitment is nil or almost nil—Bengali Moslems, who are the largest linguistic group of Indian Mussalmans, not being taken into the army.

Mr. Jinnah is being adversely criticized by many Moslem leaders, including prominent members of the Moslem League.

"Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1938"

What is generally known as the Army Recruitment Bill is now an Act of the Central Legislature. Clause (3) of Section 1 of the Act runs as follows:—

It shall come into force in a province on such date as the provincial Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf for such province.

As the Act provides "for the punishment of certain acts prejudicial to the recruitment of persons to serve in, and to the discipline of, His Majesties Forces," and as recruitment is practically confined to two or three provinces, it will not be necessary to issue the aforesaid notification in eight or nine provinces. Congress policy now prevails in eight provinces. Hence, the issue of such notification is sure to be resisted by the ministries in eight provinces. It will be discreet for the executive government of those provinces to avoid any deadlock which may result from any attempt to issue such notification.

Section 2 of the Act provides,

2. Whoever—

(a) With intent to affect adversely the recruitment

of persons to serve in the Military, Naval or Air Forces of His Majesty, wilfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering any such Forces, or . . . shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

This is penalising mere dissuasion. Practical prevention is a more serious offence than dissuasion. The authorities in India concerned with its defence practically prevent the inhabitants of the whole of India from joining the naval and air Forces and the inhabitants of by far the largest portion of India from joining the land Forces. This ought to be penalised by some law, national or international.

A Great Journalist's Warning to Journalists

In a considerable number of what are commonly called civilized countries, freedom of the press does not exist. Among those in which it does exist Britain occupies a prominent place, and Britain is a really self-ruling country, too. But even in Britain a distinguished journalist like Mr. J. A. Spender apprehends that that freedom may be taken away or curtailed unless his brother journalists are careful. So he has uttered a note of warning, which is to be found in the subjoined extract from the *Manchester Guardian*. It is far easier for the powers that be to forge fetters for the press in India than in Britain. So we journalists should be careful not to give any handle to the enemies of freedom unnecessarily. The *Manchester Guardian* writes:

"These are times of very real peril for the freedom of the press," declared Mr. J. A. Spender in an address on March 7 on 'The Journalist and the public' to the extinguished in one-half of the world, and in the other Institute of Journalists in London. 'It is totally half there are enough enemies of liberty who will gladly seize any handle that we may give them. I would appeal to those who may not have reflected on this matter to bear in mind that a very few false steps may seriously prejudice the liberties which are the common cause of the whole profession.'

'On the question of manners it is useless for any of us to set up our own standards against the accepted code of good feeling and good taste. The accepted standards will prevail whatever we do. I do urge that we should do our utmost to uphold these standards and to protect our own members from any pressure that may be put upon them to depart from them.'

Referring to the Journalists (Registration) Bill, brought forward by the institute, Mr. Spender said that the House of Commons had been incensed by certain recent incidents and by the defiant claim of certain newspapers to do exactly what they chose. The press might think itself fortunate if some clever young M. P. did not draft a bill by which the House of Commons would impose its own discipline on the journalistic profession, and pass it through as a private member's bill.

'We think it to be the far better way,' Mr. Spender went on, 'that we should be given the means of setting our house in order than that public authorities should undertake that task for us. We do not trust officials, who may obtain power to correct our manners, not to use it to stop our voices.'

'In this country the liberties of the press are never likely to be demolished by a frontal attack, but they may be undermined and grabbed away on the plausible excuse of stopping abuses which we ourselves are unable to defend. The French press in the last few months has been threatened with a measure making any writing which may damage the national credit or send capital abroad a penal offence. The necessity of such a measure may be argued in the most persuasive and plausible terms, yet there is hardly anything which, in the hands of an arbitrary executive, it could not be made to cover.'

History of Bengali Lexicons

CALCUTTA, Sept. 19.

It is reliably understood that the Griffith prize of the University of Calcutta for 1937 has been awarded to Prof. Kali Kinkar Dutta, Professor of History, Patna College, and to Mr. Jatindra Mohon Bhattacharya for two original theses on Indian History and on the Bengali lexicon respectively.

It is understood that it is for the first time that a comprehensive, systematic and scientific attempt has been made by Mr. Bhattacharya to trace the growth and development of the Bengali lexicon from the year 1743, i.e., several years even before the battle of Plassey. Mr. Bhattacharya has been able to refer in his original thesis to as many as 150 different volumes of Bengali lexicons between 1743 and 1867.

Mr. Bhattacharya has dealt with indices of words given in different volumes, their philological treatment, the unpublished manuscripts of eight different lexicographers, and their lives. The last chapter of the thesis deals with the development of the Bengali language since 1838 and an attempt has been made to demonstrate how the Bengali language was used as the court language of the province. Mr. Bhattacharya also refers to the pioneering attempts made by Rev. Long, that immortal missionary litterateur, who made the cause of the province his own, and also State papers in this direction.

Mr. Bhattacharya hails from the district of Sylhet, which, although Bengali in all respects, belongs politically to the province of Assam. He is the Ramtani Research Scholar of the Calcutta University and is the author of two volumes published by the University.—*United Press*.

"Making a Fetish of Congress Resolutions"

In the course of a defence of the Madras premier Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for suppressing the anti-Hindi agitation in the Tamil-speaking parts of the Madras Presidency Mahatma Gandhi observes that we must not make a fetish of Congress resolutions. As a general proposition that is correct. They are not sacrosanct. They may and should be done away with if found to be wrong, and they may and should be ended or amended if changed circumstances so require. But so long as any Congress resolution remains in force, that is to say, so long as it has

not been withdrawn, reversed, or altered, Congressmen are bound to act according to it. Therefore, Congressmen should try to put an end to all repressive laws, instead of having recourse to them for their convenience. This the Madras Premier has not done. On the contrary a Madras M.L.A.'s bill for the repeal of the particular repressive law in question has been opposed by the Madras ministry.

It is not to be thought that we either support or justify the persecution to which Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has been subjected. We do not. We think he might have promulgated an ordinance to get rid of the nuisance and later have had recourse to legislation, if necessary. And he ought to have repealed or agreed to the repeal of the repressive law in question, which Mahatma speaks of as a monstrosity and which Congressmen opposed and condemned when passed.

While no persecution of anybody should be allowed, the anti-Hindi agitators should be allowed the fullest liberty to carry on their propaganda and agitation along constitutional lines.

Gandhi's Wrong Analogy

In order to justify the compulsory teaching of Hindustani in Madras Presidency Mahatma Gandhi has brought in the analogy of the compulsory teaching of Latin in schools in England. We do not know whether Latin is still compulsory in English schools. But assuming that it is, the analogy is not correct. Latin may be compulsory in English schools, because a very large number of English words are derived from Latin roots, because many scientific, philosophical and other words have to be coined from Latin roots, because Christian (particularly Roman Catholic) divine services were and still are to some extent performed through the medium of Latin, because the Latin Vulgate is an important translation of the Christian scripture, because knowledge of Latin was and still is a mark of culture in Europe and because the rich Latin literature has to be studied in Europe as a part of the Humanities.

So far at least as the languages prevalent in the Madras Presidency and the people of the Madras Presidency are concerned, Hindustani does not occupy the same position as Latin does in England. It will not be incorrect to state that it does not occupy the same position anywhere in India.

It should also be borne in mind that Latin is not, was not and was never proposed to be made the *lingua franca* of Britain.

If any one proposed to make the study of

Sanskrit compulsory in any Indian province—even the Madras Presidency, it would be in some respects like making Latin compulsory in England. It is not necessary to elaborate our observation. In very many respects Sanskrit occupied and occupies in India the place which Latin did and does in Europe. Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan once made some such proposal. Recently Mr. Sampurnanand, education minister of U. P., has pointed out the desirability of introducing Sanskrit words into Hindi. That can be done only by those who know Sanskrit.

A Congress Daily in U. P.

We are glad that the United Provinces Congress party has again got a properly equipped daily organ. Every distinct party should have its organ. The aims, ideals and opinions of all schools of politics should find expression, and comments on current events in accord with these should be published for the guidance of the public.

We cordially welcome the appearance of *The National Herald* and wish it all success.

A Lesson From the Starting of a Congress "English" Daily

We have never been against India having a *lingua franca*. Our opinion is and has always been that it would have been very convenient if we had a common language. But we have also expressed the opinion that, as circumstances now stand, *it is not necessary for winning Swaraj* that we should have an Indian common language and that we should not make such efforts to have one as to cause dissensions among us standing in the way of a combined struggle for freedom and diverting attention from it. Of course, there is no objection to endeavours free from the element of compulsion. When the Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala delegates demanding separate provinces pressed their demands on the Congress Working Committee, they were told in effect that their wishes would be attended to after Swaraj had been won; and in the meantime they should not do anything which would divert attention from the main endeavour of the Congress. That is exactly our point of view.

All All-India publicity and propaganda work of the Congress is done through the medium of English—at least in the first instance. We do not say that this is a desirable state of things. What we say is that it is a fact. If it be a shameful fact, which we deny, that does not make it less of a reality. Mahatma Gandhi

makes his views known through the medium of English in order to gain the ear of all educated people in India and abroad. As for those who do not know English, Congress views and Mahatmaji's views reach them through the medium of different provincial languages, of which Hindi (or Urdu, or Hindustani) is one. So for carrying on the struggle for freedom under the present circumstances English and the different provincial languages are found to be sufficient. That is a fact.

And now, even in the United Provinces, of which Hindi (or Urdu or Hindustani) is *the* mother-tongue, the Congress party has published its well-equipped daily, *not* in the mother-tongue, but in English. It should be borne in mind that our provincial dailies have the largest part of their circulation in the provinces of their publication. So the *National Herald* will circulate mostly in U. P., and to some small extent elsewhere. Hence, for provincial circulation it might have been a Hindustani daily. But if it had been a Hindi paper it would not have been read by pure Urdu-walas, and if it had been an Urdu paper, it would not have been read by pure Hindi-walas. And a bi-lingual or bi-scriptal paper starts with a great handicap. An English paper has no such drawbacks. And undoubtedly if the promoters of this daily had not been convinced that English would suffice for their purpose and serve their purpose better than either Hindi or Urdu or both *in the unilingual province of U. P.*, they would not have decided to conduct it in English.

The U. P. Congress party seem to say, "For the purposes of our province of which the mother-tongue is Hindustani, we prefer to use English rather than Hindustani." But All-India Congress policy says, "The people of Madras and other provinces whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani must learn and use it."

Our opinion stands that *under present circumstances* it is not necessary for carrying on the struggle for freedom to have an Indian language as India's *lingua franca*.

"Occupation Day" in the Philippines

The American forces occupied Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, forty years ago on the 13th August, 1898. That day was celebrated this year by the Filipinos, not with feelings of resentment towards the United States of America but with friendly feelings; for Filipino independence is at hand and both the Americans and Filipinos are preparing for it in co-operation. The proclamation of Manuel L.

Quezon, President of the Philippines, on Occupation Day, began thus:

"... Whereas that day inaugurated in the world a new conception in the relationship between a sovereign country and a dependency;

"Whereas, during the space of forty years there has been developed in our beloved country a state which is now in its final stages of preparation to take its place among the sovereign nations of the world; and

"Whereas it is deemed just and fitting that the Filipino people render honor to the great democracy of the United States of America for the unparalleled progress and development that have been the fruits of her policy."

His address on the occasion contained the following passage addressed to the United States High Commissioner McNutt:

"Mr. High Commissioner: As a symbol of the endless friendship that binds together our two peoples, I wish to present to you, Sir, for your exalted leader, the President of the United States, these two flags—that of your own country and that of the new country to which it has given birth. The tie that binds us together, which they represent, does not depend on an alliance, nor a declaration, nor a treaty. It consists of those eternal spiritual kinships and relationships which defy all quarrels, all oppositions, all aspirations. It is that extraordinary, indefinable longing for the same sort of things. Our aims, our hopes, our appreciations are the same. In the great moral causes, the great causes of righteousness, of liberty, of peace, the great causes which mean the perpetuation of the higher and nobler aims and purposes of life, the United States and the Philippines are in complete unison, not dominating nor conspiring against each other, but going on in perfect accord, because in the essential things we are in absolute and hearty agreement."

What a contrast to Indo-British relations and attitudes!

We are indebted to the *Philippine Magazine* for the passages quoted in this note.

Burma Riots Enquiry

RANGOON, Sept. 17.

It is understood that the Council of Ministers, at a meeting today, selected the following as the personnel of the Riot Enquiry Tribunal:

Chairman: Mr. Justice Braund.

Members: Dr. M. A. Rauf, Senator A. Rahim, U Po Han, and U Khin Maung Dwe.

The Tribunal will begin its enquiry at the end of this month.

This Riot Enquiry Tribunal contains two Indian members both of whom are Mussalmans. They will be able, if they care to, to present the Indian point of view and the grievances of Hindus also. We know Dr. M. A. Rauf. He is a highly cultured gentleman of broad nationalistic outlook. Nevertheless, as the personnel has been fixed on a communal basis, it would have been better to include a Hindu member. But perhaps the Burma Government think the quarrel was more between Indian Moslems and Burmese Buddhists than between other Indians and the Burmese.

"Militant" Note in Congress President's Speech

CALCUTTA, Sept. 13.

"Our fight for freedom is not simply against British Imperialism but also against those individuals or groups in our country which function as so many allies of imperialistic power. We must spot out such blacklegs from amongst our kith and kin and at first try to persuade them to join the fighting ranks for national emancipation. Should these endeavours not meet with the desired result, we should not hesitate to take drastic steps to amputate such diseased limbs from our body politic without being deterred by any form of sickly sentimentalism. For traitors, in the garb of friends, deserve to be dealt with more ruthlessly than open and avowed enemies."

This militant note was sounded by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Bose, in the course of a speech on "Our Fight Ahead," at a largely attended public meeting held in North Calcutta this evening.

Continuing, President Bose stressed the imperative need for the cultivation of a spirit of discipline and implicit obedience by the rank and file in the Congress to the direction of veteran generals of the national army. In this connection he referred to the Khare episode, over which, he regretted to find a lot of fuss was being made in certain sections of his countrymen.

In a country like Germany, opined Mr. Bose, an act of indiscipline with which Dr. Khare stood charged, would have been dealt with by the offender concerned being blown off from the mouth of a cannon. But here in India they had let him off with only a resolution of condemnation.—*United Press*.

We are not in favour of using words like some of those used by President Bose. They rouse resentment unnecessarily. Mahatma Gandhi also said that in Germany Dr. Khare would have been shot. Such words may lead people to suspect that in India what stands in the way of political opponents being shot is not *ahimsa* or non-violence, but lack of the political power to shoot.

We venture to think that if Gandhiji and Mr. Bose considered it absolutely necessary to think and say what would have been done to Dr. Khare in a foreign country, they should have said what would have been done to him in U. S. A., Britain or France.

As for discipline and implicit obedience, perhaps the whole of this commodity should not be used up for the benefit of old sinners—a little of it may be reserved for younger persons as well.

India's Claim for Better Representation in League Secretariat

GENEVA, Sept. 19.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty drew the attention of the League-administration to the inadequacy of representation given to the Indian nation in the League Secretariat and L. L. O. in the Fourth (Budgetary) Committee of the Assembly.

After recalling the point stressed on many past occasions, Sir Shanmukham Chetty added that they were

still dissatisfied with quantitative recruitments and still more with what he might call qualitative recruitments. He declared that "what would satisfy Indian aspirations is the appointment of some competent Indians in higher posts relating to the direction of control in the League."

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty said that he did not suggest that this could be achieved by promoting junior members of the League Secretariat over seniors. What the administration must do was to get a competent Indian from the public services of India. He felt confident that among men occupying posts of responsibility in these services could be selected persons who could be trusted with any post of responsibility in the Secretariat.

He drew the attention of the administration to the need of giving more representation to Indian nationals when posts occupied by nationals of States who had withdrawn from membership of the League had become vacant. If public opinion in India was to be roused in favour of the League, it was essential that early steps be taken in this direction.—*Reuter*.

Readers of our Review since the last quarter of 1926 will remember that we were the first to point out the injustice done to India in the matter of the number and class of appointments made in the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office. It is not merely India's size and population which require to be taken into account, but her annual contribution to the League's expenses also.

Anti-Phooka Bill Passed

It is welcome news that the Central Legislative Assembly has passed the Anti-Phooka Bill. It is to be hoped that it will be properly worked.

Early Publication of the Present October Issue

As owing to the ensuing Durga Puja holidays we have to finish writing the Notes on the 23rd September, we are unable to comment on the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and the Conference on the Bengali-Bihari question.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose on Communal Percentages in Public Services

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress party in the Bengal Assembly, has made a statement justifying the party's attitude *re* the distribution of jobs in the public services on a communal basis. He claims in effect to have made a "realistic approach" to the question.

The distribution of jobs on a communal basis is an extension of the 'principle' underlying the communal "Award." The "Award" distributed seats in the Legislatures on a communal basis and to a smaller extent on an occupational and racial basis. All nationalists, including Congressmen, condemned it as anti-national and

anti-democratic. Congress, however, neither accepted nor rejected it. That was in our opinion the first defeat inflicted on it by imperialistic strategy. In the case of the extension of the "Award" to the sphere of the public services, the Bengal Assembly Congress party, as represented by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, does not reject the 'principle' underlying the "Award." It may be realistic politics in the sense that the imperialist British Government has created a situation to which that party is obliged to surrender. But it also is a defeat at the hands of the British imperialists.

We do not at all want that Moslems and the depressed class Hindus should not have an increasing share of the public services. What we want is that they should have it by means of educational advancement and increasing fitness. That is no doubt a slower process than giving them a fixed and "weighted" share of the jobs, even if that results in injustice to and deprivation of fitter candidates among "caste" Hindus, Christians, etc. But that is the only equitable way to lasting results. There is no question that some Moslems and some depressed class Hindus are as fit as "caste" Hindus. But a rule that 60 per cent. must be Moslems and 20 scheduled Hindus must inevitably result in the appointment of many unfit and comparatively less fit men. That would result in diminished efficiency in the public services. Efficiency has already suffered, *e.g.*, in the educational services. Communal outlook has become evident even among some members of the magistracy and judiciary, affecting their impartiality. The police force has been becoming less efficient and reliable in the case of certain classes of crime.

Mr. Bose advises "caste" Hindu young men to take to industries and agriculture. We should like some one to introduce and get passed a bill in the Assembly to give them a fixed proportion of the land in east and north Bengal districts, no matter if thereby Moslem peasants were deprived of some of their land! Of course, every one will say that that would be an outrageously unjust proposal. And so it would be. But if it be just to deprive men who are fitter for the public services in favour of those who are less fit, it would be equally just to deprive efficient farmers of their land (which according to Congress ideology belongs to the Nation) in favour of less efficient farmers. We should like Mr. Bose also to try to give a fixed proportion of the steamer services jobs to the Hindus, now monopolized by the Mussalmans, and also redistribute occupations and crafts on a communal basis. We know this cannot be done. And we

know it is easier to deprive Hindus of occupations for which they have fitted themselves, without giving them any compensating advantage in occupations for which others have fitted themselves. Mr. Bose will also do well to persuade the Government to give scholarships to caste Hindus for industrial education, as Moslems and scheduled Hindus are being given many scholarships for medical and general education.

That the public services maintain a very small percentage of the population is true. So does most other occupations, including the law. And, therefore, following Mr. Bose's line of argument, one might say to caste Hindus: "This occupation maintains 1 per cent., the second occupation maintains .5 per cent., a third .3 per cent., and so on; and therefore you should deprive yourselves of the opportunity of making a living by them. They are trifles. Take to agriculture." But unfortunately very many millions are already there living upon the land, and they cannot be taught the lesson of self-sacrifice.

Mr. Bose tries to clinch his argument by means of the following illustration:

There is nothing which rankles more bitterly in the mind of the educated Bengali Hindu than the stigma of his supposed military inferiority and incompetence. Yet the fact is unassailable that for the last hundred and fifty years at any rate, whatever may have been the case in earlier times, the people of Bengal as a class have not served in the Army and have not been noted for their military capacity. What would a Bengali Hindu feel if that were put forward as a justification for the exclusion of Bengali Hindus from the Army? It is surely permitted to others to feel likewise under comparable disabilities.

Mr. Bose speaks of "comparable disabilities". Does he really mean that the exclusion of Bengalis from the Army is comparable with the *alleged* disabilities of the Bengali Moslems in the public services of Bengal? Even before the Government had laid down that 45 per cent. of the jobs must be given to them, there were many Moslems in these services. And now some branches, e.g., the inspecting branch of the education department, contains more Mussalmans than Hindus. Bengali Mussalmans in Bengal were never *excluded* from the public services for being Bengali Mussalmans as Bengalis have been *excluded* from the Army for being Bengalis. Therefore the cases of the two groups are not in the least comparable. If Bengali Mussalmans do not get as many posts as they want, it is not because they are Mussalmans, but because they are educationally less qualified.

It is unnecessary to discuss the past or

present fitness or unfitness of the Bengalis for the Army.

Mr. Bose has asked:

"What would a Bengali Hindu feel if that (namely, Bengalis not having served in the Army and not being noted for their military capacity) were put forward as a justification for the exclusion of Bengali Hindus from the Army?"

He will perhaps allow us to ask a different kind of question, namely, "What would a Sikh, or a Gurkha, or a Pathan feel if, in order to enable Bengalis to make up leeway in the Army, 80 per cent. of the jobs in the Army were reserved for Bengalis, and 20 for the aforesaid 'martial' people?" They would feel and say that fitter men were being excluded and deprived in favour of the less fit.

Similarly the "caste" Hindus of Bengal feel and say that some men among them who are fitter for the public services are being excluded and deprived in favour of those who are less fit. If it be assumed that "caste" Hindus are unfit for fighting work and therefore it is right to exclude them from the Army, is it also to be assumed that, in spite of their being fit for soft jobs, some of the fittest among them can be justly deprived of soft jobs also? Then how are they to live? Even if the public services maintain a very small number of them, why should even this small number be deprived of their means of living?

And it is not merely or mainly a question of giving jobs to this group or that. As pointed out already, the apportionment of jobs on a communal basis is sure to affect the efficiency of the services for the worse.

As for the Army, as the question has been raised by way of illustration, we may say that Bengalis do not want any reservation. They do not want a reservation of even one per cent. What is wanted is that privates should be recruited from all provinces according to some physical and other tests, irrespective of the class or community to which candidates may belong.

About Gandhiji's Non-Violent Militia Plan

NEW DELHI, Sept. 21.

Mahatma Gandhi informally met the members of the Congress Working Committee who have so far arrived here, at his cot in Harijan Colony this afternoon when in the course of conversations he expressed his views about some aspects of the activities of persons who style themselves as Congress workers and are in several instances holders of responsible positions in Congress organizations.

It is understood that Gandhiji expressed grave concern at some recent developments in different parts of the country which, in his opinion, were in complete negation of the fundamental principles and ideals of the Congress.

There were clear indications, Gandhiji is reported to have remarked, that certain sections of so-called Congress workers had begun to make light of the imperative need for observing truth and non-violence as the sheet-anchor of all Congress activities.

This, he thought, was all the more deplorable at a time when the responsibility of administering several provinces has devolved on the Congress. Congress Governments, he is further reported to have observed, stand the risk of being discredited before the world if the rank and file of Congress workers give a go-by to discipline and non-violence.

Dwelling on this topic, Gandhiji is understood to have referred to some of his recent articles in the "Harijan" which, he opined, were the outcome of his lacerated heart.

As has been his usual practice for some times past, Gandhiji did not talk much, but expressed his views in writing, which was read out.

Interviewed by the "United Press" after these talks were over, a prominent member of the Working Committee said that today's talk was meant to serve as the background of Gandhiji's plan for reorganization of the Congress movement all over the country on the basis of strictest adherence to truth and non-violence which is likely to be unfolded at tomorrow's sitting of the Working Committee.—U. P.

Gandhiji has been for some time thinking on this subject and has written several times in the "Harijan" on the subject emphasizing the need for maintaining complete non-violence. It is understood that this afternoon he will expound to the members of the Congress Working Committee the scheme for the creation of a Non-violent National Militia.

Mahatma Gandhi's address, according to authoritative circles, will mark a new phase in the Congress history of non-violence. Those in intimate touch with Mahatma Gandhi point out that during the last several weeks Mahatma Gandhi has been contemplating over the question and has fully utilised his recent vow of silence to evolve a scheme. He has thought and thought over the subject in silent meditation and has frequently hinted at what is coming by referring to this subject in his articles in the "Harijan."

Mahatma Gandhi is understood to be feeling that a definite stage in the history of the Congress in India has now been reached when the Congress must clearly define what its creed of non-violence means and adhere to it at all costs. He seems to ask that if in the near future the majority of the people in India express a desire to arm themselves what should be the attitude of the Congress?

This problem, it is further pointed out, has become all the more difficult and important in view of the fact that the Congress is today controlling Governments of eight provinces and may soon capture power at the centre, even if it be to only a limited extent. A talk of war and consequent armament was in the air and in the midst of all this welter of chaos and confusion it was necessary to define the attitude of the Congress.

The argument appears to be, how could the Congress, consistent with its creed of non-violence, subscribe to a policy of armament.

His contention, it is stated, is that Ethiopia, China and even Czechoslovakia, which were fully armed, had not succeeded but had to succumb to greater armed forces. This clearly indicated that mere arms would not solve the problem of retaining a country's independence and autonomy.

Arms and violence thus having proved useless weapons for the retention of the independence of a

country, it is asked why should non-violence be not given a fair trial. Moreover, if a country like India, could think of attaining freedom through non-violence, why should it not also think of retaining that freedom through non-violence.—A. P.

Our heart is entirely for non-violence, even on the biggest collective scale. Without meaning to criticise Gandhiji's ideal, we may point out that China has not yet succumbed and may yet be able to retain her independence by fighting. In past history, too, it was generally by fighting that nations retained or gained their independence.

Czechoslovakian Situation

PRAGUE, Sept. 21.

The reply of the Czech Government has been handed to the British and French Ministers.

"Reuter" learns from official sources that it is a complete acceptance of British and French recommendations with no reservations or stipulations.

The reply, however, concludes with an appeal that, if Czechoslovakia should be attacked, the Government trusts that Britain and France will come to her aid.

POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DEMANDS

It is learned that the Polish Ambassador in London in the course of recent visits to the Foreign Office presented the view of the Polish Government that, if cession of Sudeten territory to Germany was envisaged in the Anglo-French proposals, a similar attitude should be adopted vis-a-vis Polish claims regarding Tešer Karvina.

It is understood that the Hungarian Minister in London has acquainted Lord Halifax with the view of the Hungarian Government that all minorities in Czechoslovakia should be accorded equal treatment with Sudeten Germans.

In Warsaw thirty thousand attended a mass meeting demanding the return to Poland of the Polish-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia.—Reuter.

What ground is there for the hope that Britain and France will help Czechoslovakia, if attacked by a strengthened Germany?

Mussolini on the Czechoslovakian Situation

ROME, Sept. 21.

Signor Mussolini in a speech at Treviso said that Czechoslovakia's delicate position was due to the fact that it was not only the Czech State, but also the Czech-German-Polish-Hungarian-Ruthenian-Rumanian-Slovak State.

Exactly. And for this composite character of Czechoslovakia Britain and France were mainly responsible, though they have now backed out.

Il Duce paid a tribute to Mr. Chamberlain for taking the political initiative and leading the ship into the harbour of peace.

He declared that now that the Czech problem was being faced, it must be settled in an integral manner.—Reuter.

Litvinoff on the Same

M. Litvinoff, addressing the League Assembly at Geneva declared, "Czechoslovakia may decide today or tomorrow to take up arms in defence of its independence. The sympathies, if not of all Governments, at any rate, of all peoples represented in the Assembly go out to the Czech people at this terrible hour of their trial."

The remark was greeted with cheers mainly from the public galleries.

M. Litvinoff told the Assembly that Russia had two days ago replied to Prague that she was prepared to render "immediate and effective assistance" under the Czech-Soviet pacts.

That the cheers came mainly from the public galleries, not from the Assembly members, is very significant.

America's Resentment At Betrayal of Czechs

New York newspapers are very angry on account of the proposed carve-up of Czechoslovakia. The *New York Times* sees in it the end of the whole system of security built up by post-war treaties and adds: "It is the end because a demonstration is being given that force alone is the determining factor in the relationship between nations."

The *Chicago Herald Tribune* says that two Western democracies not only laid Czechoslovakia on the altar of sacrifice but they have commanded her to commit suicide so that they may be spared the embarrassment of denying their commitments to defend her.

The *New York Post* says: "The agreement sounds like the world's greatest destroyers."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Coalition Ministry in Assam

A coalition ministry, Congress predominating, has been formed in Assam. The European and Muslim blocs have combined to form the opposition. But it is hoped that, notwithstanding such opposition, the ministry will be able to carry on. It will be good for Assam and for India if the hope is fulfilled.

It is only in three provinces that the Congress is not carrying on the administration, and all the three are Muslim majority provinces. It would be good if there were emulation between the two groups of provinces in bringing India nearer to the goal of freedom.

Proposed National Art Gallery for India

The scheme for a National Art Gallery for India which Mr. B. Ukil of New Delhi has placed before the public deserves full support. As New Delhi is now the capital of India, such an institution located there is likely to receive more support from the Princes and many leading men of India than if located elsewhere.

Students' Strikes Called Off

We are glad the Dacca University students' and Dacca Jagannath College students' strikes have been called off. The strike of the St. Xavier's College students and other sympathetic strikes declared in consequence are also now at an end. Now is the time for the students to calmly consider whether they could not have got by patient negotiation what they have now got by striking after giving an ultimatum. The authorities of the educational institutions concerned should also consider whether they could not have conceded before their students went on strike what they have conceded after the strike—assuming that they have made any substantial concessions. It is very greatly to be regretted that the relations which ought to exist between teachers and students have received rude shocks.

According to newspaper reports—we do not want to use any information received from any other source—the St. Xavier's College students have had to part with two of their leading fellow-collegians by transfer to another college, have had to sustain a lathi charge by the police and a drenching with street hose water. There has also been much anxiety, loss of college lectures, etc. All these have to be taken into account in considering the gains, if any. The students may, after all, have gained only a Pyrrhic victory.

Unrest and Repression in Many Indian States

For some time past every issue of the dailies has contained news of unrest and repression in several Indian States. In some, troops have had to be called out and ordered to fire on crowds, with fatal results. In some other states, e.g., Hyderabad, arrangements continued to be made for repression.

In all these the Princes and their Ministers are ill advised. Their people can never be satisfied with anything less than the rights which the inhabitants of the Congress-governed Provinces in British India actually enjoy. That is the minimum. The sooner all the ruling Princes decide to concede these rights to their subjects the better it would be for all concerned. Let them make a beginning at once and definitely fix the stages according to which other rights will be given. Whatever the dictators in Europe may think, autocracy cannot last. And the power of the Indian princes is but borrowed power. They shine by reflected light as it were.

The National Council of Women in India

The sixth biennial report (for 1936-1937) of the National Council of Women in India contains much useful and interesting information relating to Indian women's activities. Full page portraits of H.H. Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi of Travancore, President of the Council, and of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, President of the 6th biennial conference of the Council, adorn the report. Besides condolence resolutions the conference passed resolutions on legislation relating to Hindu Women's Rights and the Child Marriage Restraint Act, on the means of advancing the cause of women's education, on sex education, on child welfare, on medical inspection in all aided and government schools, on health and nutrition, on the promotion of peace in the world, on the registration of nurses, and on traffic in women and children.

One misses a resolution on the abduction and ravishment of women, which not unoften takes the form of 'gang-rape'.

The Most Important Work Before Women

The work which ought to receive the greatest attention of all women workers, whether they are members of the Congress or of any other organization, is the education of girls and women. In India the education of boys and men is in a very backward condition and that of girls and women is in a still more deplorable condition. In whatever direction we wish to make progress, education is the foundation on which we can build. There is nothing showy or sensational about education. That is perhaps why it has little attraction for many workers. But it is one of the most substantial kinds of service to India that one can render.

Sir Pheroze Sethna

Sir Pheroze Sethna who died on the 17th of September last was a very successful man of business. He was connected with many companies doing insurance and banking business. He succeeded Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala as chairman of the Central Bank of India Limited. He took keen interest in politics and was connected with the Liberal party from the time of its inception. He presided over a session of the National Liberal Federation of India. His speeches were marked by accurate knowledge and felicity of expression. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference both in its committees and

in discussions outside. He was specially interested in the questions of defence, commercial safeguards and the minorities. He laboured earnestly for improving the position of overseas Indians and the position of India in the League of Nations. He was connected with many public institutions in Bombay.

C. W. C. Approves of Action Against Dr. Khare

On the 22nd September the Congress Working Committee passed at New Delhi the following draft of a resolution on the Central Provinces ministerial affairs and the Khare episode for submission to the All-India Congress Committee:

"The A. I. C. C. approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the C. P. Ministerial crisis and fully endorses the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and that of the Governor of the Central Provinces in the unfortunate episode.

"The A. I. C. C. is further clearly of the opinion that the conduct of Dr. Khare since his resignation from the C. P. Ministry deserves the severest condemnation."

This was expected.

Lala Hardayal Allowed to Return

BOMBAY, Sept. 22.

The Times of India publishes a report from its special correspondent at Simla that after 27 years of exile, Hardayal will be returning to India. The Government of India have decided to permit him to return to his homeland. This permission has been granted, it is stated, in view of Hardayal having given an undertaking not to participate directly or indirectly in any unconstitutional movement.

Hardayal left India in 1911 and organized the ghadar party in America, aimed, it is stated, at overthrowing the State by revolutionary and violent methods . . .

Since 1927 he had been making occasional attempts to obtain from the Government of India an assurance of an amnesty. Recently, however he gave an undertaking, and the Government of India have therefore permitted his return.—A. P.

Lala Hardayal is a man of culture and extensive scholarship, and of ascetic habits. Years ago he used occasionally to contribute articles to *The Modern Review*. The article which roused the greatest interest was one on "The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race." It was proscribed by the Government in the Punjab when published in its Urdu form. It was not proscribed in its English garb as published in our Review.

Dr. Moonje Declares Hindu Mahasabha A Nationalistic Movement

Addressing a crowded public meeting in the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 22nd September

last, Dr. B. S. Moonje showed that the Hindu Mahasabha was an entirely nationalistic movement. It is not at all a communalistic movement in the sense in which the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations are communalistic.

In rising to speak amidst cheers Dr. Moonje pointed out that

there were three aspects of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement,—political, sociological and socio-religious.

In the political aspect the Hindu Mahasabha movement was entirely a nationalistic movement. It preached unalloyed nationalism. If there was any institution, any political institution in India—the Indian National Congress not excluded—which preached completely unalloyed nationalism, it was the Hindu Mahasabha. (Cheers.)

Explaining that the Hindu Mahasabha was not a communal organisation Dr. Moonje said:

“Let us first understand what communalism is. Unless we know what is communalism, how can we know what is nationalism? Communalism means a state of mind when one looks entirely to the interests of one's own community without caring to know how it can affect the progress of the masses of the country as a whole. There are three main divisions of our people, Hindus, Muslims and Christians. I have absolutely no quarrel with the Muslims on the one side and the Christians on the other side. If there is one side with which we have quarrel it is the British Government (cheers), because the British Government has been exploiting and taking advantage of these three divisions in the country. And unfortunately some of the Muslims, some of the Christians and also some of the Hindus are falling a prey to this ‘divide and rule’ policy of the British administration. But I can clearly tell you and assure you that the Hindu Mahasabha has no quarrel with the Muslims on the one side or the Christians on the other.

That state of mentality which says that political powers and political rights have to be divided in certain proportions among so many divisions, that state of mentality is communalism.

Compare this state of mind with that of those taking part in the Hindu Mahasabha movement. Has the Hindu Mahasabha ever said that because the Hindus are in a majority in certain provinces therefore they should be given powers, privileges and rights in greater proportion or that because the Hindus are in a minority in certain other provinces therefore there should be reservation of powers for them or that they needed protection? The Hindu Mahasabha has never said that. You can study its history from beginning to end. The Hindu Mahasabha has never said that political powers are to be distributed between people on the ground that they belong to this religion or that. This is a fact which is incontrovertible. Then why should anybody call the Hindu Mahasabha movement a communal movement? Neither the Muslims nor the Christians nor the British Government can say that, much less the Hindus. But unfortunately, the Hindus have been the loudest in accusing the Hindu Mahasabha movement of being a communal movement. Nobody should on its merit accuse the Hindu Mahasabha movement of being communal.

Dr. Moonje admitted that Congress was the premier political organization in the coun-

try out to fight British imperialism, and observed:

The Congress from the very beginning has been a national body. Practically my whole youth, my whole life has been spent in the Congress. Though I may not be a four-anna Congressman at the present moment yet I hope that I have lived as a Congressman and I shall die as a Congressman (applause). But unfortunately, the Congress in spite of being a national body rather connives at or instigates or encourages communalism.

Dr. Moonje did not like the way in which the Congress attempted to placate the Muslims and did not believe in the proposition that thirty crores of Hindus of India could not achieve independence of the country unless the seven crores of Muslims co-operated with them.

He could understand Muslims and Christians joining the Hindus in the common struggle for Swaraj but he failed to understand why thirty crores of Hindus would not be able to achieve independence without the co-operation of the Muslims. If that was the attitude of the Congress then the Britishers would say, “We would never go out of India and our imperialism will stay.”

We have always held that the Hindus should strive for Swaraj, irrespective of the co-operation or non-co-operation of others, but that they should invite and welcome the co-operation of others. Such co-operation would make the attainment of Swaraj easier. But such co-operation is not indispensable for its achievement.

Then again it was said that Hindu-Muslim unity must be established and untouchability must be removed. “But untouchability,” remarked Dr. Moonje, “has now been given a statutory existence and Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be established so long as the Communal Award stands (cheers).”

Dr. Moonje recalled how Bengal had expressed its sense of indignation at the Communal Award and its determination to fight it some time ago;

but he deplored that that spirit of opposition to the Communal Award has now “evaporated.” The Communal Award, Dr. Moonje emphasized, gave a statutory place to communalism because it created a division between Hindus and Muslims, because it prevented India from having unalloyed nationalism.

Continuing Dr. Moonje said:

If a man were to come and say that you, Hindus, cannot have Swaraj unless the seven crores of Muslims co-operate with you or two crores of Christians co-operate with you, I do not know how it would appeal to you. But it appeals to me in a most shameful manner that these thirty crores of Hindus who are like so many sheep cannot establish their own kingdom, their own rule in India as Afghans have established their rule in Afghanistan, as Arabs have established their rule in Arabia and the Irish have established their rule in Ireland and as at the present moment the Czechoslovakian Germans are trying to do. What was the Hindu Mahasabha doing? Where was the harm if they preached that Hindus should

stand on their own legs, that Hindus should make up their own mind as to how to maintain their identity, their religion and their culture?

Explaining how the minority problem was created in India, Dr. Moonje pointed out that the minority problem was created in India by Lord Minto in 1904-1905 when the Aga Khan was sent on a deputation to him *at the secret suggestion of his lordship's government itself*. The speaker condemned the Congress for placating the Muslims and recalled in this connection that the first thing that Mahatma Gandhi had uttered when he went to England during the Round Table Conference was that he was prepared to give a blank cheque to the Muslims. The Muslims took advantage of it and made certain demands. How could they oppose the Communal Award if on their behalf Mahatmajiji had been prepared to give them a blank cheque? The minority problem had got to be created, the speaker emphasised, with a certain motive—and that was that the Britishers wanted to perpetuate imperialism.

Dr. Moonje would like to ask the Hindus to remember that

the whole of Afghanistan was Muslim in religion, the whole of Persia was Muslim in religion. "Suppose by any chance the central authority in India becomes weak, do you know to which extent this minority problem will go? It will go to the very extent to which the Sudeten German problem has gone."

Dr. Moonje would like to present one problem before the Hindus of Bengal and would ask them to seriously ponder over it.

"Take the whole geography of India. There is Sind, there is the Punjab, there is Afghanistan, there is Kashmir, there is East and West Bengal. Sind was invaded by Md. Bin Kasim and practically the whole of Sind became Muslim and one invasion by Mahmud of Ghazni made the whole of Afghanistan, once a centre of Hindu culture and learning, become Muslim. The whole of Kashmir was now practically Muslim. Ninety per cent. of East Bengal became Muslim because Shaista Khan happened to go there from Poona. What was it that enabled the Hindus round about Delhi to stand aggression and made the Hindus of East Bengal and Kashmir surrender immediately?

That was a problem which the Bengali Hindus should seriously consider.

Dealing with the sociological aspect of the Hindu Mahasabha movement Dr. Moonje emphasised that

there was no community on the face of the earth which did not want to exist. What the Hindu Mahasabha did was to ask the Hindus to maintain their identity, their culture and their religion. If they wanted to survive they must try to bring out from among them men like Rana Pratap, Guru Govind Singh and women like the Rani of Jhansi. So long as the Congress did not give up its want of self-confidence which it has developed in itself there was no politics, there could be no movement except the Hindu Mahasabha movement.

Spanish Government Orders Withdrawal of Volunteers

GENEVA, Sept. 21.

Senor Negrin announced that the Spanish Government had decided to order immediate withdrawal of all non-Spanish combatants fighting on the Government side.

The withdrawal will apply to all foreigners including those who have assumed Spanish nationality since the outbreak of the war.

Senor Negrin asked for the appointment of an international commission to supervise the withdrawal.

He described the decision as a contribution towards general appeasement.

Senor Negrin, in a speech, explained that the Government resolved to remove the possibility of people casting doubt upon the purely national character of the Republican cause.—*Reuter*.

Will General Franco also order the withdrawal of the German and Italian volunteers from his army?

Non-violence as an Antidote to War

Addressing the students of the National High School at Bangalore on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday Mr. C. F. Andrews said, in part:

Mahatma Gandhi regarded the strict observance of truth and non-violence as an antidote to war. Hitherto in human history this antidote had been confined to individual martyrdom and sacrifice. But Mahatma Gandhi, beginning in South Africa, and continuing in India itself, had been working out the same principles on a corporate scale. Undoubtedly this corporate moral resistance was far harder to achieve without any semblance of violence than individual acts of martyrdom such as the past history of the human race disclosed.

The greatness of Mahatmajiji was not that he had solved this tremendous issue on which the whole future of humanity depended but that he had already shown in practice on a small scale that such a solution of the war problem was possible. In South Africa, where Mr. Andrews said he was in his company, Mahatma Gandhi had proved completely victorious in what was called passive resistance struggle. There non-violence and truth had been quite unadulterated. On the other hand, hitherto in the larger movements of non-co-operation in India itself, the purity of the struggle had not remained throughout at this highest level. Possibly, concluded Mr. C. F. Andrews, before Mahatma Gandhi finished his work he might be able to show to the world once more this ideal of corporate moral resistance in the purest manner not only in overcoming riotous conduct in the great cities owing to Hindu-Muslim tension, but also in bringing to an end war itself.—*A. P.*

Picketing

Mahatma Gandhi has, quite naturally and reasonably, condemned that kind of picketing which consists in lying stretched at full length across the gates or other entrances, or otherwise blocking passages. That is constructive use of force or violence. Yet the professed followers of Mahatma Gandhi in the press and on the platform are not known to have condemned this form of picketing by students during their strikes.

Bengal Jute Ordinance

The Bengal Jute ordinance will benefit the big jute mills, almost all of which are British

concerns. The predominantly Moslem ministry of Bengal would have been thrown out of office but for the support of the British bloc 25 strong. So, on the principle of "you scratch my back and I scratch yours," the ministry had to do something to show its gratitude. The ministry may profess to have acted in the interest of all who have anything to do with jute. But it has not been and cannot be shown that the ordinance will secure higher prices to the jute-growers for raw jute, or will benefit the jute-dealers and the smaller jute mills.

Reservation of Majority of Jobs for the Majority

The Government of India Act of 1935 has entrusted the Governors of the provinces with the responsibility for safeguarding the interests of the minorities and given them the necessary power to discharge that responsibility. If the Governor of Bengal allows the resolution reserving 60 per cent. of jobs for the majority community of Bengal to be enforced in practice, it should be accepted as the governmental method of safeguarding minority rights! As the Indian National Congress also advocates the safeguarding of minority rights in the same way, as the attitude of the Bengal Congress party in the Assembly towards the aforesaid resolution shows, the Congress should instruct all Congress-controlled ministries, which are functioning in the Hindu majority provinces, to reserve 95 per cent. of the jobs in their provinces for the majority community—namely, the Hindus!

Mr. Premier Haq and his supporters and all members of the Muslim League will undoubtedly support this suggestion!

Is the Communal Apportionment of Jobs Legal?

The Government of India Act lays down that no one can be deprived of the right to be a Government servant, to follow a profession, and so on, merely on the ground of his race, religion, etc. But the communal apportionment of jobs does deprive many Hindus, Indian Christians, who may be the fittest for some such jobs, simply because they are not Mussalmans. Is such apportionment an infringement of the Government of India Act, or is it not? Not being lawyers, we are unable to answer the question.

But if the point raised be arguable, should it not be taken to the Federal Court for its decision?

Lord Cecil on British Policy "re" Czechoslovakia

Lord Cecil has condemned the British policy in relation to Czechoslovakia in very strong language in a letter to *The Daily Telegraph*. He observes:

"Submission to Hitler means extinction of Czechoslovak independence, it means breach of our treaty pledges; it means a great increase of the prestige of the Nazi Government and corresponding diminution of the prestige of Britain; it means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force and that the hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned."

Some other prominent citizens of Britain have also condemned the Chamberlain Cabinet's policy. But that has not prevented the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. And possibly it may not prevent the extinction of the independent existence of the Czechs. Even if the self-assertion of British public opinion leads ultimately to the overthrow of the Chamberlain ministry, it will perhaps be too late to be of any advantage to the Czechs.

Dismemberment of Czechoslovakia

Under irresistible pressure the Government of Czechoslovakia had to agree to evacuate that part of the republic which is inhabited mainly by Germans. So all troops of the republic has left Sudeten territory, which has been annexed by Germany. [Fighting has broken out and some of this territory has been re-occupied by the Czechs.] The Czech government have said:

"We are not vanquished. We submitted in order to avoid misery and bloodshed. We are sacrificing ourselves to save peace as Christ sacrificed himself to save humanity. We shall not attempt to throw the blame where it belongs, but leave it to the judgment of history. We stand alone, but shall be Czechs together. A new life is now before us."

Poland and Hungary have demanded those parts of Czechoslovakia which are inhabited by Poles and Hungarians. Hitler may not be satisfied with merely having the Sudeten territory, as the following *Reuter's* telegram indicates:

LONDON, Sept. 22.
"The Daily Telegraph" correspondent from Godesberg says there can be little doubt that German troops will enter Czechoslovakia.

The correspondent adds that Herr Hitler probably will propose to Mr. Chamberlain the disappearance of Czechoslovakia as a Sovereign State, establishment of German control and removal of Dr. Benes from office.

Why Czechoslovakia Suffers

Britain and France were the principal European allies which vanquished Germany in

the last great war with the help of America. In order to weaken Germany and Austria they constituted Czechoslovakia, bringing together in that republic areas inhabited by Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Rumenians and Ruthenians along with Czechs, and they promised to defend the new republic if it were attacked or sought to be injured. This promise they ought to have kept, but instead of keeping it, they have put pressure upon the Czech government to surrender territory to Hitler. Herein lies their treachery. They have acted as they have done in order to save themselves from the risks incident to a war with Germany. But if in spite of their selfish policy, Hitler fights, he will fight with fresh accession of strength.

As for the Sudeten Germans, they cannot be blamed. We do not know whether, when their home-land was included in Czechoslovakia, they were consulted and their consent obtained. In any case, it is natural for people belonging to the same race, speaking the same language and living in one another's vicinity to like to form one nation and State.

The Muslim League and the Army Recruitment Bill

Maulana Mohd. Sahib, President, Frontier Provincial Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press on the question of the Muslim League's support to the Army Bill in the Central Legislature:

"The support given by the members of the Muslim League to the Army Recruitment Bill in the Central Legislature was absolutely based on the policy of vindictiveness displayed against the Congress. It was certainly due to that impulse that the Muslim League leaders did not pay any heed to the wishes of the Muslim community. Every patriotic Muslim cannot but express his sincere regret for the way in which these leaders who, in season and out of season, are raising the cry of 'Islam in danger,' have behaved in this particular matter and played a traitor to their community and country, as the Bill in question is a death-blow to the interest of Islam. It would be indeed difficult to cure this wound, which is nothing but to perpetuate the bondage of India and to ruin the Muslims outside India. In view of the events that are being foreshadowed in the near future I cannot refrain from saying that those who have voted for this Bill have dug their own graves and have sacrificed the interests of the Muslim community and it will further the ends of the British Imperialism. The supporters of the Bill will surely one day repent of their action.

"In conclusion I unequivocally condemn the Army Bill and appeal to every son of this country in general and the Muslims in particular to raise their voice of emphatic protest against this measure."

The Bengali-Bihari Question

As to-day (September 23) we have not got before us Dr. Rajendra Prasad's report on the

Bengali-Bihari problem and the Congress Working Committee's decision thereupon, we will not make any observations on the subject. We write this note mainly to obtain information.

We find it stated in the papers that Mr. Krishna-ballabh Sahay had stated on behalf of the Bihar Government that provincial governments other than that of Bihar had also their domicile certificate system and rules in that connection. If it be true that he has made such a statement, it is only fair and proper that all such provincial domicile systems and rules should be made available to the public by the Bihar Government. If that is not done, the public will be entitled to consider Mr. Krishna-ballabh Sahay's assertion unfounded.

Further, the Bihar Government should publish circulars like the Brett, the Owden and other similar circulars, if any, of other provincial governments, in order that the Indian public in general may be able to judge of the justice and legal validity of such circulars.

Supposing that all provincial governments have inherited or issued domicile rules and linguistic group circulars, the question arises whether a National organization like the Congress will tolerate them. If it does, then there may or will be mutually exclusive domicile rules and linguistic-group circulars among Tamils, Andhras, Karnatakas and Keralas, among Maharashtrians, Gujaratis and Karnatakas, among Maharashtrians and Mahakoshalians, among Panjabis and non-Panjabis, among Sindhis and non-Sindhis, and so on.

Then will Indian National unity be at its height !

A Correction

On pages 128-9 of our last August number there appeared a short note regarding a fruit said to have been produced by grafting a mango on to a citron tree. We were misinformed. The fruit was from a seedling mango tree, a sport of sorts which looked like a green citron.

Puja Holidays

The office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed for the Puja holidays from the 29th September to the 12th October, 1938, both days inclusive. All letters, orders, complaints, and remittances received during this period will be dealt with after the holidays.

RUSSIAN SILHOUETTES

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

I

FRIENDS,

I was very glad to hear of your interest in the Literature and Art of Russia. In this connection I remember with what enthusiasm already in pre-war times we were reading translations of the Bhagavad Gita, Gitanjali and the works of Kali Das, which my friend, the poet Baltrushaitis had beautifully rendered into Russian. And now the tribute which Indian writers give to Russian literature especially touches me. Friendship and mutual understanding are the basis of evolution, the more so when fundamental traits of the character are so near.

I have had opportunity to meet Russian writers of the last and present generation, and many of them were my close friends. Amongst them Maxim Gorky, Leonid Andreyev, Alexey Remizoff, Kuprin, Alexander Block were in specially close contact. I had also cordial meetings with Leo Tolstoy, Chekhov, Merezhkovski and with Grigorovitch. I fully understand why India is interested in all these authors not only as representatives of world literature, but also feels drawn to their personalities. Fortunately, Russian literature at present is spreading in translations in many languages widely all over the world and thus a correct understanding of the Russian people is reached. Till recently even in so-called educated circles there were the wildest notions about this vast country. Let us not forget that in French literature there were descriptions of heroes of Russian stories, sitting in the shade of huge branchy 'klukva'—apparently the author did not know that 'klukva' are the berries of a tiny three-inch shrub. Let us further remember German stories about Cossacks eating children, candles and soap; that a samovar is carried on the head and that bears roam in the streets of Russian cities. All these absurdities are now vanishing with the spreading of the glorious Russian literature abroad.

When we add to the abovementioned Russian authors Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Gogol and do not forget the great Russian poets Pushkin and Lermontov and include further the father of Russian poetry

Derzhavin (end of XVIIIth century) and Lomonosov, the scientist and writer of the middle of XVIIIth century, we have a fairly complete outline of the leaders of our literature. Of course I mention above the literature of the last two centuries, but let us not forget that already since the XIIth century Russia had excellent literary gems like the famous "Discourse (Slovo) on the Campaign of Igor," which just celebrated its 750th anniversary.

Derzhavin's famous Ode "To God" written 150 years ago is one of the best poems of the Russian language. This poem has been translated into scores of foreign languages. I cannot refrain from quoting the first verse of this Ode, because it so beautifully represents the spirit of the poet:

"O Thou eternal One! whose presence bright
All space doth occupy, all motion guide;
Unchanged through time's all-devastating flight;
Thou only God! There is no God beside!
Being above all being! Mighty One!
Whom none can comprehend, and none explore."

When we speak of Theodore Dostoyevsky he often is represented as a stern psychologist of suffering humanity. The very names of his works *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, *The House of Death* already seem to point in this direction. But let us not forget that precisely Dostoyevsky proclaimed that 'Beauty will save the world.' Besides this, in his *An Author's Diary* he gave many prophetic pre-visions.

Ivan Turgenev gave an entire epopee of Russian country life and Dmitri Grigorovitch was one of the first to describe Russian peasantry. For me Grigorovitch is like the god-father of literature because he blessed me and introduced me into this domain. My first meeting with him dates 1897. The sufferings and aspirations of the Russian people are expressed also in the poetry of Nicholas Nekrasov, culminating in his poem: "Who can live happily and freely in Russia?"

Leo Tolstoy, more than any other Russian writer has been translated into many languages. His famous *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*—let us not repeat the whole suite of his remarkable works—show that amidst moralizing writings he dreamt about a wonderful country, which would bring real happiness to the people.

Anton Chekhov, whom I now and then met in Moscow, was an unusually striking personality. Whereas he himself was extremely modest, his sweeping scope of writings covered the entire period of his time in Russia. In his sad smile at certain manifestations of life, he expressed his sensitiveness and love to his Motherland.

In 1934 the Nobel Committee intending to give a prize to Russian literature, had four candidates: Gorky, Merezhkovsky, Bunin and Remizoff. The committee decided in favour of Bunin. But public opinion was surprised that the palm was not bestowed upon Gorky or Merezhkovsky. As regards Remizoff, he is very highly revered in the circles of the intelligentsia because of his genuine old Russian style of writing.

Gorky worked at the same time as Leonid Andreyev, and they were often regarded as rivals although essentially they are quite different. Gorky was a psychologist of the masses, whereas Andreyev in his profound writings evinced the qualities of a prophet. Let us remember his *Man's Life*, *King Hunger*, *Red Laughter* and *Anathema*.

We all remember and cherish that the recent Centenary Celebrations of Alexander Pushkin turned into a world event. On February 10, 1837, the greatest Russian poet died after receiving a fatal wound in a duel. The name of Pushkin is known all over the world. The sad centenary of his violent death was revered in the whole world by all true lovers of literature. Not only in the immense vastness of Russia, but in all countries there were held solemn celebrations, exhibitions dedicated to the poet were opened and many new editions of his famous works were published. In Russian and foreign theatres his immortal dramas were produced, in the musical interpretation of the best Russian composers.

The commemorative event resulted in a great Day of Russian, or rather world Culture. The immortal creations of Pushkin, equal to Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Balzac will forever remain a vital inexhaustible source of spiritual enrichment of the present and future generations of humanity. *Eugen Onegin*, *Poltava*, *The Bronze Rider*, *The Captain's Daughter*, *Ruslan and Ludmila*, *The Queen of Spades*, and hundreds of other works of Pushkin will live as precious evidence of radiant thought, as expressions of the feelings of true noble inspiration.

Pushkin's poems, written over a hundred years ago, move the hearts of mankind as deeply

now, as they did at the time of his contemporaries. Only now has the glory of Pushkin become a truly universal glory. He has expressed the inner life of the country in an unprecedented way calling up artistic images. For Pushkin the poet, there were no geographical nor historical boundaries. Ancient Hellas, Rome, Italy, Spain, and the ancient and new East, all Slavonic thoughts, were reflected by him with the same deep comprehension.

No one has before or after Pushkin enriched Russian culture to such an extent as this greatest poet of his Motherland. He was the true creator of the Russian literary language. He has conquered for Russian literature a place of honour in world classics. The poems, stories and essays of Pushkin prove the inexhaustible wealth of human expressions. Pushkin was the creator of a magnificent, flexible, expressive Russian literary language. He imbued Russian literature with the spirit of the people, he magnified the language with innumerable words taken from the very depths of folklore treasury. He introduced real poetical gems of national bards. Pushkin's contemporaries used to say about him that he was ever restless, that his spirit was rebellious and as such he died.

The great Russian critic Belinsky thus defined Pushkin's poetry:

"What a style! Antique plasticity and stern simplicity were combined in him with the charming play of romantic rhythm. The entire acoustic wealth, the might of the Russian language were revealed in him in extraordinary perfection; he is delicate, sweet, tender, like the murmur of the waves; he is rich as soil, brilliant as lightning, transparent and pure as crystal, aromatic and fragrant as spring, strong and mighty as the sword in the hand of a hero. Should we want to describe the verse of Pushkin in one word, we would say that it is *par excellence*, a truly poetic, artful and artistic verse; and this would solve the mystery of the majestic pathos of the entire poetry of Pushkin."

Gorky, usually severe in his judgment, says of Pushkin:

"Pushkin is for Russian literature, what Leonardo da Vinci was for European art. We have before us a great Russian national poet, the creator of poetical tales, which charm with their beauty and wit, the author of the first realistic novel *Eugen Onegin*, the author of our best historical drama *Boris Godunov*, a poet, who up to now is unsurpassed in the beauty of his verse and in the mighty expressions of emotions and thoughts, a poet—the father of the great Russian literature. In the person of Pushkin we have the example of a writer, who being imbued with impressions of life, was striving to reflect them in verse and prose, with greatest truth, with utmost realism, and in this he succeeded as a real genius. His creations are the most valuable testimony of a clever, wise, truthful person about customs, habits and conceptions of a certain period—indeed they are the true records of Russian history by a genius."

As befits every great man, Pushkin suffered great injustice from his contemporaries. The great poet was exiled and for a long time there hang upon him the threat of evil suspicions. This cannot be avoided—without these torches of savages no great achievement is possible. Thanks to his all-containing heart, Pushkin joined all advanced movements and was a friend of free thought. We find him amongst the *dekabrists*. We see Pushkin as a mason and to this society belonged all the foremost thinkers of Russia. The poet was seeking everywhere for Truth and listening to the fairy tales of his old nurse, he was enchanted from his very childhood by the beauty of Russian folklore.

During the short span of his life 1799-1837 he, whilst studying historical chronicles, yet remained ever in the defence of the new, carrying in his heart the vision of Russia's great future. When still in the Lyceum, Pushkin already astonished everyone with his sonorous verse and the great Derzhavin blessed him and foretold his glory. Seldom can one heart embrace simultaneously both the East and the West. Every reader in the Orient will understand Pushkin's *Ruslan and Ludmila*, *The Captive of the Caucasus*, or the *Fountain of Bakhchisarai*. Whereas *Eugen Onegin*, *The Queen of Spades* or *Dubrovskiy* will resound in the Western hearts.

Boris Godunov, the drama, in which Pushkin with astounding depth unfolds the tragedy, of a ruler, 'who has attained the highest power', attracts now the attention of the whole world. Recently *Boris Godunov* was staged in Berlin; in Praha—*Eugen Onegin*; thus in the most diverse and even contradictory audiences the splendour of Pushkin's creations calls forth equal admiration.

As we see, Pushkin simultaneously proceeded by all creative paths. During the twenty-seven years of his literary career, Pushkin became a great poet, a great prosaist, a great dramatist. In his works we have examples of all literary styles. Every new creation of Pushkin was not only a real *chef d'oeuvre* but became a new chapter in the history of Russian literature. In his immeasurable artistic might, in his extraordinary multifacetedness, in his unusual alacrity of mind are expressed the potentiality and genius of the great nation, in which he was born. Let us remember his self-characteristic poems "Echo" and "The Prophet," which are significant as describing the view of the poet upon his mission in life. Let us not attempt to translate them into

poetical verse, but try to render the poet's thought:

ECHO

Whether beasts roar in forests deep—
Whether the horn sounds, or thunder storm,
Whether a maiden sings on hillocks far—
To every voice
An echo in the empty air
Resounds at once.
Thou heedest to the thunder's roar,
The calls of storm and waves,
To shouts of shepherds
You an answer send,
But you get no response . . .
This, poet, is your fate !

In the other poem "Prophet" a six-winged Seraphim appears on the crossroad to a wanderer and, touching his lips and ears, opens to him his prophetic vision. The tremors of heaven and mysteries of earth and sea are revealed to him. The Seraphim tears out his tongue and replaces it with the wisdom of the serpent; for his heart he substitutes a piece of glowing coal. The poem concludes as follows:

"Alone as lifeless corpse in deserts I remained,
And God's voice called:
Arise, thou prophet, behold and hearken !
Be filled with My glory,
And, faring seas and distant lands,
By word the hearts of men thou set aflame !

Thus the poet foresaw his glorious mission.

II

Let us record for our friends in India the names of three Russian scholars, who are for ever connected with the East. As always, everyone who loves the East, loves also art. He will revere also the cradle of humanity—India.

I remember old meetings of the Russian Archaeological Society, in which Turayev took part; that remarkable investigator of Egypt and the ancient East. His external appearance, all his unassuming sincerity and heartiness, his naturally great soul, immediately attracted people to him. The first time, not yet knowing him, I asked my companion Veselovsky: "Who is that man there, still young, who smiles so gloriously?" He explained to me that this was Turayev. And then in some connection it was pointed out to me that he was a remarkable Egyptologist, a profound expert in the religion of Egypt, a deeply religious man himself who had a beautiful family life. Thus was given the complete character of Turayev.

A remarkable scholar, a highly religious and excellent participant in social and family life. Then there was gathered around Turayev a whole group of outstanding young scholars,

and one can imagine with what enthusiasm he guided those aspirants for knowledge.

Now it is already eighteen years since Turayev departed from this world.

The introduction to his work, *The Classical East*, says :

"On July 23, 1920 death snatched Turayev from the ranks of the living and left to life the memory of this great personality, to science his numerous works and the school created by him. To this school, the ranks of which after the death of B. T. continued to thin out, has been entrusted the responsible task of preserving and introducing into scientific usage the literary bequest of this teacher. His students, both in Petersburg and Moscow, have carefully looked after the works which B. T. left in the press. In Petersburg soon after his death there were withdrawn from publication several studies devoted to the memorials of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, and to the great papyrus of the collection of Prakhov in the Reports of the Russian Academy, of the History of Material Culture."

Then Struve goes on to give the following just statement about Turayev :

"Carrying out his colossal task, B. T. displayed enormous erudition in the almost boundless literature about the ancient East, yet this literature did not dominate his thinking; he decided all problems on the basis of study of the sources themselves. A broad acquaintance with almost all the languages of the cultures studied by him gave B. T. the opportunity of making manifold use of the countless epigraphic memorials presented to science by the inexhaustible soil of the East. In dealing with this material B. T. displayed with identical mastery the deep analysis of the philologist and the broad synthesis of the historian."

"Together with epigraphic material he made use with equal success of material evidence. In his deductions B. T. was always exceedingly cautious, and drawing out from the sources all they had to give, he never had recourse to artificial and hazardous interpretations for the sake of a larger attainment, he never obtruded upon the source his own cogitation. All these merits of the work of B. T. his remarkable objectivity and many-sidedness, enormous erudition, universal knowledge of all the materials accessible to him, epigraphic as well as objective, and the carefulness of his deductions on the basis of this material, make *The Classical East* the cornerstone of the most remote labours devoted to this period of universal history."

This is a just appraisal to which one would still wish to add something about the most attractive personality of Turayev. It is characteristic to observe the fact that no one was surprised that in him lived both a religiousness of his own and a great respect for the religions which he studied. One would not wish to forget that Turayev, being himself not of strong health, was always remarkably responsive in allotting time to those who came to him.

As with many scholars, Turayev did not live in ease, but these difficulties were swamped in an ocean of scientific enthusiasm. Indeed, the enthusiasm for knowledge kept Turayev

on the unquestionably lofty pathway of the investigator—his path of life, all perplexities remained in him, not disturbing in him the basic meaning of forward movement. He worked unusually assiduously and always progressively. Likewise he did not belong to that order of scholars, who, in order to avoid responsibilities, chose for themselves a completely limited problem, within the limits of which they risk no criticism.

Turayev, on the contrary was not afraid of responsible tasks, summing up his investigations in well-ground deductions. The larger problems fascinated him, as a result of which partial investigations flowed together remarkably harmoniously in his basic structures. Nothing obscured his horizon and at the same time the paths of his research were firmly enclosed. Now-a-days, when there is particularly required a realization of basic synthesis, the memory of such great scholars as Turayev must be preserved as a guiding example for many.

The recently departed Vladimirtsev had the same aspirations. Coeval with them is our great and esteemed Rostovtsev, an outstanding figure among scholars. Vladimirtsev's numerous works (like *The Life of Chingiz-Khan*, *The Social Structure of Mongol Life*, etc.) are new, well-founded and attractive to read. These three circumstances are rarely encountered in combination. It occurs so many times to all readers to regret the fact that very needful treatises are set forth in such clumsy language that their meaning is obscured by artificial accumulations of words. But the books of Vladimirtsev and Rostovtsev are manifested as parts of their enormous knowledge of the Orient. Moreover as true scholars, they identically understand and respond both to the oldest and the newest.

Being deeply acquainted with objective evidence, Rostovtsev is also a just appraiser of contemporary art. Archaeologist, historian, judge of art, he is always renewing his book learning with excavations and with travels. His word sounds clearly, both about the most ancient periods of history and about our own times. He absorbs everything. He is now justly recognized as an authority in America and in all the European countries. His books may be seen in university libraries and in the most unexpected book-collections, and everywhere they show signs of frequent reading. The world has need of such scholars! They are needed by us, by his countrymen, and by the whole world. I rejoice that the works of Rostovtsev are pub-

lished in different languages and thus are accessible to an enormous number of readers.

During last winter Professor Rostovtsev visited India. It will be especially interesting to recall how this eminent Russian scholar speaks about India in the last issue of *Russkiye Zapiski* (Russian Annals) published in Paris:

"In my old age God gave me the chance to visit India, this fairy-tale country. . . In India I saw that, what interested me. . . My chief interest in India was the interest of a historian, a specialist in the field of the ancient classical world,—of a historian, who already for many years studied the relationship of India with the classic epochs, and their (of India and this world) mutual influence on each other which is best of all understood through architecture, painting and applied crafts.

"I will say a few words about India in general, which will be of interest to my Russian readers. As a Russian I was struck by the similarity of India and Russia. One should not exaggerate this, but one cannot ignore this resemblance. A colossal country with a population of hundreds of millions, speaking hundreds of languages. A country of thousands of tribes, tongues and dialects. A country of many religions and acute religious oppositions. A country of endless fertile plains and mighty rivers. A country of millions of peasants, thousands of villages and a few cities most of which are but large villages. The country of squeaking ox-carts, country roads, endless caravans, immense vastnesses. A country of sharp differences in all respects: climatic, social, economic, religious. On the one side hungry poverty, on the other—palaces, sparkling in gold and silver, wealthy rajas decorated with precious gems. Temples, the treasures of which are filled with gold and silver and jewellery, which nobody has ever seen except the priests—and mud huts of millions of peasants and workmen. A small well-wishing intelligentsia torn off the soil and millions of illiterate and half-literate people. A country of unlimited possibilities, hidden in the soul of the people. A country which surprises with its deep religiosity, with thousands of temples and hundreds of thousands of priests, with millions of pilgrims,

with luxurious religious ceremonies and processions. A country of asceticism and mortification of flesh. A country of mysticism and religious upliftment . . .

"But in order to understand, I, at least, have to see. But to see the dead is impossible. Of the dead one can only guess and reconstruct it in one's imagination. In India the classical polytheism with its theory, philosophy and praxis is alive. One can see it, see it daily, in thousands of large and small temples, scattered all over India, where the cult of thousands of gods never ceases even for a minute, where traditional religion is living and is not likely to die.

"The traditional polytheism of India is indeed alive and it is very instructive for the research worker of the classical world to see its everyday manifestation. . . The similarity is striking. Polytheism is of course existent also in other parts of the world, but that is either a primitive, barbarian, shamanistic polytheism or that of another race,—not of ours. In India the brahmanistic polytheism has been retained amidst the people, who attained a high form of civilization, the same as in the classical world. It has survived in India a hard struggle.

"In galleries, in temple yards and bazaars, in streets inhabited by priests of Hindu temples, I felt exactly as in the classical world. It seemed to me that I saw not the life of a Madura or Bhuvaneswar Temple of India or the thousands of temples of Bali of the twentieth century, but the life of large and small temples not so much of Greece, Rome or Egypt, but rather of Syria, Mesopotamia of the Hellenistic and Roman period."

Of course when one studies India longer, one no more thinks of the Hellenistic or Roman period but of something much more ancient and much more lofty and essential. But for a brief visit like that of Professor Rostovtsev, who is a specialist of the classical world, such a vivid comparison of life in India with ancient classical countries, is very interesting.

We sketch Russian silhouettes and in them one can realize those friendly ties which mark two countries of the same race.

Himalayas, 1938



THE CHINESE SOLDIER

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

SINCE time immemorial the Chinese have regarded the soldier as the lowest of the earth's human creatures, while the man who could read and write characters was given first honor and a privileged position in society. Today, much of this fallacious attitude continues to exist and is, in some degree, responsible for the weaknesses in the Army Medical Service and the inadequate care of the wounded. This fallacious attitude is also seen in recent Government decisions exempting the student class from conscripted military service at the front and for the fact that modern-trained Chinese physicians have not yet been conscripted by the Government for the Army Medical Service.

While large numbers of students have voluntarily entered some branch of military service, such as guerilla units, the air force, or as officers, still they are chiefly confined to political work in the army and in the rear, while thousands of students calmly move to the rear and continue to study in universities in the same way as before the war began. This is their loss, for the difference between students who have seen hard service at the front, and those in the rear, is most striking. Those in the rear are soft, indecisive, often effeminate, not knowing what life is all about; those at the front become sharp, quick, determined, capable.

Yet it can be said that almost the entire Chinese Army is made up of workers and peasants, the majority of them illiterate, most of them with the most miserable economic background. With the social heritage of outcasts, these soldiers nevertheless arouse in all foreign observers who see them in action almost nothing but unstinted praise and admiration. Foreign military men of long service in western armies have repeatedly remarked that while high Chinese officers are very bad stuff, still the courage, endurance, stubbornness and initiative of the common soldiers and of the lower officers is unsurpassed. One foreign military officer who was on the General Staff in France during the world war said: "I would be proud to command such men."

True, in past wars of rival generals in China, the Chinese soldier received—and deserved—a bad name. However, that was not

his fault. He had no principle worth fighting for, but was a tool of this or that General on the path to glory and riches. But what he was really made of was shown repeatedly when he was once given something worth fighting for. Given an idea worth living for, and he was willing to fight and die for it.

To understand this characteristic of the Chinese soldier you have but to know the economic and social conditions of the workers and peasants, from which the soldier springs. The common people stand always before hunger, completely unprotected from the ravages of nature and the more merciless ravages of their fellow-man. Without the simplest elemental rights of man, they have in addition been left in the darkness of illiteracy. The soldier fought only for his bowl of rice in the past and naturally enough it did not matter to him for whom he fought.

Yet this very virgin mental and economic state, combined with the native intelligence which characterizes the common man of China, makes the Chinese soldier the most fertile soil in the world for ideas. This was demonstrated in the revolutionary wave of 1925-27 in China, but it was above all shown in the development of the Chinese Red Army of workers and peasants. That Army sprang from the very soil of destitution and subjection and, beginning with some few rifles, grew until it stood off an army of a million men armed with weapons so superior to them that the comparison between the present Japanese Army and the Chinese may be made. Yet the once half-naked Red Army of poor men is today meeting the powerful Japanese Army, throughout north and northwest China. As in the past, so today, the most powerful weapon of this Army, now called the 8th Route Army, is the knowledge it brings the common people. No people on earth are more willing to die for an idea of a new and better life than are the common men of China.

Also, in 1932, the famous 19th Route Army demonstrated to the world what the Chinese soldier was capable of doing when fighting for his own country. That army was ragged and badly armed, and many of them mere boys.

When the present Japanese invasion began,

the Chinese soldier again showed his mettle, both in the north and in the Yangtze Valley. Inferior by a thousand-fold to the well-armed and well-organized Japanese army with its fleets of war vessels, airplanes, tanks, artillery and intelligence service, still most units of the Chinese Army stood up and continued to fight against colossal odds. As one foreign diplomat expressed it, "Around Shanghai the Japanese hurled everything at them except the kitchen sink." The courage of the common soldier, his endurance, stubbornness, initiative, and ability to bear hardship when fighting for his own homeland, has aroused the unstinted admiration of every unbiased foreigner and the love of every Chinese who is a sincere patriot. A foreign military observer who recently returned after three months with the Eighth Route Army, expressed his opinion of the character of the Chinese soldier in these words:

"The Chinese soldier stands at the very top of the scale as a fighting man. Given decent treatment, a minimum of food to sustain life in him, and a spiritual purpose to fight for, the Chinese soldier has no superior. He can endure more hardship than any soldier on earth."

In the Yangtze Valley today one has more than ample opportunity to observe the ordinary Chinese soldier. Here are over a million men from every section of the country. Provincial and geographical differences make themselves felt, but beyond this, the fighting man at the front has no differences. In the rear, among politicians, there is unrelenting struggle over the question of the mobilization and arming of the civilian population, against corruption and bureaucracy, and against political reaction. But at the front all this vanishes and men are brothers fighting for one common, holy purpose. Many of the Provincial troops are boys, little more than children, their loose faded cotton uniforms flapping about their thin adolescent bodies. Their equipment is miserable and many know little more than the Japanese have destroyed their homes and families and threaten to destroy all China.

Other troops are older, seasoned, more conscious men. Many come from the North, their homes already in occupied territory. In the fighting in western Shantung down to June, these northern troops—formerly without high reputation—suddenly began to stand the full brunt of the fighting. The 26th Route Army commanded by General Sun Lien-chung, stood its ground to the very last—and lost three-fourths of its force. The Manchurian troops of General Yu Hsueh-chung did the same. I have recently visited Army hospitals filled with these

northern men wounded months ago in Shantung. They are big and strong, slow and stubborn, between the ages of twenty and thirty as a rule, and fully conscious of the meaning of this war.

Then, here in the Yangtze Valley today are also the shorter, wiry, temperamental Kwangtung Army, and the well-trained, politically, Kwangsi Army. The crack troops of the Central Government are also highly trained, politically, in so far as the Japanese problem is concerned. As the best-armed forces of the country, they stood much of the brunt of fighting in the Yangtze Valley around Shanghai and Nanking, suffering heavy losses.

The army with the highest political and social training is the famous Eighth Route, or Communist Army. All its men have been taught to read and write in the Army, while military and political training is about equally divided. Its morale is perhaps the highest of all Chinese armies, and it is the only Army so far able to exist, grow, and operate successfully in the rear of the enemy, to reconquer Chinese territory and re-establish Chinese authority. The rank and file of its men believe that this is a holy war. I have talked with the wounded of this Army as they were carried from the battlefield. Some knew they were dying, but did not complain, and one dying man tried to comfort me by telling me that it did not really matter if he died because China would be victorious.

The wounded Chinese soldier, generally speaking, is perhaps the most stoical of any on earth. This is a tragic necessity also, for the Chinese Army Medical Service has not gone in advance of the backward nature of the country in general. It is, therefore, badly organized and most imperfectly equipped and trained. At the front in the Yangtze Valley today one can see long lines of lightly wounded men making their painful way for days and days to some receiving station or field hospital in the rear. Men severely wounded lie dying in some peasant hut or wayside station, or under some isolated tree. Generally the wounded man dies in silence, uncomplaining, his eyes often filled with hopelessness. It is a terrible thing to see them die, for it is clear to those who know them that they are the material from which true greatness is made, and that the loss of such courage and consciousness is a loss to China and to the world.

In recent air raids in the Wu-Han cities, I have again had the opportunity to watch the Chinese soldier in action and to care for some of their wounded. With mangled bodies, they

patiently watch doctors and nurses care for other wounded men, most of whom are civilians. They do not moan or groan, but wait in white-lipped silence until their turn comes. For every little thing done for them they are eternally grateful,—as if they expect nothing from life. It is a sad truth that, though they

are tender to each other when wounded, and care for each other, still it seems to come as a surprise to many of them when others come to their aid. This sad fact, with all its connotations, will perhaps be destroyed before the present Sino-Japanese war comes to an end.

IMPRESSIONS OF BOHEMIA

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. POL. (Rome).

ON a warm and bright afternoon early in last June, when the spark of an ominous incident on the Czech-German frontier near Cheb had hardly died out, I was approaching the home of the Sudeten Germans who have recently created so much noise and scandal in European politics, by the Paris-Prague express. The train was speeding across the green slopes and exuberant spring verdure of the German woodlands.

On the 20th May and during the following days, Europe was almost on the brink of a war. Two Sudeten Germans were shot at by the Czech police near Eger and were incidentally killed. There was anxiety in all the capitals of Europe as to the possibility of a German intervention in Czechoslovakia. The memory of the *anachluss* was too fresh to allow European statesmen to dismiss lightly the provocation that this incident might have offered to the fulfilment of Nazi plans in regard to Czechoslovakia. Two weeks had passed since the incident, still there was a lot of tension in the air.

The only other passenger in my compartment, with whom I had been travelling from Nuremberg, did not speak a single word until we crossed the German frontier and arrived at Eger. He was a Czech businessman from Paris coming home for the Whitsun holidays. After we had left Eger he became very friendly with me and told me without reserve all he knew and all he felt about the present situation in regard to Czech-German relations. I guessed the widow of his taciturn attitude during the German part of the journey.

Except for the small movement of customs and passport officers, this frontier station which might have proved a new Serajevo about two weeks ago appeared to be unusually calm and

peaceful. At eight o'clock in the evening the streets were deserted and there was practically no traffic even near the railway station. It naturally suggested to me the strong hand that Prague had taken in regard to the incidents that became so chronic in the Sudeten German districts of Czechoslovakia. This guess was later on confirmed by the general belief that I found among the important officers of the State and members of the Press in Prague that there is only one method of dealing with the Germans, that is, "to show the red eye." The Germans, it is believed in Prague, consider persuasion as weakness. So Czechoslovakia had prepared herself for the worst. As a matter of fact, the entire country seemed to be in the midst of a general mobilization. From the frontier to Prague we noticed at least three lines of fortification, and every bridge was guarded by soldiers. In many places on our way, on high promontories we found those military pickets, dressed in greenish woollen khaki, in very cheerful and optimistic mood, guarding the outskirts of their beloved motherland. The Czechs made no secret of their preparedness for war, although the enemy might prove to be infinitely stronger than themselves. There was a touch of desperation in the determination of young Czechs to defend their newly acquired independence after centuries of subjection and torture. Every young man whom I had the opportunity to meet in Czechoslovakia gave me the impression of this desperation and of an instinctive aversion to the Teutonic menace.

The present quarrel between the Germans and Czechs can never be understood in its proper historic significance until one realizes the fundamental difference between the Slav and Teutonic temperaments that has given



General view of Bratislava, the Capital of Slovakia



Reflections of the illuminated Charles Bridge on the Moldava, Prague



The Monument to John Hus, Prague

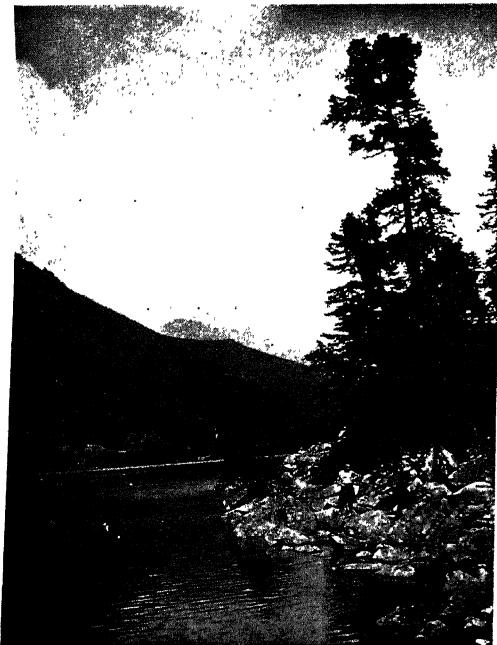
BOHEMIA



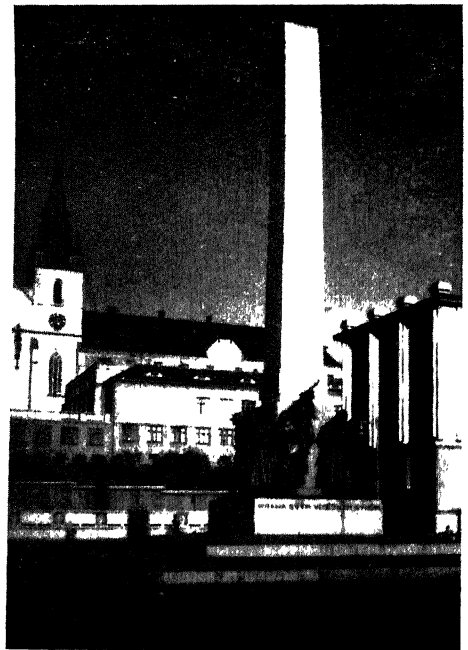
Young girls in their national costumes from
a village of Carpathian Ruthenia



Beautiful wedding costumes from South-
eastern Moravia



A charming lake in the High Tatras



The War Memorial, Prague

Europe some of its most decisive wars and still constitutes the most potential danger for peace in Central Europe. The religious revolt itself, led by the Prague Professor John Hus, which partly inspired the Reformation and led to the religious wars involving the political



A delightful ensemble of embroideries and laces: Costumes from middle Moravia

destiny of Bohemia in a series of unending vicissitudes, was not merely an anticlerical movement but was characterized by a deep-rooted racial animosity. According to an eminent English historian,

"Bohemian puritanism, while full of religious mobility and vigour, was closely bound up with national pride, and with the ambition for political independence. It was a movement partly for the reform of a profligate, idle, and ignorant clergy, but partly, also, for a Bohemian Church on a national basis, and for the expulsion or subordination of the Germans. A light is thrown upon this last aspect of the struggle by a decree of King Wenzel in 1409, which transferred the control of the University of Prague from the Germans to the Bohemians. So passionate was the pride of the German masters and students that, rather than submit to the dominion of the Slavs, they emigrated in a body, founded the University of Leipzig, and spread far and wide through Germany their violent abhorrence of the Bohemian cause. The bitterness of the religious war was deepened by that intense racial animosity which is found when two mutually uncongenial races are intermingled in the same geographical area, and maddened by the jars of daily intercourse." (H. A. L. Fisher: *A History of Europe*, page 356).

The political subjection of Bohemia under the Austrian Empire did not wipe out this instinctive aversion of the Bohemians towards their neighbouring Teutonic races. The great War again set at liberty the tides of Slavonic nationalism which had continued to aspire, even during its darkest periods, after self-determination. The following passage from Prof. Fisher's book illustrates this point of view:

"The Hussite wars, while they should primarily be regarded as the prelude to the Protestant Reformation, are also important as marking the reaction of a Slavonic race against the onward pressure and dominating influence of the Germans. The quarrel of Bohemia will not be understood unless we can enter into the emotions of a small people struggling to preserve its soul against a race more numerous and more advanced than itself. Passionate discipline and willing sacrifice made the Bohemians masters of their destiny; but the fruits of victory were snatched by a greedy nobility, and lost in 1620 at the battle of the White Hill, when the Protestant cause was overwhelmed, and the little country with its gridle of mountains was caught in the Austrian and Catholic net, from which it was only delivered after much fretting and uneasiness by the flashing scimitar of the great war." (*Op. Cit.*, page 359).

It would be appropriate in this connection to refer to the two living cults in modern Czechoslovakia which bear testimony to the fact that although the present constitution of the Republic of Czechoslovakia came into being after the great war, its foundation had been laid more than a thousand years ago. They are the cult of Venceslas,* and the Sokol movement. Czechoslovakia celebrated the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic in 1928, but at the same time she celebrated with greater grandeur the millennial anniversary of the death of Saint Venceslas on the 28th September, 1929. Saint Venceslas, whose statue stands today in front of the National Museum in Prague at one end of the principal thoroughfare and main artery of metropolitan traffic which bears his name, was not only the first Saint of Bohemia whom the Czechoslovak people have honoured as their patron and protector but also became the symbol of her independence and of the part she has taken in the march of European civilization. All the history of Czechoslovakia from the 10th to the 20th century is permeated by the cult of St. Venceslas. Although an independent Czech State was organized by the Přemyslides about a hundred years before the advent of Venceslas, it was during the reign of the Saint that the solid nucleus of the Czech

* This name is sometimes written also as Wenceslas and Vaclav.

State was formed for the first time under the aegis of a national dynasty by the union of several tribes of occidental Slavs inhabiting the actual territory of Czechoslovakia. It is St. Venceslas who is credited with the wisdom, at the moment of the breakdown of the liaison between the tribes of the occidental Slavs and

the millenary celebrations. The tradition of St. Venceslas has been allocated a position of the first importance in Czech history. Subsequent generations made of him the national patron saint, an advocate before God, the protector of the Czech cause, his country's most perfect representative in the eyes of his people and of foreigners. It is certain that the martyrdom which brought an early end to his reign greatly contributed to this. On the 28th September, 929, he was assassinated by the order of the partisans of his brother, Boleslav, on the threshold of Stara Boleslav Church. Although the frenzied ambition of his brother was the true motive for the murder, Venceslas was referred to from the death as a martyr to the Christian cause to which he had consecrated his life. Poems were composed in his honour in Latin and Slav, and his reputation travelled all through Europe. His mortal remains transported by his remorseful brother from Stara Boleslav to the Church of St. Vitus at Prague Castle, are regarded as a national



President and Madame Beneš plucking fruits

the Byzantine civilization owing to the inroads of the Hungarians into the Danube basin, of turning towards the civilization of western Europe, and of employing all his power to spread among the masses of the Czech people the sole form of that civilization, the Christian religion of the Latin Church. He surrounded himself by enlightened priests, and, with their aid, he propagated the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, routed pagan superstitions, and introduced Christian customs. He maintained active relations with the West and implanted the art of Roman architecture and *belles lettres* in Bohemia. Filled in his youth by the ideal of a Christian ruler, his wise government made a civilized country of Bohemia, enabling her, by the degree of her culture, to rank among the most advanced nations of the West. The monuments of the period of this saintly Prince which have survived the subsequent wars bear eloquent testimony to the work of civilization carried on by the Czechoslovak nation. The most important of these is the Church of St. Vitus, the first foundations of which were laid by the Prince himself in the precincts of the Prague Castle, and which was completed during

palladium; his boar-spear, borne in combat assures victory; his likeness was engraved on the coins and the seals of the rulers of Bohemia; since the tenth century, the anniversary of his death has been celebrated as a national fete and his sword has served as arms for the knights of the State.

St. Venceslas is for Bohemia what St. Stephen is for Hungary. This cult of Venceslas achieved its apogee at the time of the most celebrated of the rulers of Bohemia, Charles IV, who was himself a fervent admirer of the Saint. He had built over the tomb of the Saint a chapel and undertook the construction of the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the foundations of which had been laid by the Saint himself. The University of Prague which he founded in 1348 bears on its coat of arms the figure of the Saint, and the crown of Bohemia, refashioned by Charles, was placed on the skull of the patron of the country and called the Crown of Saint Venceslas. It was for this reason that the Czech territories were afterwards known as the lands of the Crown of St. Venceslas. Even during the Hussite period the cult of St. Venceslas did not disappear but merged later

in the Hussite tradition. Hus himself was an admirer of the princely Saint, and the beautiful hymn in honour of the Saint which appeared at the end of the 13th century was augmented by new verses during the Hussite period and was sung by the "soldiers of God" as a war song and as a national hymn on the occasion of great events. The plastic arts as well as the folk arts of Bohemia have been greatly influenced by the Venceslas tradition. This tradition has been revived with renewed vigour after the foundation of the independent Republic. Imposing manifestations have been made before his statue, and the first gold pieces of the Republic bore his effigy as did the coins of the ancient princes and kings of Bohemia.

The Sokol Movement which is a typically Slav organization and a characteristically Slav contribution to the culture of Europe owes its origin in Czechoslovakia after the downfall of the post-Meternich absolutism in 1860, when the first dawn of constitutional freedom raised in the Czechs the hope of political independence which they never again abandoned. They determined to fit themselves for the part they might some day have to play in Europe, and devoted the spare hours of a hard life to a form of gymnastic exercise which demands mental alertness, binds its exponents in equal brotherhood, and requires of them a high moral standard. The artistic talent of the Czech people made music an integral part of the movement, and the kaleidoscopic changes of attitude and formation are rendered without any words of command, but only in accordance with the notes of the music and an occasional signal. The name "Sokol" (Falcon) is derived from Yugoslav legends and songs, and among the Southern Slavs after the war it took the dramatic form of epic history. Men and women would recount in rhythmic drill the story of the Turkish conquest followed by the long struggle of their race for freedom.

"Music and movement told the tale of subjugation, the men doing every exercise with their arms crossed at the wrists, and being gradually, as it were, driven to the ground, on which their crossed wrists were laid, and foreheads on wrists. The girls meanwhile, the music growing slower and sadder, took dragging steps forward,

sank upon a knee, and buried their faces in their hands. Then the music would grow louder, stormier, heartening, and men and women half rose and looked upward, only to be driven by a crash from the music, denoting the suppression of the rising, back into their attitudes of utter dejection. Two or three abortive revolts followed, each rather differently characterized; then gradually the performers—but they hardly seemed to be performers in the ordinary sense of the word—slowly rose to fully upright positions, the music grew harmonious, majestic and finally triumphant, while men and women closed their ranks, burst into loud song, and marched from the hall to the frantic applause of the onlookers."



A Slovak peasant girl watering plants at home

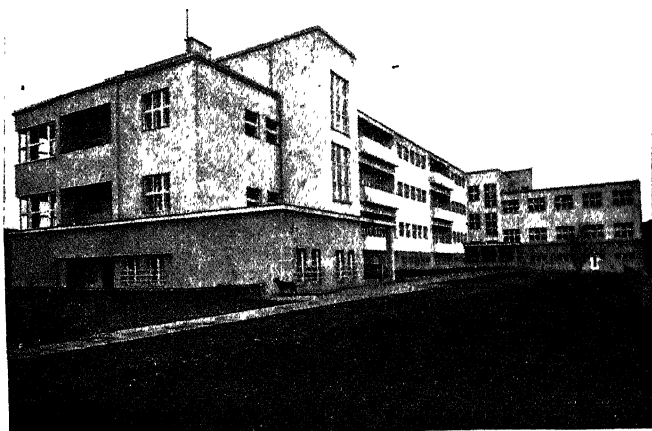
It was history re-enacted by people to whom every memory of disaster and triumph seemed to be a living experience. To the Yugoslavs, Czechs, Slovaks, and other Slavs these exercises mean much more than physical culture, for they express the soul of the nation. They also, of course, teach discipline, orderliness and respect for communal authority. During the great Sokol Congress which is being held at present (July) in Prague representatives of the entire Slavonic world have gathered together and are taking part in the gigantic manifestations. Could our own *Bratachari* movement adopt this all-comprehensive national, patriotic and cultural character?

This fundamental racial antagonism between the Slavs and the Germans has never ceased to play its part in the history of Central Europe, the Balkans and Russia. The Hussite wars, the Pan-Slavonic movement originating with the Slovak poet Kollar in 1824 and leading to the Bohemian revolution of 1848 and

ultimately breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy after the great war, although Pan-Slavism was not the only motive behind the first spark of that great conflagration, and the actual animosity between Soviet Russia and the Third Reich, the root of which goes deeper than a mere divergence of political convictions, all demonstrate this antagonism. Czechoslovakia's alliance with Yugoslavia in the project of the Little Entente, and with Soviet Russia, the most powerful Slav State, in the post-War days, indicate that Pan-Slavism is not yet dead as an ideal. The Nazi plan in regard to

which is slowly surging up in that country. Germany today dreams again of the dominion of the world, and before she can fight the Western Democracies successfully, she has to feed her Four-Year Plans with the wealth of the Balkans and Ukrain. The present conflict between Germany and Czechoslovakia over the question of the Sudeten Germans, which was discussed by the present writer in the June issue of this *Review*, ought to be seen in the light of this more elaborate Nazi *weltanschauung*.

When I first saw Prague the entire history of Bohemia and the part she played in European history became almost a living experience for me. Here in this modern, brisk and resurrected capital, one can still find the traces of its early beginning under the Premyslides, the memories of the glorious reign of Charles IV (1346-1378) of the House of Luxembourg who made Prague the largest city of Central Europe and metropolis of the Holy Roman Empire, are contained in the treasures of mediaeval Gothic represented by the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the Charles Bridge and the University; the tragedies of the Hussite wars and of the Catholic triumph in Bohemia seem to still linger on the soaring spires of the Baroque domes adorning the sky-line of Prague and on some of the magnificent specimens of



A typical pavilion in the Masaryk Home near Prague

Czechoslovakia and Hungary owes its inspiration to something more than a mere irredentist policy for bringing the entire German-speaking populations of Europe under the single flag of Greater Germany. Czechoslovakia and Hungary constitute the most formidable walls against Germany's drive towards the East. Although Hungary is not a Slav State, its population being composed of the Magyar races, she refuses to be drawn into a Pan-Germanic circle and thus to serve as a convenient high road for the march of Prussian militarism, resurrected again today under the veiled intoxication of a political doctrine, towards the East where the mineral wealth of the Balkans and the abundant harvests of Ukrain could bring the necessary grist to the mill of German autarky. The reorientation in Hungary's foreign policy since the *anschluss* would clearly indicate the anti-Nazi wave

architecture inspired by the Italian Renaissance. Prague is rightly called the heart of Europe, and the history of this city is the history of Bohemia and partly also the history of the northern Slavs. Apart from these historical associations, the natural situation of the city itself, the leisurely stream of the Moldava with its mediaeval and modern bridges, the Castle heights (Hradcany), the unending series of beautiful gardens, the romantic silence of the *Mala Strana* (small town) and the grandeur of the Venceslas Street, make Prague one of the prettiest cities of Europe. Ernest Denis, the French historian and the author of the famous history of the Czech nation, wrote: "Prague is tragic and her every stone speaks of heroic drama." The citizens of Prague have honoured the French historian by naming one of the railway stations of the city after him, as they have named the

other two principal stations after President Wilson and President Masaryk, both of whom played such a big part in the creation of the new Republic. In front of the Wilson station there stands a huge statue of the American President as an abiding symbol of the idealistic bonds that bind Czechoslovakia with the largest democracy across the Atlantic.

During my stay in Prague I had the opportunity of visiting the Exhibition of Prague Baroque in the Castle. A bird's-eye view of this exhibition gave me the impression that there is no other city in Europe which could furnish so many materials for the study of Baroque art as could the "Rome of the North," as Prague was called by Auguste Rodin, the famous French sculptor. To study the history of Prague baroque, it seemed to me, was to study the contemporary history of Czechoslovakia itself. The German, Italian and French influences, as they were brought into this country with its foreign political and religious masters, all contributed to the evolution of this special style which is called baroque. It is principally a combination of Gothic and Renaissance styles. The Gothic style was introduced into Bohemia in the first half of the 13th century, almost abruptly, since the country till that time had been a simple Slavonic agricultural State. Gothic reached its maximum development in the latter half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, during the reigns of Charles IV and Vaclav IV, when the Kings of Bohemia were simultaneously German Emperors. It was in that epoch that there came into being the splendid cathedrals in French style (Charles IV was educated at Paris), the cloister churches and the romantic castles not only in Bohemia but also in all parts of Moravia and Slovakia. The powerful expansion of the plastic arts during the reign of Charles IV was interrupted by the religious wars of the Hussites and it was not until the close of the 15th century that Czech art regained the level of that in other countries in Central Europe. The revived evolution of pure Gothic was then interrupted by the appearance of the Renaissance brought to Bohemia by Italian artists at the beginning of the 16th century. The beginnings of the Renaissance style, characterized in particular by the Belvedere Castle, the summer residence of Queen Anne, fall within the period which saw a change in the dynasty—the accession of the Habsburgs to the throne of Bohemia. The Renaissance soon spread through the medium of Italian craftsmen and artists not merely at Prague but also in South Bohemia, Moravia

and Slovakia. Baroque came to characterize the face of Czechoslovak towns during the seventeenth century when, after the close of the Thirty Years' War which had exhausted the countries and deprived them of their non-Catholic population, the Gothic churches were systematically reconstructed and given a new external decoration by the zealous enterprise of Jesuit priests. Spacious palaces and monasteries were erected, and there arose new places of pilgrimage whose plastic forms breathed an exalted religious emotion. The Czech lands became the classic home of the baroque style whose excellence remained unsurpassed as a universal standard. Artistic achievements of the Czech genius reached a culminating point in the 18th century in the architecture of the Dientzenhofers, the frescoes of Rainer, the



A characteristic costume of a Slovak village girl

paintings of Brandl and Kupecky, and in the sculpture of Matthias Braun and Brokoff. This high level of art then gradually sank; the independence of Bohemia in art began to succumb to the growing influence of Vienna which at that time had succeeded in bringing about a gradual cultural Germanization of the country. By the end of the century art in Bohemia was on the point of extinction.

But as in the field of religion, political subjection could not kill the inner urge of Czech national genius to assert itself at an

opportune moment in the field of art and literature too. The Czech national renaissance which culminated in the foundation of the Republic in 1918, had its origin nearly hundred years ago in "the ideas of 1848." Revolution in France, republicanism in England, the rising tide of the Italian *risorgimento*, and the publication of the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx in 1848, had their repercussions in Bohemia. The Czechs were foaming under the



Costumes of Kujov in East Moravia

Austrian rule and Slovakia was oppressed by their Hungarian masters. The Czechoslovak aspirations of national independence which took a concrete revolutionary shape in 1848 could not achieve any practical result; on the contrary, the forces of despotic absolutism at Vienna and Budapest, after having suppressed the political efforts of the Czechs and Slovaks, decided upon a more drastic Germanization of the Czechs and Magyarization of the Slovaks than during the previous Metternish regime.* But although the political attempts ended in disaster, the undying aspirations of the Czechs and Slovaks for national independence sought their outlet in a literary and artistic revival which constitutes the basis of the national culture of modern Czechoslovakia. The Czech constitutional revolution of 1848 may very appropriately be compared with our own Swadeshi revolution of 1905, so far at least as its cultural consequences are concerned. An attempt was made in Czechoslovakia to rouse the consciousness of the people through literature. Frantisek Palacky (1798-1876) attempted the first elucidation of Czech history, and his ideas constituted the first Czech political programme. The political programme of

Palacky was taken over and elaborated by the second political leader of the Czech nation, F. Ladislav Reiger (1818-1903). That programme was based, on the one hand, on the principle of the nation's right to self-determination, and, on the other hand, on the consciousness of the nation belonging to the great Slav race. This factor of the Czech political programme is reflected particularly in the romantic conception of the Slovak poet, Jan Kollar (1793-1852), who formulated with great pathos and in poetical form his vision of Slavonic unity. The learned researches of Pavel Josef Safarik (1791-1861), a Slovak, led to a deepening of interest in Slavonic questions. Palacky's political collaborator, the talented Czech journalist Karel Havlicek Borovsky (1821-1856), a politician of indomitable character and unending energy, also exercised a great influence on the succeeding generations of fighters for Czech independence. What Palacky, Rieger and Borovsky were in political agitation and propaganda, Kollar, Safarik, Celakovsky and Macha were in poetry and literature. What Karel and Josef Capek, Hilbert and Sramek stand for in Czech dramatic art, Smetana and Dvorak stand for in the national revival of Czech music. The names of Manes, Stursa and Myslbek who brought about the renaissance in modern Czech painting and sculpture, are household words in Czechoslovakia today. These poets and dramatists, painters and sculptors, are but a few of the large number of artists who have enriched by their valuable contributions the national renaissance of the Slavonic people.

In the Czechoslovak Republic of today, the visitor will find the breath of this national rejuvenation in every aspect of its national life, in towns as well as in the country. The ideas of 1848 and of all the subsequent period till the outbreak of the great war have been translated into realities, and an all-comprehensive programme of national reconstruction has been set in motion after the foundation of the Republic. Today the National Theatre of Prague, built in the eighties of the last century by public subscription, is regarded by the Czechs as a living embodiment of Slavonic cultural renaissance. The University of Prague which was divided into two separate institutions, one Czech and the other German, in 1882, gave infinite stimulus to scientific and historical research among Czech scholars which led to the foundation of the Czech Academy of Science and Art (*Ceska akademie ved a umeni*). Two more universities have been established since 1918: the Masaryk University at Brno and the

*Vide *A Short History of Czechoslovakia* by Kamil Krofta, (London, 1935), pp. 105-115.

Comenius University at Bratislava in order to provide for a harmonious development of all the different elements of which the Czechoslovak culture is composed. The Safarik Society of Bratislava which is also a recent creation aims at the cultural development of the Slovaks. The Masaryk Homes near Prague, which take care of destitute children, the poor and the invalid, constitute a typical achievement of the State in regard to national social insurance. There are these Masaryk Homes all over the country. Czechoslovakia is also a big industrial and commercial country, and the establishments of the Skoda Works at Pilsen and the Bata Works at Zlin, which the writer had the occasion to visit, present a spectacle at once of technical perfection and healthy industrialism. On the 5th June last, I watched one of the most impressive demonstrations of the Czechoslovak working classes from my hotel window, in which nearly ten thousand men and women took part. It was on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia. President Benes greeted the processionists from the balcony of the Town Hall, while the delegations from different provinces continued to march in their party uniforms with shouts of "Nazdar," the Sokol greeting, and other party slogans. I confess that in this procession of a democratic party I found the sense of brotherhood and comradeship no less intimate and disciplined than that of the totalitarian States. But there was a difference, and a pleasant one too. Here in this procession, for example, little boys carried toys and coloured balloons instead of small muskets hanging on their frail shoulders, here young girls carried huge daisies as a symbol of spring and beauty instead of a dagger in their belts as obtains somewhere else, and young men carried sporting gears instead of machine guns and tanks. I was delighted very much indeed by this spectacle because it offered me a sense of relief from the apprehension of an oppressive sight which I had expected to see.

The villages of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia are extremely interesting for the student of sociology, although they widely differ from one another in natural beauty and customs of the people. I came across many beautiful castles, built by different dynasties that ruled over Bohemia, while going around the country, and the castles of Karlstejn, and Orlik attracted me most by their natural setting, architectural designs and historical associations. Often I walked down the romantic valleys in

company of young Czechs and Slovaks from one village to another, sometimes through rocky passes, sometimes through the green fields of corn, and sometimes along the course of dark-watered rivers flowing lazily under rustic bridges. One thing, however, disappointed me; here I had expected to find the gipsies who had from time immemorial picked up their tents on the outskirts of Bohemian forests and had lent that characteristic nostalgia of their music to the folk songs of Bohemia and Slovakia. I did not find their traces, except in the ornamental designs of some of the folk costumes



The Castle of Karlstejn near Prague

in Slovak villages, and in an occasional plaintive musical mood of Bohemian peasants. Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks have known an aristocratic nobility since their national rebirth after the constitutional revolution, but emerged as a nation of peasants and small traders and workers in the towns. Thus the predominance of a middle-class population has given a democratic character to Czechoslovak intellectual and social life. The Slovaks are, in comparison with the Czechs, much nearer the original Slavonic type and character, since the Magyars intermingled much less with the simple Slovaks than the Germans did with the Czechs. The Slovaks have no aristocracy and their leaders have for the most part sprung from the common people. The Slovaks have great artistic talent as is manifest in their picturesque

national costumes, their beautiful songs, and their notable popular arts and crafts. This popular element has supplied the inspiration to more than one poet of nascent Bohemia, and Frantisek Ladislav Celakovsky (1799-1851) endeavoured, somewhat under the influence of the German romantic school, to revive poetry through folk song, of which he was a masterly imitator. What Celakovsky was in poetry, Nemcova (1820-1862) was in prose, who wrote some perfect tales of village life . . . One other thing which struck me in some of the Bohemian villages is the nice little cemeteries which combined a deep sense of awe and aesthetic simplicity. The only curious experience which I often came across while travelling like a simple tourist in the villages either on foot or while crossing a river, was the inevitable appearance of a soldier who seeing my photographic camera came to remind me always that taking photographs was prohibited, and sometimes they also wanted to see my passport in order to make sure that it was not a German one. The entire country seemed to be under a general scheme of fortifications, and after all, they had every reason to be careful.

I should like to draw the attention of our countrymen to the selfless efforts of Prof. V. Lesny, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Prague, towards promoting active and progressive cultural relations between India and Czechoslovakia. He is the *spiritus rector* of the Indo-Czechoslovak Association and takes an infinite interest in the propagation of Indian culture among the intelligentsia

of his country. He has been to Santiniketan, and has recently written a critical work on the poetry of Tagore in Czech which is being translated into English. He has instituted a course of Bengali in the Prague University. I had the good fortune of seeing him several times while in Prague, sometimes at his office and sometimes at his club, and on every occasion he entertained me with long conversations in spite of his heavy engagements. It is from him that I learnt that the University of Prague is trying to institute a few scholarships every year for deserving Indian students. Prof. Lesny is very ably and enthusiastically assisted in his work for India by our friend and colleague, Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar.

Czechoslovakia finds herself today, as so many times before in her history, under the threat of German expansionism. The destiny of Central Europe may once more come to be decided here. But the decision does not rest with President Benes alone, who is reputed to have the coolest head among the statesmen of Europe; it depends in a large measure on the pagan leader of a romantic people who, in the traditions of Nietzsche, his spiritual *guru*, has made a superman out of himself and believes in "living dangerously." If a general conflagration becomes unavoidable, and if Czechoslovakia would be burnt to ashes, the same historic forces which had sustained this nation in the darkest periods of its national existence, will know how to make of those ashes a new phoenix of Czech nationalism.

Rome,
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THE ABORIGINAL RACES OF INDIA AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

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THAT about 15 million individuals in India have been deliberately excluded, wholly or partially, from the scope of the normal government of the country is a fact which has not attracted the attention it deserves. Large tracts of land inhabited by aboriginal people covering the area of more than 200,000 square miles are classed under the New Constitution as "Excluded," or "Partially Excluded Areas." These areas are now the last stronghold of undiluted autocracy and imperialism in India.

These areas were known as "Scheduled Districts" before the introduction of the Montford Reforms, and were subject to special laws and administrative procedure. After the Reforms of 1919, these areas were termed "Backward Tracts" to which the provisions of the New Constitution were not to be applicable. Some of these tracts were wholly excluded from the scope of the Reforms, the Governor-in-Council being empowered to administer them. The legislatures had no power to make laws for these areas, though the Governor-in-Council might make any Act applicable to them, subject to necessary exceptions or modifications. Proposals for expenditure in such tracts were non-votable, and no discussions or interpellations about these were allowed in the legislatures. The partially excluded "Backward Tracts" were subject to Acts sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council, or the Governor-in-Council, and specially passed by the Legislative Assembly or the Provincial Legislature. The required expenditure was also voted in the legislatures. Questions too were allowed to be asked. Under the present Constitution, the "Backward Tracts" have been designated as "Excluded," or "Partially Excluded" Areas.

Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act of 1935 govern the constitutional position of these excluded areas. These are so reactionary in character that they deserve to be examined in detail.

Firstly, it is the Secretary of State who is to prepare the draft of an Order-in-Council, declaring certain areas to be completely or partially excluded areas. The Secretary of State

is required under the Act to lay such drafts before Parliament, but this is bound to be a mere formal procedure in actual practice. In other words, the creation of excluded areas depends on the sweet will of the Secretary of State, and these areas are really governed by the latter through, of course, the Governor or the Governor-General.

Secondly, His Majesty may at any time by Order-in-Council prepared by the Secretary of State alter any excluded or partially excluded area, or declare any territory not previously included in any Province to be, or to form part of, an excluded area or a partially excluded area. This provision will easily enable the Secretary of State to make arbitrary alterations of the boundaries on the convenient plea of rectifying them.

Thirdly, no Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature shall be applicable to an excluded area or a partially excluded area, unless the Governor by public notification so directs, and the Governor in giving such a direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to the area, or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit. This provision means in effect that the benefits of Provincial Autonomy will not be applicable to the excluded areas, and these will remain under autocratic rule.

Lastly, the Governor will, at his discretion, make Regulations having the force of law for the administration of an excluded area, and these Regulations, subject to the prior consent of the Governor-General, may even repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question. This extraordinary provision perpetuates executive irresponsibility, and amply reveals the essentially undemocratic nature of the new constitutional changes.

On a comparison of the position under the Montford Reforms, and under the new Reforms,

it would appear that under the New Constitution both the number and the area of the excluded and partially excluded areas have been considerably increased. This will be evident from the following lists:

UNDER THE MONTFORD REFORMS

(a) *Wholly excluded "Backward Tracts"*

The Laccadive Islands and Minicoy in Madras.
The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal
Spiti in Punjab
All the backward tracts in Burma
Angul in Orissa

(b) *Partially excluded "Backward Tracts"*

The Agency Tracts in Madras
Darjeeling in Bengal
Lahaul in Punjab
Chota Nagpur, Santhal Parganas, Sambalpur in Bihar
and Orissa
All the backward tracts in Assam

UNDER THE NEW REFORMS

(a) *Wholly excluded areas*

The Laccadive, Minicoy, and Amindivi Islands in Madras
The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal
The Balipara, the Sadiya, and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tracts, the Naga Hills, and the Lushai Hills Districts, and the North Cachar Hills in Assam
Spiti and Lahaul in Punjab
Upper Tanawal in North-West Frontier Province

(b) *Partially excluded areas*

The Agency Tracts in Madras
Darjeeling District, Sherpur and Susang Parganas in Bengal
Chota Nagpur Division and the Santhal Parganas in Bihar
Sambalpur, Angul, Ganjam Agency, and a part of Vizagapatam Agency in Orissa
The Garo Hills District, the Mikir Hills, and the British portions of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills excluding the Shillong Municipality and Cantonment in Assam
The Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana, and a part of Mirzapur District south of the Kaimur range in the United Provinces

Some Taluqas of the West Khandesh District, the Satpura Hills, (reserved Forest areas), some Taluqas of the Nasik, the Thana and Panch Mahals Districts in Bombay

Some Zamindaries of the Chanda District, some Jagirdaris of the Chindwara District, Mandla District, and some tracts in Bilaspur, Drug, Balaghat, Amraoti, Raipur, and Betul Districts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

What after all is the justification of such exclusion? A number of arguments have been advanced in support of the Government's policy.

Firstly, it is maintained that the people living in an excluded area are backward and primitive, and, as such, are not yet fit for an

advanced and complicated type of political organization.

Secondly, the tribal people being traditionally accustomed to a patriarchal form of government may be happier under direct and personal rule than under a parliamentary kind of government.

Thirdly, it is pointed out that primitive tribes are educationally and economically so backward that they will not be able to assert their constitutional rights as against the better educated and economically advanced urban classes, and so will in actual practice be governed and controlled by the latter.

Fourthly, it is urged that the normal procedure of administration will lead to a complete destruction of the tribal character which has evolved as a result of living in comparative isolation, and because of a natural adaptation to peculiar environment. In other words, anthropologists believe that, if the primitive peoples are suddenly brought under the influence of an advanced form of administration, they are bound to degenerate under the impact of civilization to which they cannot readily adapt themselves, and may even be slowly decimated like so many tribal communities in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Fifthly, it is argued that the replacement of ancient tribal laws and customs by unfamiliar modern laws that must of course follow from the introduction of normal government will create widespread discontent, and might ultimately lead to dangerous conflagrations. It is considered therefore expedient to let the aboriginal peoples remain in their age-old isolation and under their own customary law.

Lastly, it is held that the introduction of normal administrative procedure in primitive tracts would lead to a ruthless exploitation of the unsophisticated and backward inhabitants by the more artful and advanced people of the neighbouring territories.

These arguments, plausible as they are, will not convince the Indian nationalist for a number of reasons. In the first place, it would be urged that fitness for an advanced form of government can be obtained only from actual experience. Continued isolation will never fit the aboriginal people for civilized government. In the second place, Indians no less than the aboriginal people have for centuries been accustomed to autocratic government. This in itself can be no justification for the perpetuation of autocracy or even benevolent despotism. In the third place, it may be conceded that for some time to come the primitive peoples may be

guided by men from the neighbouring areas, but ultimately the former are bound to assert their rightful place in polity with the gradual awakening of political consciousness that would follow from the exercise of the right of vote. In the fourth place, it may be urged that suitable provision can be easily made for the preservation of tribal life and culture, and the introduction of normal government need not necessarily cause a breakdown of tribal life and character. In the fifth place, it may be argued that during a transition stage ordinary law may be suitably modified for the primitive classes to give them time to reach the general cultural level.

That the danger of conflicts and conflagrations can also be obviated is undeniable. Besides, it must be admitted that even under the present despotic regime the aboriginal people have been, and are being mercilessly exploited. Under civilized government they will have greater rights and privileges, and therefore will be better able to free themselves from the clutches of their present exploiters.

In short, it is easy to prove that isolation or exclusion may at best preserve the primitive peoples as so many anthropological exhibits, but will never fit them for a more civilized kind of government which, being human beings, they can claim as their birth-right. In other words, there is absolutely no justification for permanently condemning millions of Indians to a state of animal existence under the pretence of preserving tribal life and character. The march of civilization has already overtaken them, and it is futile to think that under existing forms of exploitation they will be able to keep their tribal character intact. Civilization alone can save them from ruin. They badly require education and enlightenment without which they will not be able to stand

the strain of an unequal struggle with their selfish exploiters thriving under the protective arm of British Government.

It would, however, seem that the official solicitude for the welfare of the aboriginal people is only a pretence. The suspicion may reasonably arise that the scheme of exclusion has been purposely invented for a free exploitation of the rich forest lands. Most parts of the excluded areas are rich in mineral or forest wealth. Big tea plantations have developed in some of the excluded areas, and it is in the interests of the British capitalists that the local people should remain politically backward, and should work as serfs on miserable wages. This is why these areas have been deliberately excluded from the scope of civilized government.

The Indian National Congress has rightly held that the creation of excluded areas is a sinister design to divide the people of India into artificial groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment, and to prevent the evolution of uniform democratic institutions in the country, and that the separation of the excluded areas is prompted by the desire of the Britishers to keep the inhabitants apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and suppression.

It is needless to say that the aboriginal classes are being slowly dispossessed of their lands by the grasping landlords, money-lenders, and planters, while the unjust and oppressive forest and game laws, and stringent excise regulations are sapping the very core of their economic life. If they are to be rescued from this animal state of existence, civilization and orderly government must be introduced in their benighted lands. Where paternal rule has so far proved a failure, representative institutions may yet succeed in elevating the down-trodden and oppressed aboriginal races of India.



THE WAZIRISTAN MENACE

By H. R. NAIR, B.A., LL.B.

WAZIRISTAN with its long record of lawlessness and wanton bloodshed has ever since the British annexation of the region in 1849 constituted a running sore on the North-West Frontier. One policy after another has been put to test and despite heavy financial expense and waste of valuable lives the problem of Waziristan remains as distant from a satisfactory solution as it was before. For the last fifteen years the Government has closely followed the policy announced by Sir (then Mr.) Denys Bray to the Legislative Assembly in 1923 to restrain by military force the 'aggressive truculence' of the tribes and to impress upon them the civilising influence in a way calculated to penetrate the remote mountain villages and slowly to combat the ignorance of the tribesmen weaning them from their recklessness and inhuman cruelty thereby lessening the possibility of their bally forays into the settled districts. In the light of recent happenings and especially of the daring attack on the city of Bannu by a conjoined Lashkar of Khataks, Waziris and Banochies it is obvious that these well-intentioned efforts to make peace pay have collapsed in a manner which must call into question the political ingenuity of its authors.

Before attempting to discuss the causes which have led to the failure of this policy, it will be useful to tell the readers something about the ethnography of this difficult country. Situated between the Miranzai Kurram route to Kabul and the Gomal route from Ghazni, Waziristan is inhabited by tribes 'untamed, fierce, truculent and aggressive who have from time immemorial descended from their mountains to raid and harry and pillage, murder and outrage the inhabitants of the plains.' The barren, mountainous nature of the country has ever been a source of economic stimulus to her people to commit desperate inroads on nearby villages for means of subsistence. Roughly estimated they are between 2 and 2½ lakhs in population out of which at least one-half are men. Being equipped with modern rifles every able-bodied tribesman is a born fighter and a potential menace to peace in the frontier. This danger is further enhanced by the character of the terrain combined with trying and arduous

climatic conditions before which even the most hardened troops might well hesitate.

Waziristan is inhabited by four chief tribes all extracted from the Pathan race: The Darwesh Khel Wazirs, Mahsuds, Blittanis and Dauris. They speak Pushtoo and profess Islamic faith. In the north are the Dauris inhabiting the Tochi Valley. They are notoriously corrupt in morals but are hardworking and have derived the maximum benefit from the British rule. Then there is a vicious little group known as the Kabul Khel Wazirs inhabiting the region between Bannu and Thal. The tract adjoining the administered districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu is inhabited by Blittanis who singularly lack the bellicose temper of the Mahsuds whose 'jackals' they have been called and who except for occasions when driven into evil ways by the Mahsuds have refused to take up arms against the British Government. Round about the centre of Waziristan reside the Mahsuds, perhaps the most troublesome of all tribes of the North-West Frontier. Agile and enduring a Mahsud possesses on his own hillsides an astonishing mobility, a natural hardiness and a complete disregard of difficult impediments. He is gifted with untiring patience in observing an enemy and knows the exact moment when to strike to advantage. He is imbued with a natural faculty of figuring as a peaceful cultivator at one instant only to reappear the next moment in the role of a sharp-shooting sniper. The remaining portions of the country are occupied by the Darwesh Khel Wazirs who outnumber any other tribe in population. According to geographical distribution they are divided into the Utmanzai or Tochi Wazirs confined chiefly to southern Waziristan and the Alinedzai or Dana Wazirs settled all over the country.

The conditions generally prevailing in Waziristan have in a great measure influenced the character and mode of life of the whole population. Having been never effectually conquered they have remained exceedingly independent. Rude, perfidious and savage a tribesman may be, yet one cannot but admire his upright bearing and determined resolution, 'his frank manners and festive temperament, his hatred

of control and his wonderful powers of endurance.' At heart a tribesman is truly democratic and strange though it may seem, has never been swayed by the advice or politics of his elders or 'Maliks.' This naturally makes it sceptical to place any reliance on the ability of a 'jirga' or tribal conclave of headmen to impose its will upon the community at large. Being spread all over the country without proper organization it is extremely difficult to determine the fighting strength of the Wazir and Mahsud tribes. Generally the tribes assemble a temporary levy or lashkar varying in strength according to the objective in prospect and the attraction the latter may afford and no sooner the fighting is over or supplies give out a levy may dissolve itself just as the situation may demand.

To restrain the troublesome tribesmen from committing depredations has been a difficult problem. It has been the constant endeavour of the political officers of the Frontier to civilize the tribesmen and to inculcate in them a spirit of compromise and peace. The task of the authorities is greatly facilitated by the armed forces stationed in cantonments and military posts established all along the Western frontier of the settled districts. While deterring the aggressive tribes from their designs the Cantonments at Razmak and Wana situated right in the throbbing heart of the tribal area have further served a useful purpose in defending the peaceful population. This long chain of defences held by the regulars, militia, frontier constabulary or khassadars is supported on both ends by the large military garrisons at Peshawar and Quetta.

Even before the annexation of the Panjab the British rulers were confronted with the tribal problem at a time when India was threatened with an invasion by Napoleon and Paul of Russia. The annexation in 1849 only intensified the tribal question due to closer proximity of the administered territory. In the absence of any adequate treaties, with her frontier only ill defined the Government of India still obsessed by Russophobia could not take an active hand in the administration of the mountainous tract. Profiting by Panjdeh incident, which strongly cemented the British Afghan relations, the Government of India sent Sir H. Mortimer Durand to Kabul to settle various frontier difficulties. The mission attained unique success as for the first time in history a well defined international border was fixed between India and Afghanistan.

The policy of the Indian Government was

both at the time and subsequently one of non-interference with the tribes. Every endeavour was made to cultivate friendly relations but when conciliation failed, when the tribesmen continued to murder British subjects then the ultimate sanction was force. Therefore no offensive or punitive expedition was launched against the tribesmen until the Government was compelled to do so by the unprovoked bloodshed and plunder by the tribesmen. Looking over the years since the British connection with Waziristan one would find that there have been no less than twenty such expeditions.

The prolonged controversy between the exponents of the 'close border' and the 'forward school' fanned by a haunting fear of the Russian giant striding across the Wastes of Central Asia necessitated a more precise policy on the part of the Indian Government. Just then it transpired that Sir Robert Sandeman had successfully demonstrated a novel method of pacifying the tribesmen. He found that the best way of winning their support and friendship was in providing the tribesmen jobs in levies or police and in entrusting them with the defence of a trade route in return for a fixed annual payment. This system was first introduced in Waziristan in 1890 when the trade route along the River Gomal was opened. This system has been openly condemned as a form of blackmail. The charge however cannot be sustained when it is remembered that those in receipt of allowances had strenuous duties to perform in the guarding of trade routes and passes and in carrying out of jirga decrees. If plundering has been the profession of a tribe throughout the ages, it is not to be deplored if subsidies are granted to it merely as an inducement to check it from committing raids and bloody incursions. It has been argued that allowances may be expensive, may even savour of blackmail to the fastidious yet they are infinitely preferable to the still more expensive system of punitive expeditions. But in Waziristan both failed. History once again repeated itself.

Towards the close of the last century it appeared that an increasing measure of military supervision was required to stop raiding on the part of the tribesmen. The system of tribal allowances was proving an insufficient safeguard against sporadic acts of violence. This greatly necessitated several military expeditions undertaken into the country with a view to securing the trade routes and repressing organized brigandage. Punitive in the start these later on tended more and more to become preventive.

It was also found that to afford adequate support to these expeditions, fortified posts and block-houses were essential at strategic points. By 1899 two long narrow strips of country lying to the north and south of Waziristan along the trade routes were garrisoned on that principle. These posts were officered by British Military Officers in regular military style. The posts apart from making available for action important contingents of regular troops at short notice served a beneficial deterrent by keeping the tribesmen out of mischief. This arrangement continued for twenty years until the Afghan War in 1919 brought further complications.

No wonder the events of the Great War manifested themselves by some repercussions on the North-West Frontier of India. The constant drain of troops from the frontier during the War and anti-British propaganda by the Bolshevik Government of Moscow were quite sufficient to cause unrest. But what appeared to be an ugly situation at a time was luckily saved by Habibullah, the Amir of Afghanistan, who steadfastly observed the pledges of friendship which he had exchanged with the Government of India. Although the Great War passed off on the frontier without any serious happening, Waziristan was soon to be set ablaze by a general conflagration as a natural sequel to the Afghan invasion of India. The Wazirs and Mahsuds always willing to respond to the slightest stir amongst their Afghan neighbours against the British were not slow to react to the stimulus they received from Kabul during the Third Afghan War. Occasion had now arisen for the British Government to settle the tribal problem with determination and for ever. The campaign undertaken in Waziristan resulted in Military occupation of the whole country. The policy of the British Government behind this campaign was not based on war and conquest, but on the forces of civilization. During the last fifteen years this policy as outlined by Sir Denys Bray in his speech, has been given a fair trial. It has produced some very encouraging results. Tribesmen with rifles and ammunition have been afforded an opportunity to break away from lawlessness by enlisting tribal levies or khassadars. There has been greater communication between trans-border posts and the military cantonments. Perhaps the most important result of this policy has been the building of a motor road connecting Dera Ismail Khan with Bannu. Highways have ever played a prominent part in the import of civilization and the construction of this im-

portant road in Waziristan has not only served a great purpose for the infiltration of civilizing forces, but also provided a beneficial occupation to the aggressive and warlike Mahsuds who have assiduously taken to motor traffic on this road. The construction of this link has also brought to the tribesmen a feeling of security as no shooting up is permitted on it. Such was the success of the new policy that every one came to regard Waziristan as the shining example of the new experiment but just when things looked so bright a series of disorders and revolts gave a serious jolt to all hopes and threw the British Government on the rock with her 'forward' policy torn into shreds.

In November 1936 Waziristan was suddenly flung into throes of commotion and turmoil at the instigation of a firebrand known as the Fakir of Ipi. This Fakir wields a tremendous influence over the fanatical tribesmen and fully exploiting their religious fervour raised the cry of 'Islam in danger.' The ostensible cause of the unrest was the attempt by certain tribesmen to intimidate the authorities and thus nullify the protection given to a minor Hindu girl by a Civil Court against her conversion to Islam and alleged marriage. With the tribesmen looking grim and determined it was deemed necessary to stage a small military demonstration. This rather aggravated matters and greatly incensed the tribesmen. The Government troops were attacked with considerable losses. A major offensive was hit upon as the only effective reprisal. After a searching enquiry moderate terms were imposed on the mischief-mongers but in a short time position grew worse than ever. Unprovoked assaults, cold-blooded murders, kidnapping of Hindus and heinous plundering took hold of the country and about March 1937 the situation grew so serious that it was considered necessary to place the whole country under a military Governorship for the purposes of restoring peace. The command of both military and political affairs was entrusted to Sir Jhon Coleridge, C.-in-C., and this arrangement is to continue until there is an assurance to return to normal conditions in the afflicted areas.

This arrangement has remained in force for nearly two years but the prospects of permanent peace seem yet far far away. The Fakir of Ipi, prime mischief-maker is still at large and has cunningly eluded his hunters. To add further to these difficulties his three most troublesome henchmen, all homicidal maniacs have equally successfully baffled the

British and are making the most of their uncertain moments of liberty by carrying on extensive hostile propaganda and inciting the tribesmen to indiscriminate murder, sniping, plunder and kidnapping. During the period under survey the Fakir and his confederates have frequently ignited trouble leading to bitter conflicts between the British troops and the tribesmen. In April last a band of scouts from Splitoi post were fiercely attacked being saved from complete annihilation only by the timely co-operation of the R. A. F. planes. The Fakir of Ipi lying securely in his lair in Madda Khel territory was once again found to be at the bottom of the trouble. The Government of India in all fury announced to deal more effectively with the Fakir and his associates. A number of jirgas was held and heavy penalties imposed on the Madda Khel but nothing would move the tribesmen to surrender the notorious Fakir.

The Government determined on restoring peace, intensified its operations and placed a large portion of the Madda Khel territory under the prescription ban. But the Fakir and Madda Khel held out again, only becoming more dangerous in their reprisals. In addition to the usual outrages like plundering, kidnapping and murder the tribes resorted to bombing and poisoning water supplies. A little later Datta Khel scout post experienced some very severe fighting and even water supply of Razmak and Razni was cut off. Fighting then extended to Mami Rogha and Lawargi Pass where after severe skirmishes the Lashkar dispersed only to reassemble last month in still greater numbers. Trouble broke out afresh when Mulla Sher Ali, right hand man of the Fakir attacked the Scouts' picket at Splitoi. All this while hunt for the wanted Fakir continued between Miran-shah and the Afghan Frontier but despite best efforts the Government failed to 'take' the irrepressible Fakir. Reaction to this operation resulted in renewed fighting near Wazhgai, sniping at Gherian and bomb explosions at Miran-shah and Gambih culminating in the desperate raid on the city of Bannu.

Despite such large scale offensives, jirgas and the imposition of pains, penalties and blockades the prolonged troubles in Waziristan must naturally evoke a pertinent enquiry: "Why the tribesmen who have suffered heavy losses should still ask for more?" The answer to the question can be found neither in the religious fervour of the tribes nor in hostile activities of the Fakir but in the economic gains of war. It pays the tribesmen to fight. The Fakir of Ipi

has become a business asset. So long as the tribes remain quiet the Government pays subsidies to the 'Maliks,' gives out contracts for road upkeep and employs khassadars from amongst the tribesmen. During peace time money is also spent in the so-called civilizing process. The object of this political bribery has been to induce the tribesmen to keep the peace and thus let the civilising machine do its work among them. The prolonged unrest however reveals that either the tribesman has lost his love for money or he finds war a more profitable concern than peace. Evidently the latter. The reason for this is apparent. During the war new posts are established, a large number of scouts and khassadars employed, supplies have to be maintained and roads to be protected. Restoration of peace takes away such 'business' opportunities. War therefore is more paying particularly against an enemy that always clamours for peace but pays more when faced with war. Then why not fight!

Disorders so serious and extensive have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction both in India and in Britain about the purposes and effects of the Government of India's Frontier policy and the demand recurrently put forward is to think out the problem afresh. The policy inaugurated 15 years ago has produced results which argue with the wisdom of persistence. Various policies have been suggested several of which the authorities with good justification have regarded as less suitable than the one hitherto pursued. The two courses suggested generally are either the absolute withdrawal of the British from Waziristan to the boundaries of the settled districts or to advance to India's international frontier—the Durand line. The feasibility of withdrawal from Waziristan considering the raiding propensities of such uncontrolled neighbours is very much questionable indeed as such a course would inevitably increase defensive responsibility for the settled districts. Moreover the tribal people being economically dependent on the plains would always play their old game forcing the British to adopt the policy of 'burn and scuttle' reminiscent of the Punjab Frontier Force. On the other hand advance to the international border and the assumption of complete political and military control of the whole country cannot be effectually undertaken without a major military operation which the Indian Exchequer can only ill afford at present. At the same time without co-operation of the tribesmen there appears no guarantee that similar troubles will not recur on the new administrative border.

This however doesn't mean that nothing more effective than the existing 'cat and mouse' policy is possible and that India should continue to pay a heavy price for the perennial unrest in Waziristan. The solution as found above is neither complete withdrawal nor advance and acquisition. Each has its own complications and its adoption ill-advised at all times. The only feasible plan which can lastingly secure the cherished end of British Frontier policy lies in the gradual disarmament of the tribesmen. At first the suggestion appears to involve considerable risk for people immediately involved but if the disarmed tribesmen are afforded proper protection by the authorities the difficulty at once disappears. For a period at least territorial administration would have to be entrusted to the military with the object to coerce the tribesmen to surrender arms. This would continue slowly until the whole country is completely disarmed. Dis-

armament to win its point should be backed by a close association and assimilation of the tribesmen with India. Hitherto the attempt in this direction has been haphazard, spasmodic and even arbitrary and the only reciprocal obligation required was a loose political armistice. Time has now come to take organized and extensive steps to humanise the barbaric instinct of the tribesmen. The road system existing at present in the country can be turned to good purpose for the infiltration of civilizing influences. Encouragement should also be given to the use of the roads by private enterprise since past experience has shown that tribesmen readily take to motor travel. In extending the amenities of civilization—like hospitals and schools, the maintenance of law and order by the police, encouragement of wage earning, the settlement of disputes among the tribes and so on—lies the only promise of an effective solution. Civilize the disarmed tribesmen.

THE VISVA-BHARATI HEALTH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

By D. C. B.

THE problems of public health in the rural areas of Bengal are growing acute day by day. It is not that there are no such problems in the towns within the province, but in view of the better facilities to deal with them in these compact areas they are comparatively less important in these places.

Malaria is the chief scourge of the province and responsible for more than a quarter of the total provincial mortality from various causes. Of all provinces in India, Bengal is said to have the highest incidence of the disease. The latest report of the Director of Public Health, Bengal, shows that there were 3,37,647 deaths from Malaria during the year 1936, of which 3,35,500 occurred in the rural areas and only 2,147 in towns. In other words, the rate of deaths was 6.8 per thousand of population in the whole province and 7.2 per thousand of population in the rural areas. Indeed, the disease has of late penetrated into and seriously affected regions, e.g., parts of Eastern Bengal, where it has hitherto been practically unknown. Kala-azar, the sister disease of Malaria, is also gaining ground in the rural tracts, 20,607 people having

died from it in 1936 as against 16,895 in 1935. Next to Malaria is the problem of cholera which accounted for 72,246 deaths in the villages in the year 1936, showing a rise of 33.3 p.c. over the figures of the preceding year. Then there is the large number of deaths each year due to Small-pox, the figure for 1936 for rural areas being 36,349. It is also alarming to note that respiratory diseases such as Pneumonia and Tuberculosis are steadily increasing every year; the former took toll of 42,617 lives and the latter 11,128 lives in the rural areas during the year 1936. The problem of Tuberculosis in this as well as other provinces has assumed such a formidable magnitude that it has attracted the attention of so high personages as Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow who has started the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund.

While the problems of public health in the rural areas are so many and so great, the present arrangements provided by the Government and the District Boards (constituted under the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885) to cope with them are hopelessly inadequate. The

Government maintain a skeleton rural health organisation consisting of a sanitary inspector, a health assistant and a carrier servant in each rural *thana* called the rural health circle, covering an average area of 100 sq. miles. There are at present 575 such rural health circles on which the Government annually spend about Rs. 10 to 11 lacs. The primary aim of this organisation is the prevention of disease. It is however not only too small to meet the requirements but is also defective in that it does not undertake the treatment and cure of diseases.

The Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885 has conferred on the District Boards various powers and duties in matters of public health and sanitation within their respective areas. Each District Board employs a small sanitary staff, *viz.*, a few sanitary inspectors and vaccinators with the District Health Officer (a medical graduate with training in public health) at the head and annually spends not a little portion of its income on public health and sanitation. The Union Boards established under the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919, also expend a percentage of their meagre incomes for the purpose. But the combined efforts of the Government and the district boards and union boards do not touch even the fringe of the problems.

It is found from the Annual Report of the Surgeon-General, Bengal, on the working of hospitals and dispensaries for the year 1936 (the latest report available) that 1102 hospitals and dispensaries, comprising those maintained by Government, District Boards, Union Boards, private persons and the Railways, are situated in the rural areas of the province, and they are placed in charge of 1255 medical officers mostly Sub-Assistant Surgeons, besides 652 compounders. Apart from these medical officers there are reported to be 2177 qualified private medical practitioners settled in the rural areas. Altogether therefore such areas have 3,432 medical practitioners and, according to the census of 1931, only one practitioner on the average for 13,127 people. Again, considering that there are at present 4895 union boards covering nearly 86,000 villages within the province, only one hospital or dispensary exists on the average in a group of 4 union boards or 80 villages approximately, and only one medical practitioner can be got, on the average, in 28 villages roughly.

The situation revealed is extremely disquieting. How helpless are the villagers who do not find a single dispensary within a radius of five miles or so where they can go for relief from

various diseases ravaging the villages. Nor is there available a qualified doctor in most of the villages and, even if there be, the villagers are mostly too poor to avail themselves of his services. Death is thus constantly hovering over the devoted heads of the rural people. Such a state of things would make one utterly despair.

The situation has recently been able to draw the pointed attention of the Government. The Hon'ble Minister for Public Health, Bengal, informed the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly during its last session that the Government had under their consideration a comprehensive scheme for providing medical relief in the rural areas of the province in co-operation with the local bodies, *viz.*, the district boards and union boards. We do not yet know the details of the scheme. It appears, however, from the Surgeon-General's Report referred to previously that the scheme, worked by the Director of Public Health, Bengal, envisages the provision of one treatment centre between every two union boards and a medical officer for a group of every 4 union boards. Even this scheme will not be an ideal one, as the Surgeon-General himself observes. In any case we fail to understand how the district boards and union boards with their limited and inelastic resources would be in a position, not to say, willing, to render substantial financial assistance in the matter, in addition to their normal *ad hoc* expenditure. We are however ready to admit that the Government too have not surplus funds at their disposal sufficient to finance entirely any complete and effective scheme of medical relief.

What we, therefore, desire to bring out is that a scheme should be evolved which would establish a network of cheap but well-equipped dispensaries or treatment centres with qualified medical officers in charge throughout the rural province and also arouse the active interest of the villagers in the preservation of the health and sanitation of the villages. The Health Co-operative Societies which were started on an experimental basis, in the first instance, in Yugo-slavia towards the end of the year 1921 proved to be immensely successful in tackling the problems of public health of that country. The details of the organisation and working of those Societies are given in an article on "Rural Hygiene & Health Co-operative Societies in Yugo-slavia" By M. Colombain of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, which was published in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, July, 1935. Following the example of Yugo-

slavia, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan, Visvabharati, of which the founder is Poet Rabindranath Tagore, have established during the past few years several such health co-operative societies in the villages in the district of Birbhum. The working of these societies has already revealed their potential values and their equal efficaciousness on the soil of this province.

The features of the societies are that three or four villages with a minimum of 200 families are combined to start a society in which each family is represented by at least one member. Each member pays a subscription of rupees three to four a year, which may however be partly in cash and partly in kind, *e.g.*, free labour, and even entirely in kind in case of indigent members. The society employs a whole-time staff consisting of a qualified medical officer of the status of Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a dispensing compounder and a servant. The cost on account of the staff including contingencies is about Rs. 800/- per annum which can be usually met from the yearly contributions of the members. A dispensary is maintained by the society, accommodation for which as well as residential accommodation for the medical officer are generally provided by some generous person or persons of the localities. Each member of the society is entitled to free treatment at the dispensary for himself and for all the members of his family. He receives medicines from the dispensary at cost price, while non-members pay at *bazar* rates. If a member calls in the medical officer to his house he has to pay a fee of annas four only for each call; on the other hand, a non-member must pay for such call at the *bazar* rates, *viz.* Rupee one or two per call. All such call fees are credited to the funds of the society and utilised for the purchase of the required drugs and medicines, together with the prices realised for them from the members. Thus, save the assistance that may be necessary in the initial stage *e.g.*, in suitably housing the dispensary, these societies sooner or later become self-supporting and many of the Visva-Bharati's creations have actually become so.

The co-operative health societies have not only brought cheap medical relief within the easy reach of the villagers but have also undertaken through their members,—especially those who offer free labour as their quota of

contribution—such sanitary works as clearing jungles, filling up *dobas* (stagnant pools of water), cleaning tanks, excavation of drains, etc. Some of them have, further, constructed roads, and organised paddy stores and are maintaining primary schools and carrying out other works for the uplift of the villages. Naturally, therefore, every villager is induced to become a member of such a society and thus participate in the benefits conferred by the society.

These societies, being based on the willing co-operation of the villagers, have functioned as the most economic and most effective means of solving the problems of public health in the rural areas. There is undoubtedly, however, room for improvement. The advantages of a full-fledged hospital and of a sufficient number of capable medical practitioners, which are available in well-developed towns, cannot possibly be obtained in the interior of the province. Nevertheless, it is desirable that the dispensaries of the health societies should be able to supply, free of cost, or at least at a concessional price, costly drugs and medicines required for treating common ailments in the villages, and that a medical officer with qualifications not lower than a University degree, and preferably with training in public health, should be employed to supervise and control the work of the health societies. Arrangements should also be made for undertaking by the societies adequate public health measures in the villages, *e.g.*, irrigation schemes for the eradication of Malaria, provision of copious pure drinking-water which is an essential safeguard against Cholera and other water-borne diseases, and so on. For these purposes, however, the income of such societies is obviously too small, and the societies must look up to the Government, the district boards and other benevolent bodies or persons for financial aid in the matters. While small annual grants from the Government are bound to enhance the utility of the societies, such grants should not be a heavy strain on the revenues of the Government. The intrinsic values of the Visva-Bharati Health Co-operative Societies and the unprecedented success they have attained encourage us to suggest that, when the Government are considering a scheme for medical relief in the rural areas, they should decide to give such societies a fair trial, if not accept them at once as a suitable model, throughout the province.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRE-WAR DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By SAILENDRA NATH SEN, M.Sc., M.A.

THE present English system of education owes much to the Education Act of 1902. This Act brought a new era in the public Elementary Education in England. The whole system of education was unified. The provided as well as non-provided schools would now share the benefits of local rates and government grants. The average attendance of the scholars increased and there were fewer exemptions than in the last century. The curriculum of the schools was greatly changed. It was made more human and practical than before. It was made liberal. A volume called *Suggestions to Teachers* was issued by the Board of Education but every local education authority and every teacher was free to interpret it according to the circumstances and peculiarities of respective districts. The status and qualifications of the teachers also much improved during this period. The average number of scholars under each certified teacher diminished from 70.9 in 1902-03 to 55.7 in 1908-09. The salaries of teachers rose during this period though not considerably. The increasing number of pupils demanded an increase in the number of certified teachers and new Municipal Training Colleges built in different parts of the country greatly served the purpose. The expansion of post-Primary Education was remarkable in this period. New codes were formed for Higher Elementary Education and the number of such schools increased. New Central Schools with a bias towards commercial or industrial lines, were created in London and Manchester. The spread of Secondary Education was rapid in this period. The number of scholars rose from 85,358 in 1904-05 to 170,119 in 1913-14, and about two-thirds of these Secondary School children came from Elementary Schools. The pre-war decade is very important in the achievement of health and physique. During the Boer War a large number of volunteers was rejected by the military authority for physical reasons. The result was that an Act called Provision of Meals Act was passed in 1906, providing meals for the necessitous poor children; and another Act (Education Administrative Provision Act) was passed in 1907

which provided the system of medical inspection and other general physical welfare.

SCHOOL PROVISION

The Act of 1902 gave the voluntary school great financial relief. People of all denominations had to pay rates; but before this Act, rate aid was not given to the denominational schools. Hence the Board schools were thriving by leaps and bounds during the last generation of the last century; but now the financial relief from rates to the voluntary bodies brought a stability in their schools. The Wesleyan and other denominational schools were slowly decreasing, either because they were probably closed down or transferred to the councils. But the Church schools and the Roman Catholic schools increased slightly. In the year 1904-05 the number of Church schools was 10,897 and that of Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools was 970 and 412 respectively.¹ But in the year 1907-8, the number of Church Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools were 11,274; 1,061; and 319 respectively.² The Board of Education also did not encourage the local Education Authorities to build new council schools where there was no necessity and where there was already a good voluntary school. Under section 8 of this new Act, the Board received in 1905, applications from L. E. A.-s to erect 463 new schools and of these only 427 were sanctioned.³ In 1909⁴ and 1913⁵ the L. E. A.-s sent notices for building 214 and 182 schools but only 159 and 179 respectively were sanctioned by the Board of Education.

The most important reasons for building these new schools was that many of the old school buildings were not suitable and were unhygienic. Many of the school premises under the new regime, were considered to be condemned. From the report of the Board of

1. *Report of the Board of Education, 1904-05*, p. 20.
2. *Statistics of Public Education in England, 1906-08*, p. 13.
3. *Report of the Board of Education, 1904-05*, p. 21.
4. *Report of the Board of Education, 1908-09*, p. 107.
5. *Report of Board of Education, 1912-13*, p. 77.

Education, 1908-09, it will be seen that in the case of 2,000 schools or 3,000 departments, the school premises were, more or less seriously unsatisfactory. In the case of 660 of these schools, the premises were either conditionally or unconditionally condemned and in the case of 350 schools of the rest, the Inspectors reported that they ought to be condemned unless specific improvements were effected. It was a costly affair on the one hand, for the L. E. A.-s to build new schools and on the other hand, the premises of many of the voluntary schools were unfavourably criticised by the Board of Education.

"It is of course notorious that the dependence of the nation upon voluntary effort for securing an adequate supply of school buildings resulted, especially in some districts, in a type of building in which educational matters were subordinated to other considerations. There are still in existence a large number of school buildings which were contributed a double debt to pay."⁶

This pressure and the Code of 1908 that "there shall not be less than 10 sq. ft. of floor space for each older child and 9 sq. ft. for each infant," necessitated both the Church and the Council to build a large number of new schools during the period under consideration. During the year 1908-9,^{6a} 159 council schools and 4 Church schools and 5 Roman Catholic schools were sanctioned by the Board of Education for building. In the year 1913⁷ two Church schools, twelve Roman Catholic and 179 Council schools were built.

ATTENDANCE AND EXEMPTIONS

The average attendance of scholars during the period under discussion, also improved. During the year 1900, only 4,666,158 children out of 5,686,144 children in the school registers⁸ attended schools *i.e.*, the percentage of average attendance was 82.06. The deficiency was probably due to two causes. Firstly under the Acts of 1870 and 1876, the children whose homes were at an unreasonable distance from the school might not attend it. But section 14 of the Education Act 1907, declared that distance from school must no longer be any excuse for non-attendance when conveyance was provided. The second cause of irregular attendance might be attributed to the defect of the system of grants. Formerly the annual grants were in two parts, a grant at the rate of 17s. per unit of average attendance for scholars educated in the infants department or division, and the

grant at the rate of 22s. per unit in the case of the older scholars.

Hence the local authorities and managers classified the children not on the basis of age but with regard to financial considerations. And for this financial consideration, perhaps, the so-called older scholars were given more attention than those in the infant classes or departments. Out of 2,023,319 infant scholars on the registers during the year 1900-01 the average attendance was only 1,460,576 or 72.18 per cent.⁹ Subsequently, however, the scholars were divided into two age groups—those who were under the age of five and those above the age of five. For the former group, the grant was 13s. 4d. per each scholar and for the latter 21s. 4d. per each scholar in average attendance.¹⁰ The average attendance of all children rose to a considerable extent. In 1911-12 the percentage of average attendance was 88.93.

Although compulsory education came in England as early as the seventies of the last century, there was the provision of partial exemption for certain children. The 1902 Act did not abolish this system of partial exemption of scholars and the number of such scholars was increasing every year. There were 80,368 partially exempted scholars in the year 1904-05 and the number increased to 81,981 in 1905-06, to 82,493 in 1906-07 and 84,695 in the year 1907-08.¹¹ This increase in the number of partially exempted scholars alarmed the Education Department and the president of the Board appointed in July, 1908, an Inter-Departmental Committee "to inquire into the question of the existing system of partial exemption from attendance at school, and to report any alteration in the law of school attendance seemed to be desirable." The committee submitted their report in July, 1909 in which they recommended that all partial exemptions should be abolished from a date not earlier than 1st January, 1911 and that no child under 13 should be totally exempted from school.

SERVANTS—INSPECTORS AND TEACHERS

One issue of the newly formed L. E. A.-s under the Act of 1902 was the total reorganisation of the Inspectorate. In the early days of forties in the last century, when a staff of Inspectors was first created under the regime of Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, their duty was

6. *Report of the Board of Education, 1908-09*, p. 14.

6a. *Report of the Board of Education, 1908-09*, p. 107.

7. *Report of the Board of Education, 1913-14*, p. 66.

8. *Report of the Board of Education, 1900-01*, p. 15.

9. *Report of the Board of Education, 1900-01*, p. 15.

10. *Report of the Board of Education, 1911-12*, p. 49.

11. *Report of the Board of Education, 1908-09*, p. 114.

to advise the teachers in the improvement of their instruction and not to criticise and blame their work. But the Code of 1861, which gave birth to "payment by results" changed the functions of the Inspectors totally. Their duty was now to examine the children in the 3 R's and to find out the defects of the teachers. After 1897, however, when payment by results was totally abolished, the Inspectors' duty also altered and since then they were to survey the whole education under their jurisdiction and to make suggestions for the improvement of national education. The relation between the Inspectors and the teachers was growing more friendly. After the passing of the Act of 1902, the Board of Education felt very keenly that in order to keep in touch with the works of the newly formed L. E. A.-s, they must reorganise their Inspectorate. The conditions of the schools of various grades and types through the country were so different that it was essential for the Board to be well informed as to what the local authorities were doing regarding all types of education in their respective districts. The local authority had to consider the supervision and provision of the different grades of education in their relation to one another within the given area. The central authority was to take a more comprehensive survey of educational conditions. Not only the efficiency of the schools, to which Parliamentary grants were distributed must be tested by them but they were also to organise efficient sources of educational information, and to disseminate the results, criticisms and suggestions derived from continuous recorded observation of each kind of school made over a wide area.

Difficulties arose in this connection. If all kinds of educational institutions were to be inspected by each inspector, it was not possible for him to cover a large area or to see schools of different grades working under widely varying conditions and methods. He would be unable to pass beyond the boundaries of a county or a county borough, if elementary and secondary schools, evening schools and schools of Art, Technical Institutions and Training Colleges were all within the purview of a single inspector. In such a case he would learn to know a single Technical Institution, one or two Training Colleges, a few secondary schools and a large number of elementary schools, all working under the same local conditions. Also, the problems of the elementary schools, the secondary schools, the Technical institutions, etc., were very widely different from one another both as regards the

curricula and organisation. Qualifications and experiences of the inspectors, therefore, should vary according to these differences. So, in 1905, to meet these conditions, the Board of Education, distributed their inspectors and differentiated their work in such a manner that they might study the working of each grade or type of school under widely varying conditions. The Inspectorate was divided into five groups, each under a chief inspector, each group were to concentrate their attention on each of the five main types of schools. Officers would be, when desirable, permanently transferred from one branch to the other. There was also created a separate staff of women inspectors and the system of women inspectors being subordinate to the men inspectors was abolished.

The Act of 1902 brought a new era in an all round improvement of Elementary Education in England. There was an improvement in the qualifications of teachers, in the provision of their training as well as in their salaries. Before 1903, one official rule governed all schools in all classes and in all circumstances. The village schools with 40 children of all ages or a town school with 400 scholars, the voluntary school in a poor "slum", parish or Board school in a thriving residential area, were all governed in respect of staffing by one set of articles. Hence the official regulations had to be kept very elastic and consequently the standard was a low one. After the passing of the Act of 1902 a progressive rising of standard was effected by the various changes in the Codes of 1902 to 1908. In the years 1901-02 and 1902-03, the number of scholars¹² per certified teacher in England and Wales 72.1 and 70.9; whereas the number of certified teachers in England alone, was steadily increased during the years 1904-06 and 1908-09 as follows.¹³

| Years | No. of scholars in average attendance | No. of scholars per every certified teacher |
|---------|---|---|
| 1904-05 | .. 4,898,935 | 66.1 |
| 1905-06 | .. 4,941,535 | 62.1 |
| 1906-07 | .. 4,916,497 | 58.5 |
| 1907-08 | .. 4,908,880 | 57.4 |
| 1908-09 | .. 4,951,301 | 55.7 |

The increase of certified teachers during a period of four years was remarkable. And this increase was due to the various codes and regulations issued from time to time by the Board of Education restricting uncertified and supplementary teachers. In the Code of 1904, notice

12. Calculated from the *Report of the Board of Education*, 1906-07, p. 41.

13. Calculated from the *Statistics of Public Education*, 1906-08, p. 25; and 1908-09, p. 116.

was given that after 31st July, 1905 not more than one supplementary as a rule, and in no case, not more than two, would be recognised as part of the staff of any school or Department. This limitation, however, was not to be applied so as to require the dismissal of any existing supplementary fit for continued recognition. It was also stated at that time that recognition of supplementary or pupil teachers for staffing purposes would be considered as a temporary arrangement. Since July, 1908 the maximum number of scholars under a pupil teacher was reduced to 15 and since July, 1909 pupil teachers were not taken into account at all in considering whether the aggregate staff satisfied the minimum requirement of the Code. According to the Codes of 1908 and 1909,

"the number of children in attendance is only one of the points requiring considerations when the staff is under review, and in determining the composition and in selecting the personnel of a school staff attention must be given, amongst other things, to the arrangement of the premises, the organization of the school, the nature of the curriculum and the several teachers for the particular duties for which they are proposed."¹⁴

These subsequent Codes of 1909 and 1910 gave a further impetus in increasing the certified teachers. In the year 1909-10, the number of scholars in average attendance for every certified teacher was 54.4 and in the years 1910-11, 1911-12 and 1912-13 the numbers of scholars in average attendance per certified teacher were 52.5, 51.1 and 49.9 respectively.¹⁵

Not only the qualifications but also the salaries of teachers, certified as well as uncertified, increased though not considerably after the beginning of the present century. In 1900, the average salary of a certified master (head and assistant) was £127 2s. 7d. and of a mistress was £85 9s. 1d. The average salary of a Head teacher in that year was £145 15s. 3d.¹⁶ And after a decade, that is in 1909-10, the average salary of a Head Master rose to £174.6 and of a certified assistant master to £129.3. The average salary of a Head Mistress in those years was £129 9s. and £125.2 whereas that of a certified assistant mistress was £91.6 and £94.6.¹⁷

The demand for certified and trained teachers was increased by the corresponding increase in the number of scholars due to the

Act of 1870. By the year 1902-03, the number of children in average attendance in Public Elementary schools had risen to 5,030,219 while the annual output of trained teachers was only 2,791.¹⁸ Hence the circumstances demanded more Training Colleges and in 1905, grants were provided for building Municipal Training Colleges to be maintained by L. E. A.-s. This grant was afterwards extended to the provision of hostels in connection with University Colleges and Universities. The earliest colleges of this undenominational type, founded by L. E. A.-s were those of the city of Sheffield for men and women, the county of Hertford for women, and the London County Council and Graystock Place for women, Avery Hill for women and Southampton Row for men and women. Before the great war, there were about 20 Municipal Colleges in England and Wales, 1 for men, 9 for women and 10 for men and women and their accommodation was 3,918.¹⁹ The characteristics of these Municipal Colleges were different in different areas. Some of them began in temporary buildings with the hope of making them residential afterwards. Others started definitely on the line of the Training Departments in Universities and University colleges instituted in 1890. The college was meant to serve the purpose of lectures and academic work alone without any control over the life of the student outside lecture hours. But Local Authorities however, soon discovered the difficulties of admitting students from a greater distance in these Day Colleges. Hence almost all the authorities provided residence for the outsiders. The Leeds Municipal College as well as the West Riding College at Bingley are residential but as a matter of fact most of the Municipal Colleges were planned to provide for both Day and residential students.

The new residential colleges were erected with the ideals characteristic to the new century. This new type of Training Colleges had an educational block with separate self-contained hostels or hall of residence near at hand. Each block accommodated 40 to 60 students under the charge of a member of the staff. The idea was to foster domestic and social relations among the students bringing them into informal and friendly ties with the members of the staff.

CURRICULUM

Another importance of this period is the improvement of the curriculum: The payment

14. *Report of the Board of Education, 1909-10*, p. 13.

15. Calculated from the tables given in pages 81 and 84 of the *Board of Education Report, 1912-13*.

16. *Report of the Board of Education, 1900-01*, p. 28 (no separate figure has been given for certified assistant teachers).

17. *Report of the Board of Education, 1912-13*, p. 85.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

by result had lowered down the curriculum which was made to prepare the child for adult life without giving any consideration about his experience and mental life. Soon after the passing of the Act of 1902, the Education Department felt the importance of revising the curriculum in elementary schools and in their volume *Suggestions to Teachers and Others concerned in the work of Public Elementary School* issued in 1905, they discussed with illustrations, the principles and methods of teaching every subject in the curriculum. The ordinary subjects of secular instructions were, the English language, Handwriting, Arithmetic, Drawing, Observation lesson and Nature study, Geography, History, Singing, Hygiene, Physical Training and Domestic subjects for girls. All these subjects, of course, were not intended to be taught in every class, but the curriculum as a whole might be modified according to the circumstances of the school and the locality. The teachers and the Local Education Authorities were given enough freedom in this respect. They were not to imitate but to interpret the curriculum issued by the Board of Education according to their needs. There was no compulsion to adopt the "suggestions." Thus in a country school, the curriculum for Arithmetic, History and Geography might be curtailed in order to give more time to Nature study and practical subjects whereas in a town school more emphasis might be given on hand and eye training. Also, separate and special grants could be earned for instruction in Cookery, Laundry work, Housewifery, Handicraft (including light wood-work for girls) and Gardening.

Different L. E. A.-s, however, have dealt with the question of this curriculum in a different manner. The matter was entirely left, by some of the L. E. A.-s with the teachers and the inspectors; others insisted that the teachers should stick to the syllabus and time table in varying degrees of detail but this tendency relaxed after a few years, but the majority of the authorities were particularly interested in practical subjects, e.g., Hygiene, Cookery, Handicraft and Gardening.

Whatever the views of the L. E. A.-s might be, the general tone of the curriculum throughout the whole country was totally changed. Systematic practice in oral composition was often continued from the infants' school to the highest class in the upper school without placing much stress on dictation, and children from a much earlier age were taught to express themselves on paper. Instead of writing formal

essays on abstract subjects, they were now given opportunity to write from their own experience. Instead of teaching grammar formally, it was taught rather in an informal way in connection with composition. Accuracy was the only aim in teaching arithmetic in former days but now the child was taught to work his money sums in early stages with cardboard coins before he learned to write them in figures. He now learned weights by actual weighing with scales, length by measuring his desk or the playground. Formerly the teaching of geography required the children to commit to memory, names and definitions; but now geography was based on the child's first-hand knowledge of his surroundings and the ultimate aim in teaching geography was to develop in the children, powers of observation, imagination, systematic thought and independent effort on practical lines. As regards history, most of the schools accepted a common plan to adopt the stories and biographies in the lowest class with some detailed studies of periods in the middle of the school and the whole course of English history from different points of view was dealt with in the highest class. Dramatisation, study of local history, study of conditions under which the mass of the people had lived from time to time, were the central idea of the whole curriculum in history.²⁰

To speak more concisely, the barrier which tradition had created between the life of the child in school and that out of the school was being broken down by the new enterprise and curriculum. Education was less bookish and more practical than it had been. In almost every subject in the curriculum, the teacher in the century, was using more and more the materials and experiences with which the children were familiar in everyday life. Hence there was increasing difference between schools in one area and those in another—between town schools and country schools. There was growing divergence, after a certain age, between the education of the boy and that of the girl.

All this grew from the recognition of a principle, which Rousseau called attention to, and Pestalozzi, Froebel and other reformers emphasised, that the curriculum must pay attention to the child's interest, capacity and experience. This is the second great determinant of the curriculum and now stands equal in importance with an older one—the equipment of the child for adult life.

²⁰ *Report of the Board of Education, 1910-11*, pp. 21-32.

IDEAS OF POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

Towards the end of the nineteenth century some of the larger School Boards developed a type of school which had some of the characteristics of a primary school up to the age of 12, although they were never called primary schools. These schools formed in effect, the Junior Department attached to a higher grade Board School. A Junior Department attached to a higher grade school often became an important feeder of the main school. These "Higher Grade Schools" or "Higher Elementary Schools" although they were very few in number, served the purpose of providing education of a post-primary nature for the poor. The progress after 1902 was largely determined by section 22 of the Education Act, 1902, which enacted that the power to provide instruction under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870-1900, should, except where those Acts expressly provided to the contrary, be limited to the provision in a Public Elementary School of instruction given under the regulations of the Board of Education to scholars, who at the end of the school year, would not be more than sixteen years of age; provided that the L. E. A. might, with the consent of the Board of Education, extend those limits in the case of any such school, if no suitable higher education were available within a reasonable distance.

The minute which first created the Higher Elementary schools in 1900 was not followed by any large growth of schools of that type. The causes which restricted the growth of these schools were high cost of building, equipment and maintenance which were required under the old minute, and the predominantly scientific nature of the curriculum demanded. The future work of those going into the manufacturing trades or of those who were destined to take up clerical occupations or domestic duties did not find any guidance from the schools of that type. Also, there were many children, and particularly boys, who could not afford the time for a secondary school course, but who at the age of twelve, were ready for more advanced instruction than the Elementary school could give and for some practical teaching on the lines of occupation which they were intended to follow. So, to meet the existing need, a new type of Higher Elementary school was set forth in the Code of 1905.²¹ The needs of the scholars in Elementary schools, who would probably be entering employment of

some sort at the age of 15 or shortly afterwards, were to be made by this new code. The instruction and the curriculum were made different from those of the ordinary Public Elementary schools by carrying the general and fundamental subjects of its course and particularly the subjects of English to a higher standard and by including instruction with a more special aim and more technical outlook than ought to find place in the general education which it was the function of the secondary school to supply. The Board of Education asked the views of the consultative committee regarding the principles which to them seemed of most importance in determining the character of the curriculum that would best meet the needs of the various possible kinds of Higher Elementary School. According to the report of the committee, the course should develop in an unbroken progress the work already done, strengthen on the foundation of primary education already made, and attempt to build upon them as good a general education as the conditions would allow. Such a course must receive a bent towards the special needs of the life which the child would enter, as it was the immediate preliminary to livelihood. It should consist of three strands, which might be roughly described as humanistic, scientific and manual and in the case of the girls, domestic.

The course of the new Higher Elementary schools was to be one of three years instead of four years as heretofore, though it might be extended with the approval of the Board for a fourth year. The Board would make grants, under the ordinary conditions, of 30s., 45s. and 60s. for the several years of the course in respect of each unit of average attendance in each of those years and those would be in addition to the Fee Grant (for scholars under 15) and special aid grant under section 18 of the Education Act, 1902.

After the introduction of this Code of 1905, some of this new type of schools were created but not abundantly. In January, 1906 there were only three such schools throughout the whole country and in August, 1906, 1907, and 1908 there were 5, 35 and 44 of this new type of Higher Elementary schools. The accommodations for the respective years were 724; 1,219; 10,154 and 19,801.²² Although the schools were few in number and although a handful of children were being educated in these institutions, the general work imposed upon

21. *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools*, 1905, (Cmd 2579) chapter vi, articles 38-42.

22. *Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales*, 1903-05, p. 67; 1905-07, p. 15; 1906-08, p. 13; and *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 124.

these schools was fairly done. One of the inspectors wrote about a school :

"The school is conducted with much ability and common sense, and it was pleasant to see the friendly confidence between the masters and the boys. A large percentage of these latter take up industrial callings and the general trend of the instruction is in that direction. This does not prevent the boys from doing very well in other walks of life, and the education given all round is above the average"²³

But the compulsory education for a generation also could not make the parents sufficiently educated as to understand the value of education. They could not appreciate the idea that a trained boy would be able to earn more than a raw one and they would take out their children from those schools before completion as the law of the land could not prevent them from doing so. One of the unfavourable reports from an Inspector in connection with another school was as follows :

"At present, the chief difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory Higher Elementary school is the serious leakage of scholars as soon as they attain their fourteenth year. Thus during the present year 40 boys started in the highest class and there now only remain 14; of 35 girls in the same class 25 remain. Even in the second class the leakage is nearly as bad, viz. 25 boys are left out of 44 and 40 girls out of 55. Unfortunately there is no indication that this leakage is materially diminishing, and it is evident that the scholars, especially the boys, generally leave as soon as they reach their fourteenth year. Unless the difficulty can be met it is useless to attempt any higher work The solution appears to lie in the revision of the curriculum."²⁴

Another kind of advanced Elementary Education other than the Higher Elementary one was preferred by some of the larger L. E. A.-s. These were called the Central Schools. In London, the Central School system dates from

the educational year 1911.²⁵ A number of Higher Elementary schools which had long been giving education considerably in advance of the ordinary elementary school standard, including some built originally as organized schools of science, were abolished in the new system. The Chief object of the Central Schools was to prepare girls and boys for immediate employment on leaving school, and that instruction should therefore be such that the children would be prepared to go into business houses or workshops on the completion of the course without any intermediate special training.²⁶ These Central schools were designed for the provision of an educational course not provided in the Public Elementary graded schools or in the secondary schools, and the curriculum of such schools were to be framed so as to have an industrial or commercial bias. The aim evidently was that the trend of education should be eminently practical without being vocational in any narrow sense. Thus the position of the central school was intermediate between that of the secondary school on the one hand and that of the junior technical school on the other, being distinguished from the former by its lower leaving age and less academic curriculum, and from the latter by its earlier age of admission and the fundamental fact that it did not in any sense aim at providing technical training for any particular trade or business.

In 1912, the Manchester Education Authority instituted six District schools on rather similar lines.²⁷

25. *Report of the Board of Education, 1911-12*, p. 32 and 1912-13, pp. 60-62.

26. *L. C. C. Elementary School Handbook*, (1923), No. 2276, p. 118.

27. *Report of the Board of Education, 1911-12*, p. 43.

23. *Report of the Board of Education, 1907-08*, p. 42.

24. *Report of the Board of Education, 1907-08*, p. 43.



PEACE OR WAR ?

The Problem of 'Peaceful Change'

By DEEP CHAND SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B.

THE question of treaty revision has recently been in the centre of international politics, because violent changes are fast becoming the order of the day. Treaties are no longer sacrosanct. The most important of the post-war treaties, *viz.*, the Treaty of Versailles, has been unilaterally torn to pieces and is now no better than a mere scrap of paper. To a certain extent this was inevitable, for the injustices perpetrated on Germany were patent to any observer, and even if Hitler had not come into power it would have, sooner or later, had the same fate. The pace has been set by Germany, Italy and Japan, and their examples bid fair to be infectious. That would ultimately involve the world in another 'Great War' with all its catastrophic consequences. The evolution of peaceful machinery for revision of treaties and consideration of 'international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world' becomes an imperative necessity in the interests of world order.

The problem of 'peaceful change' is a fundamental question of any legal system. International Law lacked legal character and was, in the famous words of a famous jurist, 'the vanishing point of jurisprudence,' because war was one of the legally recognised modes of changing international rights. This was analogous to an authorisation of a revolution in the very constitution of a State. But the Briand-Kellogg Pact (General Treaty for the Renunciation of War) and the Covenant of the League to a lesser degree, have brought about a radical change in international law by removing the main objection to its recognition as a system of law. War is definitely outlawed and is no longer admissible as a regular legal institution. It is no longer recognised as a legal remedy or as an instrument for changing international law. But no legal institution has been put in its place, and this is fatal, for if war is outlawed, and there is no peaceful machinery for bringing about changes in international law, rule of law becomes synonymous with injustice, and, what is worse, it cannot effectively be enforced. Therefore, to accept treaties of compulsory arbitration without provision being

made for peaceful change would be to perpetuate injustice. It was the recognition of this fact that led to the anomalous provision in the General Act of 1928 that the arbitrators were to maintain, as well as change, the law!

What is 'peaceful change' as a legal institution? Every political society is confronted with the conflict between the demands of stability and the demand of change representing, respectively, the claims of law and the claims of justice. Within the state the gap between the immobility of law and social progress is bridged by legislative action. In the international society there is no legislature in the true sense of the term. And for that reason the problem of 'peaceful change' in the relation of states becomes very acute. Peaceful change implies a duty on the part of states to accept changes decreed by competent organs of international community and also a right possessed by those organs to decree such changes. This is what Professor Lauterpacht considers to be the true meaning of 'peaceful change' as a legal institution. It may be added that peaceful change connotes situations brought about by the operation both of treaties (which constitute the bulk of international law) and of customary rules of international law which have outgrown their original usefulness and significance.

The question of revision of treaties is not confined to the treaties following upon the World War, though, in the popular mind, it has become bound up with the removal of the injustices of the imposed peaceful settlements which terminated the World War.

Peaceful change as a legal institution postulates the existence of an international legislature. There is no such organisation in existence today. But there are some means of varying degrees of effectiveness for modifying obsolete treaty provisions and conditions, though they are rudimentary when compared with the effectiveness of national legislatures.

These means may be briefly examined.

The first is judicial legislation. It is well known, that judges apply, as well as make, law. But the function of judicial legislation,

as an instrument for changing law, is very limited even within a state, being indirect and confined to matters of relatively small importance. In the international sphere it is much more limited, for judicial activity is not a normal one in the international field.

There is a second means also. States, if they like, may ask the Court to act *ex aequo et bonum* (equity in the more general sense) and not on the basis of existing law. This is done in individual cases by the states expressly entrusting international tribunals with legislative function. But there are no general arbitration agreements giving such compulsory powers to international tribunals in regard to future disputes. Nor should such powers be conferred on these tribunals, for it would convert them into legislatures, for which they are not fitted.

Then there is a third mode of changing international rights by peaceful means—the famous doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*. The general view is that all treaties are concluded under the tacit condition of *rebus sic stantibus*. Vital change of circumstances play a great part with regard to validity of all law, *e.g.*, cancellation of contracts under certain circumstances, and therefore, the state has a right to demand a release from its obligations which conflict with its duty of self-preservation and development. This doctrine, properly understood, means that an international court may declare a treaty inoperative if, since its conclusion, conditions have changed so as to frustrate the purpose of the treaty. In the absence of compulsory jurisdiction of international tribunals the doctrine has degenerated into a notorious device for breaking a treaty under the guise of a legal process. But even as a legal institution, the scope of the application of the doctrine is admittedly a limited one, because it does not apply to (a) all sources of friction not connected with any treaty, (b) all changes in conditions but only to the changes in such circumstances as both parties regarded as the decisive inducement for entering the treaty, and (c) executed treaties. The judicial range of the application of this doctrine is also small. In recent cases where it was invoked the Courts did not think it applied in those cases. Even that limited application is circumscribed by the fact that international courts have no compulsory jurisdiction. The doctrine may, however, prove of some use if states agree to entrust tribunals with the decision whether a vital change of circumstances has really taken place. But even then major changes in inter-

national law cannot be brought about that way for reasons just stated.

These avenues for changing the existing law are the poorest of substitutes for an international legislature. Their scope is limited. At present there is no international agency in which such a power (to change the existing law) is vested. Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, is a tentative attempt to create something like an international legislature. But the Article does not vest in the Assembly the power of changing the existing law. It merely lays down:

“The Assembly may from time to time *advise* the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.”

The scope of the Article is wide, for it covers all executory treaties and also those which have not become inapplicable under the *rebus sic stantibus* clause. But its utility is evidently small for the Assembly can at best give only an opinion in the nature of a recommendation. It is the states themselves which proceed to take any action. Thus, under the Covenant, there is no power able to change peacefully existing law against the will of the interested states, and herein it lacks the essential quality of an international legislature. And there has been no inclination on the part of the Assembly to give an extended interpretation to the terms of the Article. When Bolivia invoked it in 1921 the Assembly held that her case did not fall within that Article. The Great Powers have tried to sabotage the Article, because events have proved that changes effected unilaterally were rewarded with success.

But the Article does foreshadow the legislative method, though it embodies the principle of legislation only in embryonic state. It is the first institutional attempt to deal with the problem of peaceful change within the orbit of politically organised international society. Although the recommendation of the Assembly has no binding character, the fact that it has found that a certain state of affairs is obsolete is not altogether without legal importance.

Opinions may be divided about the possibilities of the Article. One thing is, however, certain: that it does not provide for peaceful change as an organic institution of international society, *i.e.*, it does not provide peaceful change being accepted by states as a matter of legal obligation. There is necessity for institutional provision for peaceful change. If we accept

that it would mark a great advance, it would mean an International Legislature. It would not be restricted to territorial matters. A possible safeguard against its formidable jurisdiction may be made in the provision that sovereign states should not be asked to yield rights unless under such overwhelming considerations of justice as may be found by competent international organs (by practical unanimity). Such a vote must be combined with reform of the unjust principle of state equality. In this way the problem of institutional peaceful change can be tackled.

We must not minimise the difficulties in

the way of international legislation. But they are not insuperable. An international legislature would be ineffective unless combined with some measure of enforcement—preferably by the method of collective security.

As matters stand, international peace is threatened by the fact that 'forcible change' is fast developing into a general practice. This might spell the ruin of civilisation. Surely in the interests of world peace, no effort should be spared to evolve peaceful means for meeting just demands for change in international law. Only thus peace could be ensured on a lasting basis, otherwise war is a stark certainty.

FOR THE REBEL

BY SRIMATI BHARATI SARABHAI

I HAVE so much of this moon—
A reassured tomorrow and still again,
Her nightly promise
Its slow, accelerated pace
Will take of unbound majesty;
No time she keeps
But that of her growing beauty—

I have so much of this moon this night
While you, whose gift
Of crowded hour is spent from crest
To crest of the ungovernable, rising
multitude,
As the very vital centre cell, loud throbbing
With the coalescing
Swarm of the social artery,

Spread as one entity
Before your gaze,
Which, no more an abstraction for theory,
Stands as a figure with a wellknown face,
Whose real need you know you can
Not help much, whose open scars
Stare at you unaltered from every turn—

Crowd to crowd, aeroplane, car, wagon
To railway compartments full of men,
Everywhere slave compulsion, shrinking
humanity,
Here and there fruition, full aristocratic,
free,
Which hurts even more,—there's no time
for remorse—
Heated breath, sun-baked seers
Long waiting as for an apparition,

Untempered curiosity and most eager flint
In failing embers to speed this country's
cart

To will this time's heroic change—
Till hoarse is your voice, film-covered the-
image
Of the ivory face, like dreaming architecture
Put to living use in this Russian age,
Carries its pale, thoroughbred air—

For the real need, the real desire—
I have too much of this moon here
While you are insatiate, you whose delicate-
perception
Vibrates like a cunning instrument
fashioned
To catch the music of the magic spheres,
All that has grace and light and sweetness
In art and nature,

And that freakish accident of nature and
art,
Woman,—all else that anchors man,
Harbours his touch, his incense breath-
his ear
Unpetals, his prodigal eye stills, makes
divine
Justification for the grant of material
sense—
You, from this heavenly storehouse
Of the years' accumulated delight in
loveliness,

You, from all this, will gather power,
Power like an incalculable volcano,
Power for all men, power to sway the
soul's ecstasy
To other uses, until even the air
Bidden with this my verse like a dynamo
Like hard, insistent hammerstroke,
On this fast moving time make a mark.

ABUSE OF ADVERTISING

By KSHITINDRA KUMAR NAG, Ph.D. (Chicago)

Certain series of advertisements have been appearing prominently in our newspapers and magazines with the message conveying such an idea as "long life in tea drinking." The advertising campaign is bold to the point of audacity in going so far as to depict the message with an illustration in which an old man in a dignified costume is giving sermons to a group of young ones to that very extent. It is not necessary here to ascertain how far the particular inference as to 'long life' is correct, but it is at least certain that no authority could conscientiously give testimonials to tea drinking for one's longevity.

Again, another type of advertisements is having similar prominence in the advertising columns of our press with striking announcement of cigarette smoking as beneficial to our health and nerves, and also useful in giving relief to fatigue. The idea of health behind cigarette smoking is ridiculous to any common sense, but as regards the question of fatigue Mr. L. F. Henderson, professor of biological chemistry, Harvard University, who can claim certain authority in this line, has pointed out in his article on "Alkali Ads" which appeared in *Harvard Business Review*, Autumn, '37, that

"Fatigue is relieved by rest and food, not by the use of alkalies or cigarettes. But sometimes it may be relieved by faith."

The article has been devoted to criticising principally advertisements announcing the healing virtues of a multitude of alkaline remedies, but Mr. Henderson could make a special mention of cigarettes only in the above line, relating to fatigue.

The total effects of such advertisements should not be considered to be trivial, as they must influence the readers' outlook to a considerable extent. And due to our indifference or for want of a definite policy of social control in this respect, we may have to observe a steadily mounting dishonesty in advertising copies that claim qualities for a product which have not the slightest basis in fact, to the detriment of the field of advertising.

Unfortunately, the advertising field has been thus abused. It is no wonder that the attitude of the Indian public towards adver-

tising is peculiar. Most people in India still think that advertisement carries news different from what it ought to carry; in other words, the advertiser spreads an exaggerated story of the product for sale. The advertisers, it is true, are chiefly patent medicine vendors and others to whom dishonest methods may seem justifiable to further their short-sighted ends. This class of people also constituted the only well defined group of advertisers in the western countries until approximately 1850; today it has been supplanted by almost the entire commercial fraternity.

In order to bring in or build up reputation that the field of advertising lacks in India there should be some sort of check to the advertising campaigns like the ones in question. It is worthwhile here to mention what a drastic step had been taken by the Federal Trade Commission of the United States of America against one cigarette manufacturer with regard to its irresponsible advertising policy. It is pretty nearly a decade that the Federal Trade Commission freed American advertising of the burden it has to bear then by exacting from the manufacturer a promise to "cease and desist" from publication or broadcasting of statements that smoking of his cigarettes "will bring slender figures and cause a reduction of flesh in all instances."

Any way, the advertisers themselves must realize the importance of advertising in an economic organization to elevate its standard. In short, advertising is salesmanship on paper. The enormous increase in production available through the modern machine industry introduced into business the great problems of marketing, the solution of which is hardly possible without advertising as the substitute for increased selling forces. It plays such an important part in economic society that advertising and advertising agencies are sometimes spoken of as important factors in the apportionment of our economic activity. Advertising becomes a necessity, but if not wisely used to depict a product truthfully it becomes as much a boomerang as a poor product, and as a result a hindrance rather than help in creating public confidence towards the field of advertising. In other words, the marketing

problem becomes complicated rather than simple in the sense that a reader of advertisements finds it difficult as to which to believe and which not to believe. There are people, indeed, to whom the idea of advertising is this—honest or dishonest, it pays any way. Then, one can as well say that cheating pays but that can never be a business proposition.

The activities of advertisers have an important bearing on the welfare of the society in which they live. In the estimation of many economists the importance of advertising is measured more by social consequences than by its economical effects. Dr. Edward D. Jones, professor of Commerce and Industry in the University of Michigan, U. S. A., has said,

"Upon the general public there can be no doubt but that the constant sight of announcements of high qualities in goods, and the constant reading of protestations of social service as the motive of business action, exerts an influence in the direction of elevating the standards of taste and of conduct."¹

If on the other hand, 'high qualities' and 'social service' become phrases of deception the social consequences can easily be imagined. The dishonest practices may be taken as a matter of course, and in the callous acceptance of such deceptions lies a measure of the decline of our integrity, especially

"when Big Business tells him (a buyer) to purchase some article he feels he must obey. And if he does not happen to have the purchase price, he may be willing to take desperate chances to get it."²

In this respect the business ethics as expressed recently in the following American advertisement that is appearing currently in various magazines and newspapers in U. S. A. demonstrates the high standard the advertising has reached:

No person should spend a cent for liquor until necessities of living are provided—and paid for. Bills for groceries, clothes, rent, light, heat, doctors, have the first call on America's pay-roll.

We don't want to sell whisky to anyone who buys it at a sacrifice of the necessities of life. Whisky is a luxury and should be treated as such. Fine whisky can play a pleasing part in the scheme of gracious living . . . but only when taken in moderation and only after the bills are paid.

This statement may seem contrary to our self-interest. Actually it is not. As one of America's leading distillers we recognize a definite social responsibility. The very existence of legalized liquor in this country depends upon the civilized manner in which it is consumed. In the long run, we believe, it is good business for us to say, "pay your bills first."³

These paragraphs are printed, not in furtherance of the drinking of spirituous liquors, which even "in moderation" we condemn, but only to show how even some liquor-sellers in America advertise their goods.

If certain advertisers still think it wise to follow the gleam of profits more than anything else, they should remember that the crime brings its own consequences, in that advertising of an objectionable nature creates an adverse feeling towards the goods rather than a desire to buy them. Finally, the advertisers and advertising agencies in India should at least rid themselves of the fallacy that anything and everything is all right with a publication when it is an advertisement.

In order to give modern advertising its proper prestige and in order to realize its advantages, it is well to mention that the publishers of public organs like newspapers and magazines should feel a sense of responsibility. In many cases, particularly in India, many men still use advertising as a plan to make money easily. A number of advertisements dealing with patent medicines, intoxicating liquors, tempting cures, fortune telling, exciting novels and many other swindles should be refused so that they cannot abuse the field of advertising and cheat the public purse. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of the advertising business, some of those articles which are notoriously associated with misrepresentation are particularly prominent in the advertisement columns of the press. It is all the more unfortunate when it is the case with certain newspapers and magazines which in virtue of their standing, tradition and large circulation are in a better position than others to withstand the pressure of such advertising propagandas. Unless a man has sincerity and wholehearted belief in that which he wants to advertise and desires to merit public confidence he should not be allowed to have space for advertising his product. The *Saturday Evening Post*, a weekly magazine in the United States of America, for instance, rejects nearly as much advertising as it prints owing to the fact that such advertising will not pass the "acid test" which the publisher applies to it. There is, of course, a keen competition among American publishers in selling space for advertisements.

It is evident that the *Saturday Evening Post* does not really become loser of advertisements by refusing them space. As advertising is an economic necessity the advertisers are to send back their copies of advertisements with modifications as required, and they cannot

1. *The Administration of Industrial Enterprises*, N. Y., 1918, p. 382.

2. Big Business and Banditry, *The New Republic*, June 10, '31.

3. *The Reader's Digest*, March '38, p. 77.

afford to get cross or get cold feet at the refusal, when they know well that they are to advertise and that their advertisements must be published for obvious reasons, in that particular journal. Thus, in the matter of checking or censorship of advertising columns the Indian publishers can cast off without any loss whatsoever, the bugaboo of "we will lose advertisement" and put in its place "it will come any way". On the other hand, if they are to apprehend anything at all in connection with their relation with advertisements they should mind the offence of irresponsibility and deception on the part of advertisers, for which the publishers are equally, if not more, to blame, because it is they who help the advertisers get their message carried to the public. It is no doubt true that the public gets the benefit of cheap newspapers and magazines because of advertisements, yet it does not follow that the circulation of a journal depends upon them but upon the reading public who are interested

primarily in news, editorial matters and particularly in the honesty and consistency of its policy in regard to many other things which it has to deal with.

Now is the time for the publisher, the advertising agency and the advertiser to appreciate each other's service and to co-operate with each other not only to their own advantage but also to that of the community. It should be remembered that the policy of advertising cannot remain unchanged with the changes ever coming up with the machine industry, in order to help the producer sell his product produced on a large scale. They must, therefore, realize the importance of the field of advertising wisely utilised. It is as well a matter of great concern to all of them when an organization lands into advertising campaign, especially an extensive one, to go so far as to proclaim an attribution like "long life" or "good health" to such things as tea drinking, cigarette smoking and the like.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

Our Statement of World Peace Day

(Anniversary of the signing of the Pact of Paris)

We heartily congratulate the World Youth Congress, met August 16-24, 1938, at Vassar College, New York, where the spokesmen of the Youth Organizations of fifty-seven countries assembled. The best fruit of this Congress is in the promotion of fellowship among the young men and women of different countries, creeds and cultures.

We are in full accord with the seven points for peace recently proclaimed by the U. S. Secretary, Hon. Cordell Hull, namely (1) Economic reconstruction; (2) treaty observance; (3) non-interference in the affairs of other nations; (4) disarmament; (5) intellectual exchange and collaboration among all peoples; (6) adherence to international law; (7) international cooperation to further this program. We also have strong faith in the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact for the solution of the problem of Peace and War.

We join with the World Youth Congress in maintaining the view that "a new world order could be established in which a lasting peace could be founded on justice and preserved by the cooperation of mankind."

The World Fellowship of Faiths goes still further. It firmly believes that lasting peace must have its beginning with every individual, as charity begins at home. We emphasize that the "development of individual character by practising non-violence, truth,

and love in every little action of everyday life, will bring abiding peace and happiness."

Let us begin with ourselves, so that we may start immediately and not wait for other people and government to take actions, however essential they may be. Unless every individual finds his true relationship with the Supreme Being and realizes the unity of all life, real peace on earth is unattainable. President Wilson rightly observed that "civilization will be wrecked and ruined unless spiritually redeemed." We, therefore, seek individual reform through spiritual regeneration.

The World Fellowship of Faiths has chosen as a general theme "*World Peace Through Spiritual Awakening*" and is inviting the people of all faiths, races and countries to participate in its Fifth International Congress to be held in New York at the time of the great World's Fair and in San Francisco during the Golden Gate Exhibition in 1939.

May He make our efforts fruitful by uniting us inwardly and outwardly in peace and fellowship.

KEDARNATH DAS GUPTA,
Editor, *Appreciation-Dharma*
Hotel New Yorker,
New York, N. Y., August 27, 1938

ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA

In the Caves of Gokteik

By BIRESWAR GANGOOLY

On the Lashio Branch of the Burma Railways, at a distance of 40 miles from Maymyo there is a railway station named Gokteik Viaduct, situated on the verge of a deep gorge, which is spanned by a steel bridge 2,200 feet long, constructed by the Burma Railways.

Across the gorge, and on the opposite side of the Railway Station, the hill-side presents a long line of hard granite rocks rising sheer to a height of some 1,500 feet and containing numerous small caves, crevices and grottoes, now the habitation of birds and bats. There are also the traces of many dried-up springs that in olden days found their way through these crevices.

In 1906, from the aforesaid bridge, a bright light and the glow of a fire were occasionally seen at nights at the side of the rocks. It was impossible that any human being could have access to the places, where the light and fire were seen burning.

This phenomenon was seen by many visitors at Gokteik during the next 5 or 6 years; but no satisfactory explanation was ever found till a Madras station-master employed at Gokteik in 1913 declared that a Hindu "Zawti" (Sadhu), living in one of the caves on the opposite side of the hills, was the person, who was burning the light and fire in front of some of those unknown grottoes. No one however cared to ascertain the grotto where he lived. From about February 1934, the light and the fire were not any more seen at any of the rocks.

In 1934, a Gurkha Sadhu (an old man of 70 years) who had erected, at the side of the Viaduct, a few thatch huts for third class railway passengers to rest, corroborated the statement of the Madras station-master, and said that he had been acquainted with the old Sadhu living in one of the caves about 20 years ago; but the Sadhu, he added, must have been dead, as no one had seen him since 1914.

In 1937, in a June number of *The Sun* and of *The New Light of Burma* there appeared a letter written in Burmese by a correspondent stating that a large number of images of Buddha had been discovered in a cave at

Gokteik, the clue being given in a dream to U Myat, a permanent Way Inspector of Sakantha.

In July 1937, U Myat, being questioned about the images found at Gokteik, made the following statement:

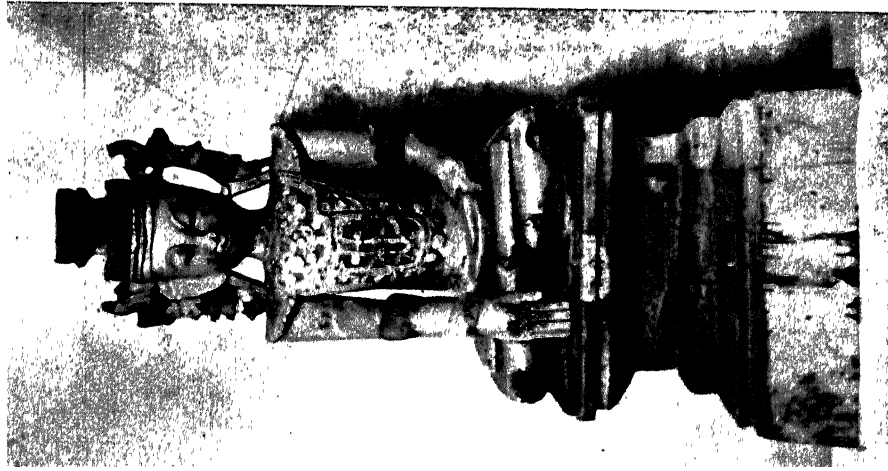
"On the 26th May 1937, while I was in my quarters at Sakantha, I dreamt that there were a number of images of Buddha lying hidden in a cave on the hill just opposite the railway station. I attached no importance to the dream; merely because it was a dream, and because there were no caves known to any one then, where any human beings could have any access.

"On the 29th May, I had to spend the night at the Rest House at Gokteik. In the early hours of the morning, I dreamt that I was on the 4th scaffold of the Viaduct with an old Pouna, dressed in a white Burmese jacket and a dhoti, similar to those worn by the Pounas on ceremonial occasions. He had a bead in his right hand, and stretching his right hand with the bead towards the rock on the other side of the gorge, he pointed out to me a cave and said, 'In that cave lying unknown for many years, are images of Lord Buddha; I bid you go there and take them.'

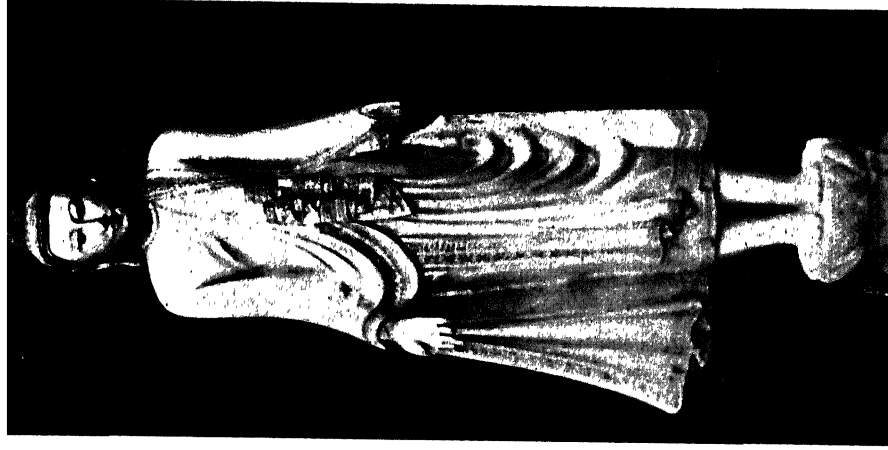
"I saw the images, in my dream, distinctly glittering in the darkness of the cave. I awoke from my sleep, and prayed that my dream might be fulfilled.

"At dawn I went down to the Railway Station and told the station-master S. N. Das, a Bengali Hindu, about my dream. He volunteered to accompany me. With 6 coolies equipped with *daks*, spades and shovels, we started at once to find out the grotto pointed out to me by the "Pouna." The surroundings as seen in the dream were quite clear in my memory. We made our way across the Viaduct and when within a few yards of the second tunnel, we started to search. After cutting a few trees and a thick tangle of bushes, we managed to reach, by means of a narrow rocky path, the edge of a precipice, where a cave exactly similar to what I had seen in my dream, was found. The mouth of the cave was covered by thick bushes and was almost hidden by

ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA IN THE GOKTEIK CAVES



The inscription (No. 2) at the base of this image could not be deciphered



The largest image—about four feet in height. Left arm broken



Another damaged image. This was found carefully kept with the first



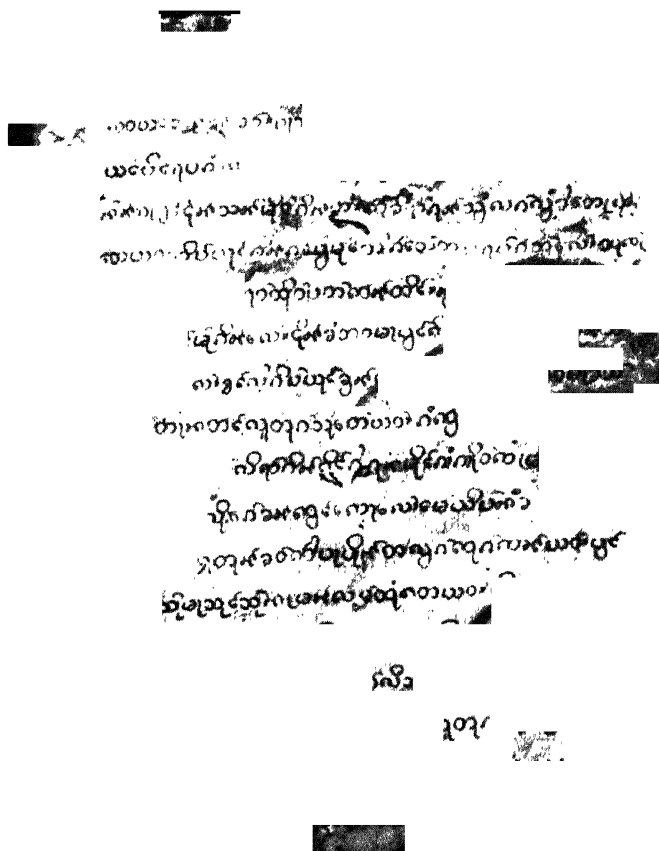
These images, from six inches to four feet, were found in the grotto, arranged in the same way as seen here. Most of these are of lacquer wood and covered with thin gold leaves

undergrowth. The skeleton of a cow was found scattered at the entrance of the cave. As it was impossible for cows to come to the cave by the narrow rocky path described above and as there could be no incentive for cows to go there, the only inference that came spontaneously to us, was that the cow must have been killed by a cheeta and brought to the cave. The coolies therefore made loud noises to frighten any beast that might be lurking there; but nothing came out of the grotto except a tortoise about a foot in diameter with a black stony shell on its back, which hurriedly ran down to a narrow little cave just below the grotto. The inner apartment of the grotto was quite clean and seemed as if inhabited by man, though in reality no one was known to have lived there, within the last 80 years. In this cave and in some neighbouring ones, we discovered about sixty old images of Buddha from 6 inches to 4 feet in height, most of them made in lacquer and some of wood covered with thin gold leaves, quite bright and unstained. There were four images of marble stone.

"Without disturbing the position of the images, we shut the mouth of the grotto by a strong fencing of wood and returned to the station.

"I then sent a letter describing the discovery to my District Engineer Mr. Gawthorne, who with his wife came the next day to Gokteik and penetrating further inside, they found more images, and also 'a terracotta motif' bearing an inscription. Mrs. Gawthorne took a few photographs of the grotto and some of the images found there. The motif was taken to Mandalay in order to

decipher the writing and glean the past history of the images. The images were then carefully collected and brought to Gokteik station,



A photograph of the inscription No. 2

where on the top of a hillock a thatch hut has now been constructed to house them."

Later on, in April last (1938), Mr. and Mrs. Gawthorne gave us the details of these finds at the cave. The inscriptions photographed by them were also shown to us and I am indebted to Mrs. Gawthorne for the photographs now appearing in the pages of *The Modern Review*.

The translation of the inscription No. 2 could not be obtained. It is written in Shan,

but is full of queer words unintelligible even to the old Shan Phongies of the Hsipaw State. Inscription Nos. 1 and 3 were deciphered by Mr. and Mrs. Gawthorne, a translation of which is given below.

INSCRIPTION No. 1

This image has been dedicated on the Full Moon day of Tabodwe 1226 B.E., to receive merit (Kuthaw). May the maker of this image also get merit. Thadu, Thadu, Thadu.

INSCRIPTION No. 3

It was in 1253 B.E.—Thadu, Thadu, Thadu—that this image was dedicated by Mg Sein. May Mg Sein, his parents, wives, and sons, get "Kuthaw" (Merit), long life, beauty, happiness and health. Let all their wishes be fulfilled. Thadu, Thadu, Thadu.

Now the question is:—

Who secreted these images in these inaccessible caves and why and when?

Mr. — believes that "they were concealed by the neighbouring villagers, during one of the Chinese invasions in Burma."

The inscription Nos. 1 and 3 bear the years 1864 and 1891 A.D.

The well-known Chinese invasions to Burma were from Yunnan and usually through Bhamo and Kengtong and not through Hsipaw where Gokteik is and those invasions moreover were made in the years 1445 (Kengtong), 1662 (Bhamo) and 1767 (Lashio) and not in the years mentioned in the inscriptions.

Some old Shans of Nounpeng believe that the images were concealed there during the continual war that raged among the ruling Sawbwas of Hsipaw, Monglong and Hsumhsai in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. (*vide* Chapter VI, *Upper Burma Gazette*, Vol. 1, Part 1). There are however no mention there of any warfare due to differences in religious faith so as to cause the people of Nounpeng—the nearest village to Gokteik—to conceal the images of Buddha in these inaccessible caves.

In 1891 (the year mentioned in inscription No. 3) the conditions were quite different. The British Government had already annexed Upper Burma, and the Sawbwa of Hsipaw had already submitted to the British Rule in 1886. The sub-States of Monglong and Hsumhsai (Thonze) were soon subdued and annexed by the Hsipaw Sawbwa to his State with the help of the British. British military forces were then stationed at Lashio and Hsipaw and they were often going out on expeditions to quell rebellions in the unruly States.

It is possible therefore that at this time, the Phongies, to save their images of Buddha from those infidels, concealed them in the caves at Gokteik.

Secondly, from the year 1892, when the construction of the railway line from Mandalay to Lashio was begun, a very large number of Chinese and Pathan coolies and workmen were employed in the construction of the line, tunnels and the steel bridge at Gokteik. They were not Buddhists and it is very possible that the Buddhist priests, through a fear of their Buddha's image being broken down by these greedy non-believers, concealed them in these caves at Gokteik. It was an usual practice in olden times to hide valuable treasures inside the images of Buddha or under the seat of the images in the pagodas. (See Harvey's *History of Burma*, page 107).

During the period 1886-1903 A.D. a number of "rebels and dacoits" unwilling to submit to the British Rule, took refuge in the Mong Long and Hsumhsai States; and they, in the words of Sir George Scott, used to burn and plunder the villages that refused to help them. The Hsipaw State having accepted the British Rule from 1886, it was possible that the villages near Gokteik concealed these images of Buddha in these unknown caves, to save them from being destroyed by these "rebels."

There was, about two miles from the caves at Gokteik, an ancient caravan road leading from China to Burma and used by the Chinese traders. The Buddhist preachers who had established the "Sad-dharma" in the Far East and among the ferocious Nat-worshippers of the Northern Shan States, used the same road for their journey to China and the Lao Shan States. New pagodas were being constructed and new images were therefore naturally required for these pagodas and for their worship. It is therefore also possible that these Buddhist preachers had kept their images concealed in these caves for future transport in peaceful times.

The image on the broken Brick (Photo No. C) is believed by the Burmese scholars to be a very ancient one, dating its existence from the establishment of the Taloing Kingdom at Thaton.

It is now a mystery therefore and nobody can definitely tell us who kept these images there in the caves and why they did so.

Our young Burmese friends are of opinion that some Phongies had kept the images there, with the idea of making this secret cave a shrine for the ignorant Shans.

THE SHARADASHRAM

A Research Institute at Yeotmal in Berar

By ANANDRAO JOSHI

It is gratifying to note that there are at present three institutes working in the field of literary and historical research in the three sub-divisions of the Central Provinces and Berar, viz., the 'Sharadashram' in Berar, the 'Madhyaprant Sanshodhan Mandal' in the Marathi C. P. and the 'Mahakosal Historical Research Society,' in the Hindi C.P. The Saradashram which is the oldest of these three institutes was founded at Yeotmal in the year 1926, after the third session of the 'Vidharba Literary Conference' held there under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Since then this institute in the small town of Yeotmal has given a good account of its activities in the field of literary and historical research, and its fame has not only transgressed the limits of the Maharashtra but has reached to distant Europe as well. The credit for this commendable progress on the part of the Sharadashram is chiefly due to the untiring labour and devotion of its founder and promoter—Mr. Yeshwant Khushal Deshpande, M.A., LL. B., pleader of Yeotmal.

Mr. Deshpande was born on September 14, 1884 at Papal, a small village in the Akola District. He took his higher education in the Wilson College of Bombay. In 1906 he took his M.A. degree of Bombay University, he being the first Berarian to obtain it with Marathi as his subject. It was during his stay in Bombay that he was profoundly impressed by the historical writings of the late Mr. Rajwade, the most eminent historian of the Maharashtra. In 1908 Mr. Deshpande passed his LL. B. Examination and then settled at Yeotmal where he began to practise as a lawyer. For several years he patiently devoted himself to the collection of old manuscripts and historical documents and records which now adorn the shelves of the Sharadashram.

The most outstanding and unique feature of the Sharadashram is the research work that is being assiduously done by it in the field of the old 'Mahanubhava' literature of Marathi literature which has entirely revolutionised

our conceptions regarding the early history and growth of the Marathi language. It is remarkable to note that the 'Mathas' of the 'Mahanubhava' sect are found not only in the provinces of the Punjab and Peshawar but in the far-off Afghanistan as well. In 1925 Mr. Deshpande visited several of these 'Mathas' in the Panjab and Peshawar and collected a lot of information regarding the 'Mahanubhava' literature from the manuscripts so carefully preserved in these 'Mathas'. On his return he published his wellknown book; *Mahanubhaviya Marathi*



Y. K. Deshpande

Vangmaya which was highly appreciated by eminent Marathi scholars.

In 1932 the Sharadashram was reorganised and a new constitution was framed for its efficient working. At present Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central), is the president of the managing committee of this institute. *Shri Vishnudasachi Kavita*, *Shri Riddhipuravarnan*, *Vidarbhavina*, *Uddhavagita*, *Chakrapani-*

2. 'महानुभाव मराठी वाङ्मय'
3. श्रीविष्णुद म'ची कविता
4. श्री रूद्रपुरवर्णन
5. विदर्भभाषा
6. उद्भवगीता



Sir Jadunath Sarkar's visit to Sharadashram
A group photograph : Sir Jadunath (second row, second from the left)

charitra,⁷ *Adya Marathi Kavayitri*⁸ are some of the publications published in the 'Sharadashram Book Series' which includes works both of old and current Marathi literature. In 1933 a *Sharadashram Annual* was published which included several papers contributed by eminent research workers and scholars of the province. Unfortunately, owing to lack of funds the idea of publishing subsequent annuals had to be abandoned.

On 20th August, 1927 Sir Jadunath Sarkar paid a visit to the Sharadashram in company with the wellknown 'Riyasatkar' of the Maharashtra, Mr. G. S. Sardesai and Mr. Y. M. Kale of Buldana (Berar). They paid a glowing tribute to the work undertaken by the Sharadashram in the following words:

"We visited the Sharadashram today and were very much pleased to see the arrangements made for saving old Sanskrit and Marathi manuscripts and historical records from destruction. Such an institution is a national asset at a centre like Yeotmal and we wish it success."

The Government of India also have honoured the institute by appointing Mr. Deshpande as a co-opted member of the Indian

Historical Records Commission which held its sessions at Nagpur, Gwalior and Patna.

Mr. Deshpande has sailed for Europe on 26th July by the Italian Steamer '*Conte Verde*' to attend the Eighth International Congress for Historical Sciences to be held at Zurich (Switzerland) from August 28 to September 4, 1938. He is attending the Congress as a representative of the Sharadashram to which an invitation was sent by the Congress some time last year. He has submitted two papers on 'Prehistoric Rock Paintings in India' and 'Indian Iconography' to be read at this Session. From Zurich Mr. Deshpande will start for Brussels to attend the 'Orientalists' Congress to be held from the 5th to the 10th of September. He will then stay at Paris for about four months with a view to study and collect materials on the history and philology of the Marathi language for his proposed publication in Marathi. The world-renowned scholar and philologist of Paris, Dr. Jules Block has kindly consented to render him all possible help during his stay there. Mr. Deshpande would then spend a couple of months in London, where he would take advantage of the world famous library and the Museum. He then intends to travel on the continent and will return to India early next year.

7. चक्रगणिचरित्र

8. आद्य मराठी कवयित्री

STARS OF THE UNDERSEA

AMAZING ILLUMINATED CREATURES OF THE INDIAN AND PACIFIC OCEAN DEEPS

By EWEN K. PATTERSON

HALF a century ago it was thought that no living creature could exist the dark deeps of the oceans. Subsequent exploration, however, has revealed otherwise, for fish have been captured from as far down as three miles where no light ever penetrates, and where the water exerts the tremendous pressure of about three tons to the square inch.

It is impossible for any of us to imagine just how dark it is in these silent, unexplored deeps. No man has ever been able to go very far down to find out; the greatest depth any man has ever reached is only half a mile.

This was the noted performance of Dr. Beebe, an American scientist, who went down in the Atlantic Ocean four years ago in a big steel ball called a bathysphere. Even at that comparatively shallow depth the darkness was astounding to Dr. Beebe, who said:

"It showed as blacker than black. It seemed as if all future nights in the upper world must be considered only relative degrees of twilight. I could never again use the word Black with any conviction."

Just as the darkness of night in our upper world is illuminated by stars, so the inky-black darkness of the undersea is also relieved by stars. But the stars in this case are living, moving stars in the form of some of the weirdest creatures the imagination could devise—strange fishers that are equipped with lights of all colours of the rainbow.

Owing to the inaccessibility of their habitat but few of these illuminated deep-sea fish have been closely studied. The little that has been learned, however, provides a fascinating glimpse of the stupendous and amazing world of life that exists in the unexplored realms of the oceans.

When Dr. Beebe made his descent in the Atlantic Ocean he encountered a remarkable fish which he described as

"a new and gorgeous creature. Almost round, along the sides of its body were five unbelievably beautiful lines of light, one equatorial, with two curved ones above and two below. Each line was composed of a series of large pale yellow lights, and every one of these was surrounded by a semi-circle of very small but intensely purple lights."

Dr. Beebe named it the Five-lined Constellation fish, and he said:—"In my memory it will live, as one of the loveliest things I have ever seen."

The strangest of all light-bearing fish are found in the Indian and Pacific Oceans; and one of the queerest of these is a fish, which has headlights exactly like the lamps of a motor-car in miniature!

The striking fact has been responsible for the fish's very appropriate name—the *anomalops* or "headlight-fish." Above each of its eyes the fish has a bright white light, and above each light is a movable flap which the fish can slip over its "lamps" at will, thus cutting off the illumination.

It is believed and is highly probable that the fish uses these "lamps" to attract prey within reach of its jaws.

More remarkable, however, is the lantern face fish of the family *Myctophidae*, which has headlights but no eyes!

The fish, which attains a length of about five feet and lives in the Pacific Ocean below a depth of about 2,000 fathoms, has absolutely no trace of eyes; instead, on top of its head, just above where the eyes are usually situated in other fish, it has a pair of large phosphorescent organs which emit a strong white light.

How the fish obtains food is something of a mystery, but it is believed that the lights, which the fish is able to switch on or off at will, act as a lure for attracting prey within reach of its enormous mouth.

Other illuminated members of the *Myctophidae* family are the lantern fishes, which, in addition to having eyes apparently capable of seeing through the densest blackness, have rows of luminous scales along both sides of the body.

These scale-lights can be switched on or off according to the will of the fish, and they are believed to act solely as aids to feeding. Some species of the lantern fishes also have tail-lights! The light of the male fish is situated on top of the tail and shines upward, while that of the female is underneath the tail and shines downward.

The only fish yet discovered with a red tail-light is the rainbow fish (*Gnosotoma polyphos*) of the Southern Indian Ocean. As its name implies, the fish is one of the most beautiful in the undersea, for its luminous organs display virtually every colour of the rainbow.

Along both sides of its body are many rows of illuminated scales, which emit red, blue, orange, violet and yellow lights of all shades, while the fish has a white "headlight" in the centre of its forehead and two red tail-lights, one on each side of the tail.

The lights produced by these deep-sea fish do not, of course, generate heat; they are cold lights, and, so far as has been ascertained, are used solely for the purpose of procuring food, acting as a lure to attract other fish.

Unique among all illuminated deep-sea fish is the Oceanic Angler fish. Angler fishes of course are well known; they are fairly plentiful throughout the seas of the world and most people are familiar with them (from books, if not by experience) and are aware that they are equipped with a kind of fishing-line and bait with which they angle for prey.

The Oceanic Angler fish, however, is vastly different to its well-known cousin. An inhabitant of the very deep and dark waters of the Pacific Ocean, the Oceanic Angler is unique in that the female only is a normal, free-swimming fish.

She attains a length of anything up to four feet, and, like the common Angler-fish, has a long fishing-line protruding from the top of her head. This line is also equipped with a "bait," which, unlike that of the common fish, is brightly illuminated. The fish flicks this "lamp" to and fro to attract other fish within reach of her jaws.

An unusual feature of the fish's jaws is that they are equipped with large *hinged* teeth! When a victim is seized the teeth fall backwards towards the throat, dragging the victim in, and

when the meal is over they swing back to a vertical position! No other fish known is thus equipped. The fish's stomach is also so distensible that she can actually swallow and digest fish larger than herself.

The female Oceanic Angler is also the most hard-worked wife in the sea in that she is the only female fish known that acts as bread-winner for herself and her husband (or husbands).

The male Oceanic Angler is a dwarfed creature, rarely more than four or five inches in length. Immediately after birth he attaches himself to the body of the first female that comes along and there he remains for the whole of his life.

The male first attaches himself with his mouth, and gradually his lips and tongue become fused with the skin of the female, and he is nourished externally from her blood-stream.

He is sightless and without fishing-line or bait, and his only duty is to ensure the continuance of the species when the time comes for the eggs to be laid. This is the only case known of a male fish being attached to the female as a parasite.

The male settles anywhere on the female's body, and it is on record that as many as half-a-dozen males have been found attached to a single female, joined to her head, body and tail.

The only known deep-sea creature that does not use its illumination for the purpose of procuring food is a giant prawn—an inhabitant of the dark Pacific Ocean deeps—which uses its light to escape from enemies.

When attacked by, or in danger from, an enemy, the prawn shoots out from a series of glands clouds of substance which on touching the water bursts into a strong white light. This light so blinds the enemy that the prawn invariably is able to escape in the surrounding darkness.



LIFE AND WORK OF SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY

An Appreciation

By C. L. GHEEVALA

"ABLE, enterprising, restless and gifted with a creative mind, he laboured as unceasingly and enthusiastically for public causes as he did for private benefit and crowded into his comparatively short life a vast amount of work and achievements. As a constructive thinker and worker and a daring organiser, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey must be reckoned as one of the biggest Indians of his time."—M. VISVESVARAYA

It is in the fitness of things that we pay our humble tribute to Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, who played in the first two decades of our century an outstanding part, in the realms of commerce, industry and finance of our country. A man of vision, he was equally alive to the cause of social reform and more particularly to the importance of Female Education. His name shall ever remain associated with the cause of the emancipation of Indian Womanhood.

Born in 1873, by sheer dint of ability and application he made his way into public life. His nomination as a Justice of Peace in 1897 at the early age of 24, heralded the entry of a career in the public life at once full of promise and service to the public. Young Vithaldas was elected to the Corporation the following year, in 1898. He brought his sound instructive judgment and business acumen to bear upon the discussions of various problems, *viz.*, the municipalization of the Public Utility Service, like the Tramways, Housing Scheme and Road Improvement. In 1904, he was elected Chairman of the Standing Committee and soon rose to the distinction of the Presidentship of the Corporation in 1907. His activities were no longer confined only to the civic problems. As early as 1903 he was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council. During the years, he played an important role in the shaping of industrial and commercial policies. He worked hard to free the Cotton Textile Industry from the shackles of the high rate of exchange, cotton excise duty and the danger of Japan's competition.

As a mark of the recognition of his outstanding abilities and public service, the Government conferred on him the honour of Knighthood in 1908. Having worked on the Bombay Council for six years, he was elected

to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909. During his term of membership till 1913, as his biographer D.B. Prof. H. L. Kaji observes, "Sir Vithaldas came to be easily recognised as a stalwart especially in commercial and financial matters with regard to which there was hardly any one to beat him either on official or non-official side".

His speeches during the period make a remarkable contribution to the understanding of the economic problems of the day, revealing a mind which had not only a firm grip of the realities but also a prophetic insight into the future. He was one of the pioneers of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay and helped in the establishing of the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute and the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank. In recognition of his manifold services to the cause, the building has been named after him as the "Sir Vithaldas Thackersey Memorial Building."

This great industrialist, financier and legislator was also a great believer in education as the great solvent of the numerous problems with which our country is confronted. He was an ardent exponent of commercial education and took a very leading part in the establishment of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay. He was also alive to the larger problem of the spread of elementary education among the masses; nor was he oblivious of the all-important problem of Female Education. With a bold insight he declared in one of his speeches that

'Female Education is the foundation of all Social progress.'

It was such a distinguished and unique, personality with whom Prof. Karve, the great visionary educationist, had the good fortune to come in contact in 1917. Inspired and emboldened by the example of the Japan Women's University, Prof. Karve set to work out a suitable scheme for the Higher Education of Women in India. In spite of the heavy odds against him and being confronted with doubting reformists and educationists, Prof. Karve forged ahead, though humbly with the tenacity and zeal of a missionary. The University started its humble career in 1916 with a college

and a school affiliated to it. The University had meagre resources and ever felt hard-pressed for finances, necessary for the expansion of a big institution of the nature of a University.

It was at such a moment that there took place that 'happy fortuitous conjunction of the idealist in Prof. Karve and the realist in Sir Vitthaladas'. As early as 1917, Sir Vitthaladas evinced interest in the scheme of Prof. Karve and became one of its patrons. In 1919, Sir Vitthaladas and Lady Thackersey started on a world-tour. It was during their stay at Japan that he watched the working of the Japan Women's University with great interest. He thought of starting a similar institution in India, with a view to promote the advancement of Indian Womanhood, a cause noble and glorious in itself.

On his return, he set his heart to the working out of a scheme and made a princely donation of Rs. 15 lakhs, in 1920, one of the biggest endowments offered for Female Education in India. The University has been named after his talented and illustrious mother, "The Shreemati Nathibai Damodardas Thackersey Indian Women's University." He took keen and lively interest in the progress and expansion of the University till 1922, during which year he died a premature death on August 12th.

The University has for its basic principles, the recognition of the mother-tongue as the most effective and natural medium of instruction and the acceptance of a wider and more comprehensive scheme of education providing freer and more liberal scope to the personality of woman.

Till 1932, the University made a steady progress in the direction of starting and affiliating colleges and schools at various centres. In 1931, through the exertions of Sir Chunilal

V. Mehta, the then Chancellor, and Lady Thackersey a college was started in Bombay with Mr. H. G. Anjaria as its Honorary Principal. A crisis developed in the history of the University in 1932; the period till 1935 was a period of great financial distress. But fortunately for the University our Chancellor, Mr. S. S. Patkar, Ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court, by his tact, resourcefulness and strenuous effort succeeded in effecting a compromise and the crisis was overcome. The University being placed in the hands of such an efficient pilot has made rapid progress in all directions since then.

The University has now its headquarters at Bombay, housing both the University office and the College in an admirable quiet locality. Besides the two colleges and the two schools directly run by the University, the number of affiliated colleges and schools at various centres has been steadily increasing; the remarkable increase in the number of students both at the schools and colleges is a testimony to the growing recognition of the utility of the institution to the public. The university now aspires, and quite legitimately to secure Government recognition. I am confident that the present Government will do its best to put the coping stone to the great monumental institution which owes so much to Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey. It is a matter of supreme pride to us that Lady Premila V. Thackersey has been taking a keen and lively interest in our work and has been so nobly devoting herself to furthering the cause, so dear to the heart of Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey.

Let us also dedicate ourselves to the great cause of Indian Womanhood in a spirit of service and humility and in that measure alone we can rightly pay our tribute to the memory of the great merchant-prince Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey.



CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES

By VIKRAM JEET SINGH, M.A.

ONE of the most arduous questions which have hitherto baffled statemanship in India is the eradication of Corruption from among public services. The existence of the evil has never been denied by Government and the practice of illegal gratification has been unequivocally condemned by officials and non-officials alike once and again. The superior services, generally speaking, are above such malpractices and the evil is confined mostly to subordinate ranks. It is, however, true that Corruption like the evil of drink has defied all remedies hitherto applied towards its removal. New brooms, they say, sweep well and it has fallen to the new ministries in the provinces to continue the process of cleaning up till the vermin of Corruption is completely eradicated.

The tiller of the soil is fleeced right and left by a number of half-parasites and above these there are a host of public servants who do not hesitate in shearing the shorn lamb. As Sir Malcolm Hailey (now Lord) when he was Governor of the Punjab observed in one of his speeches:

"The value of the Government depends not only on its good intentions and the goodness of its policy, but on its reputation amongst the people and its reputation depends largely on the work of the subordinates."

Thus the importance of removing the unjust burdens that weigh upon the cultivator cannot be exaggerated.

FORMS AND THE EXTENT OF CORRUPTION

Corruption exists in nearly all departments of Government and even the beneficent departments as the Public Health, Medical, Education are not said to be immune from it. Bribes have been offered to vaccinators by simple folk in the rural areas to let them off from being vaccinated. The trouble in the provinces, however, is mostly confined to P. W. D., Police, Excise, Jails, Forests and Judiciary. It is comparatively more rampant in the local bodies and the more curious reader is referred to Mr. Dobson's report on the affairs of Lahore Municipality.

The acceptance of bribery may be in cash or in kind. It may take the shape of unjust levy of supplies, i.e., faggots and corn by tour-

ing officials and their subordinates whose visits have been humorously compared to the "revolving of the planets and their satellites." It may again be in the form of gifts on the birth of a child or on wedding occasions. Or it may be a case of extortion on a threat of punishment or an adverse judgment. But what is generally prevalent among the subordinate ranks, especially clerks and chaprasis, is the practice of accepting a trifling sum often voluntarily paid to expedite work. It is the former kind of malpractice that needs a strong remedy inasmuch as it often results in serious miscarriage of justice. The latter kind of things though equally condemnable and yet less burdensome is more or less carried on in all spheres of life and Government have rightly maintained that it is almost impossible to eradicate it as long as human nature remains what it is. But the Punjab Government, nevertheless, have always deprecated in strong terms even such innocent practice as the acceptance of *dalis*, i.e., fruits and flowers. The policy dates back to the times when Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and it was reiterated by Sir John Maynard, the then Finance Member in the Punjab Legislative Council, in 1926.

CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

It cannot be denied that these malpractices are rooted in the past and have become a part of the character of the bribe-giver and bribe-taker alike. Such terms as *Salaami*, *Nazar*, *Dastur* are well-known to anybody having even a nodding acquaintance with the ways of litigant masses.

There is little truth in the assertion again, except here and there, that bribery exists because of low salaries of public services. It may be observed that salaries were raised to a scale ranging from 41 per cent to 123.4 per cent in the Punjab just before and after the introduction of the Montford Reforms. They were also raised at the Centre and in other provinces at about the same time. The public services enjoying fixed incomes more or less were gainers during the period of economic depression. It is possible to imagine a general increase in salaries of public servants on a large scale, but that in

itself cannot by any means guarantee clean public service. It is more a question of high and low ideals of life, one's family tradition, the way the society looks at the question of giving and accepting bribes, the fear of action by the State and the promotion or encouragement a public servant is likely to get by remaining thoroughly above-board.

But the question naturally arises who is really to be blamed for the existing state of affairs—the bribe-taker or the bribe-giver? It is a controversial question and it is not easy to lay the blame on one class as a whole. But the fact remains that bribe-givers are not organised to resist the inroads of bribe-takers. As contrasted with this the members of an office have been likened to "a close corporation who do not want one of their members to suffer." Nor can it be denied that it is easier to reform a few thousand public servants in one province than to carry the gospel of No-offering-of-temptation to every home.

The bribe-giver knows that unless he greases the palm of an officer, subordinate or otherwise, the result is likely to be a turning down of the scales, wrongful confinement, loss of *izzat* or at least an extraordinary delay in the procedure of his case. Thus placed he is tempted to offer bribes to straighten out things for himself. The bribe-taker on the other hand, knows that his relatives and friends similarly placed accepted bribes, built beautiful houses, bungalows and orchards with the tainted money. He knows too that they went scot-free. Thus circumstanced, it is no wonder that even a harmless "hare develops a dog or shark's sharp teeth." The attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the majority of superior officers worsens matters. It makes it easier for his subordinates to follow the sinful path. The saying goes, when you are in Rome do as the Romans do. It is virtually a case of a blind leader leading a platoon of blind followers and naturally they slip into the same ditch flowing with the turbid waters of Corruption. The Punjab Committee on Corruption which sat in 1922 under the chairmanship of Mr. C. M. King attributed this state of affairs either to negligence or over-work on the part of the superior officers.

But the society must come in for its due share of blame for this sad state of things. Both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, in general, are true representatives of the society and to impeach them would amount to the impeachment of the whole nation. Isn't it true that society does not look down upon them even if they are hauled up before a court of justice?

Neither of them are thrown out by society, nor left to suffer silently for their sins. More often than not we are faced with the spectacle of influential local personages moving heaven and earth to save the offender in the blessed name of mercy. The offering and acceptance of bribes is considered a spirit of give and take by both parties.

Still another reason for the existing malpractices is the lack of sufficient contact between the rulers and the ruled. We learn that in the days of yore royal personages went incognito and mixed up with their subjects freely to find out their grievances. The Deputy Commissioner wielded unlimited power in his district. But he often typefies a strong silent man and has little time to tour on horse back. It is generally true that what little touring the superior officials do is in a car rushing at a great speed and the tendency is to return to headquarters in the evening to play tennis and bridge and be with their wives and children. That there was truth in the statement was frankly admitted by His Excellency Sir Henry Craik in one of his speeches in the old Punjab Legislative Council.

Lastly, whereas Government rewards honest public service in its own haphazard and slow way the reward is not sufficient to stimulate clean practices amongst Government servants. The belief is gaining ground that nothing is gained from hard work and nothing is attained by practising honesty except ridicule. There is undoubtedly exaggeration in this belief but nobody I believe, could say that it is altogether a wrong statement in practice.

It remains to be seen then what steps have Government taken to prevent these malpractices and to penalise offenders. An official or a subordinate notorious for his malpractices or one found to be corrupt is sometimes transferred from one place to another. Such half-hearted measures defeat their very purpose. The incumbent like the field mouse having cut the standing crop in one field shifts to the adjoining field.

The first step that was taken by the Provincial Governments was issuing circulars to all departments containing instructions that endeavour should be made to reduce opportunities of corrupt practices and inflict exemplary punishments on the offenders. We have it on the authority of the United Provinces Committee on Corruption, the report of which was recently published, that these circulars met with little response. Posters were pasted on the walls of Government buildings,

serais, patwarkhanas, village chaupals and other places of public resort as far back as 1917 in the Punjab. Declaration to the same effect was made in a public proclamation read out in Durbars in August 1921 and printed copies in English, Urdu, Gurmukhi and Hindi were distributed amongst the public. What has been done since then in regard to the publicity of Government's feelings on the question? The great London Professor Ivor Jennings describes in one of his writings the steps taken by British Government in England to stamp out corruption from among public servants. He has stressed three remedies, *i.e.*, publicity, strong measures and more democracy. The first two of these remedies can well be applied with advantage in our own country, but more doses of democracy under the present slow progress of education will, I doubt, be of much benefit.

Historic occasions as the inauguration of the provincial autonomy, the accession of His Majesty King George VI and again the Vice-regal Durbar at Lahore could have been utilised to express once again the desire of the Government to stamp out corruption. Such a pronouncement should have had a salutary effect on the minds of offenders and would have created an impression on the minds of people that Government is alive to its responsibility in this respect. The question may be asked: Is not the eradication of corruption a beneficent activity? At least the poor cultivator feels much more keenly on this question than on many other less important topics, since it touches his pocket that has many holes. It was observed on behalf of the Punjab Government a few years ago that Government gave the greatest publicity of its intentions inasmuch as it welcomed debates on this question. But it may be asked again: Is it adequate publicity? The poor zamindar, illiterate as he is, does not read these debates and it cannot be maintained that even all the subordinates and superior officers of the Government have the inclination or the time to do so. Again how many of the elected members of the Assembly go back to their constituencies to tell the electorate all that is discussed on the floors of the Council Chamber? It is useless to depend as in the past, on an automatic growth of healthy public opinion for the solution of this problem. It is idle to wait on the progress of education to create these conditions. The services of the Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction and his staff in the provinces could be made use of on every festival, fair and other large gatherings in the rural areas to let the wishes of the Government known

to the public. Posters printed in vernaculars should be distributed frequently, announcing the action taken against corrupt officials and subordinates during a year. Thus the zamindar would be enabled to appreciate the action taken by the Government. He will take heart to approach superior officers to redress his wrongs. It cannot be too far stressed that Government should take the initiative in the formation of a healthy public opinion against corruption and then only look for a most hearty and complete co-operation of the public. The machinery of panchayats and rural community councils can be also utilised in the crusade against corruption.

LESSENING OF OPPORTUNITIES

Officers should pay surprise visits more frequently than heretofore. It is equally important that the Heads of Departments should emphasise on their subordinates a punctual return and a good standard of work. This would certainly minimise opportunities for accepting bribes on the threat of delaying procedure. The members of the bar should not employ as far as possible munshis who function as intermediaries between clients and clerks. Again the munshis should be required to furnish receipt of every pie to the client, spent on the latter's behalf.

AGENCY TO DETECT CORRUPTION

The general misunderstanding prevails in the minds of the public that it is the duty of the police to detect cases of corruption. The Punjab Government declared years ago that they were "unwilling to contemplate a system of espionage which would be destructive of the morale and prestige of the services and would create an atmosphere of fear and distrust." Thus there is at present no regular agency functioning to detect corruption and serve as a channel between the aggrieved parties and the Government in most of the provinces. The United Provinces Committee on Corruption recommended the formation of district Corruption Committees consisting of officials and non-officials. But the Punjab Committee on Corruption which sat in 1921, was divided on the point of constitution of district advisory committees on similar lines. The Punjab Government too, have never been convinced of the utility of organising such committees mainly for two reasons. Firstly, these committees unless they include representatives of nearly all classes of people of a certain district cannot be termed as fairly representative bodies and many

cases of corruption to be referred to a committee so constituted are likely to remain undetected. Another inherent weakness in the system is that their establishment is an antithesis in practice of the desire of the Government to promote direct contact between officials and the public. Moreover as observed by Sir John Maynard in 1926:

"Who can say in this somewhat unsatisfactory world that when you have established a committee of that kind, that some of its members will not abuse their influence or their reputation for influence with the authorities."

The danger is of course inherent in all kinds of honorary public services and the doubts expressed by Sir John Maynard twelve years ago are justified in the light of past experience. The best course under the circumstances, would be to appoint a special whole-time experienced officer, social and sociable and enjoying clean reputation, in each district. The heads of different departments should devote at least an hour on each Saturday to hear complaints about corruption. Petition boxes should be hung at convenient places in the corridor of each office to facilitate matters. The special officer should keep himself in touch with all officers in his district as well as mix freely with the people. He shall also act as a co-ordinating authority between rural community councils, Panchayats, bar associations in his district on the one hand and the Civil Secretariat on the other. It now remains to decide whether there should be a full-time Government Officer in the Civil Secretariat also to co-ordinate further the work of the special officers in the districts. The U. P. Committee has recommended the creation of a Central Department assisted by a sufficiently large staff for this purpose. The latter suggestion it is apparent would make the whole scheme rather an expensive one and in the interest of economy the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Government may well be entrusted with this work.

DEPARTMENTAL ENQUIRIES

The Government always insist on a fair and just trial of its employees as regards the charge

of accepting illegal gratification. But experience tells us that it is a very difficult task to procure sufficient evidence to bring the offenders to book. Such a position is inevitable as long as we have the principle of jurisprudence and the Evidence Act on the Statute Book and no blame rests on Provincial Governments on this account. The only remedy is to have a more frequent recourse to departmental enquiry in camera.

PREMIUM ON HONEST SERVICE

The absence of a definite and direct encouragement to honest public service has stood as a great obstacle in purging Government departments of malpractices. A consistent record of honest public service should be rewarded not only by award of paper certificates but also by promotion, the award of titles, land and jagirs. The U. P. Committee has recommended the award of annual integrity certificates to all classes and grades of Government servants who receive a monthly pay of thirty rupees or more. Further they have said that no Government servant should be allowed to cross an efficiency bar unless he has a clean record for integrity. These are excellent suggestions and deserve consideration at the hands of the Provincial Governments. There has been a great improvement in the selection of officers, still there is room for improvement in the recruitment of subordinates to ensure a better type of incumbent than recruited heretofore.

Superior Officers should be instructed to shake off their repellent reserve and the subordinate ranks should be more courteous in their dealings with the public. The need for a greater degree of accessibility of the superior officers to the people has been recognized in the past. Thus it will be seen that the task before the Government in stamping out corruption is a manifold one and there is no short road to progress. Attention should be focussed on building a tradition of incorruptible public service. The solution of this problem is closely bound up with public welfare and no effort will be too great to achieve this end.



MUSIC AND EDUCATION

BY J. M. DESOUZA, B.A., L.T.C.L., S.T.C.

For an adequate treatment of the subject in hand, we need, in the first place, a well considered, clear and definite statement as regards the aim of education. We shall then see how musical study can be used as a means of realizing that aim. We all are aware of the hue and cry that is now being raised in this country against the present system of education which is held to be old and unpractical. We also know that a new and more practical system is now on the anvil. For a really reliable and up-to-date utterance of the aim of education, therefore, we can do no better than turn to the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier of Bombay, who the other day in a terse but meaningful statement observed :

1. That the aim of education was to develop *personality* and *character*, *mind* and *body*, *emotion* and *will*, according to the individual's potentiality.

2. That the aim of reconstructing the educative system was to create in the pupil a *wider outlook on life*.

3. And that the new social order to be evolved should be based on *co-operation* and not competition as the principle of life.

We shall now see how the study of music can and does yield the results expressed or implied in the statement of Mr. Kher we have just quoted.

Without any exaggeration it may be asserted that there is no better builder of personality than music. What is personality if not the sum and substance of one's individuality? And what is musical education if not one sincere and sustained effort to help the pupil to express himself—to exhibit his interpretative skill, his personality? The real task of a music teacher does not lie in governing the pupil but in helping him to *govern himself*. With this ideal in view, the teacher starts from the *pupil's point of view* and then proceeds, by dint of the warmth of instruction and encouragement, in his endeavour to unfold, develop and expand all the best points in the student entrusted to his care.

In character formation too the influence of music is inestimably great. In the words of Robert Schumann, "the laws of morals are the

laws of art." Music is the language of the soul and cannot but stir the noblest and sublimest in human breast. There is no doubt that ethical and cultural activities will yield the highest results only when backed and boned by the giant inspirational force of music. According to Plutarch's analysis of the Greek conception of musical education, whoever be he that shall give his mind to the study of music in his youth, if he meet with the musical education proper for the forming and regulating of his inclinations, he will be sure to applaud and embrace that which is noble and generous, and to rebuke and blame the contrary, as well in other things as in what belongs to music. Cervantes, the immortal author, was emphatically of the opinion that where there is music there is no mischief; and Sydney Smith, a never forgotten British wit, when seventy-three years of age remarked : "If I were to begin life again, I would devote it to music. It is the only cheap and *unpunished rapture* on earth."

That music provides ample food for the development of mind need not be doubted. Music is as profound as Philosophy and as intricate as Mathematics. The musician needs the feeling and imagination of a poet, the skill and imagery of an artist, the grasp and subtlety of a critic, the precision of a scientist, the accuracy of a mathematician, and should we not say, the energy of a giant?

In the domain of physical development, the training of the eye, ear and hand, the supreme value of music must be admitted. In the course of musical training, a co-operation and co-ordination of these organs is secured in a most astonishing manner with the result that they are led on to assimilate many things at once in perfect harmony and with utmost ease and exactness.

With regard to the proper development and guidance of emotion, we may state on the authority of Maxwell Hess that there is no other force which can socialize, energize and guide the emotions of masses, from childhood to maturity, like good music.

As for the training of the will, it is enough to say that musical study from the very start

carries with it the clarion call of the message of "Work!" In music as in everything else, the greatest of wonders have been done by those who worked the hardest. Dogged tenacity of purpose, patience and conscious perseverance, are ceaseless demands on the constitution of a musician.

In broadening the outlook on life, music goes a long way. Music is a universal language—all that of heaven we have on earth, a common platform for all the nations of the world. It is the only weapon that will break down the colossal barriers of colour, caste and creed, and unite the world into one Universal Brotherhood.

If we must educate the individual according to his potentiality, there is no reason why we should allow those of our pupils who are particularly musical to die with all the music in them. When all is said, we cannot but assert that a sound system of education must prepare one for the right use of leisure. And in this respect too we cannot find a better recommendation than music, for the art of music has the power of snatching away an idle hour from the hands of the devil and changing it into a period of healthy pursuit, a moment of joy. Good music, more than good literature, will "elevate us into a region of disinterested thought where personal objects fade into insignificance and the troubles and anxieties of life are almost forgotten."

As regards the inculcation of the principle of co-operation, what will accomplish the task better than a "Practice Ensemble," an "Operatic Society" or a "Symphony Orchestra" where personal factors are placed in the shade and one works for all and all work for one? All the other arts, as a writer has put it, are lonely. We paint alone. My picture. My interpretation of the sky. My poem. My novel. But in ensemble music—we share.

It must not be supposed, however, that musical training is necessarily a preparation for a musical career. The chief aim of musical education is not to make the child a musician but to make him musical. In the words of Paderewski, the world-famous pianist, music should be studied for itself without any great aim in view, except in the cases of marvellously gifted children. Moreover, musical accomplishments do not debar a person from taking to any other profession of his choice. One can well be a doctor, a lawyer or a salesman, and at the same time be a first class vocalist or instrumentalist. Many of the most distinguished exponents of Indian music have been men be-

longing to other professions. Premier Paderewski of Poland whom we have just quoted, is one of the greatest pianists of all time. Benito Mussolini, the present dictator of Italy, Eduard Herriot, former Premier of France, and many other distinguished statesmen of the world have had musical training. Leopold Prince, the founder and conductor of the "City Amateur Symphony Orchestra" of New York is a judge by profession. And the performers under his baton who delight as far as twenty thousand music lovers per night include a doctor, a dentist, a barber, a butcher, clerks, salesmen and store employees.

Ancient Greeks as well as the teachers of ancient India had realized the supreme importance of music and had given it a place in elementary education. The Greeks held that life itself was a work of art and that harmony was essential to make man harmonious and rhythm to make him rhythmical. It was their solemn belief that gentleness, grace, elegance and harmony were among the greatest benefits to be derived from the study of music. Plato, for instance, remarks that musical training is a more portent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace and making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful.

Music today occupies a foremost place in the leading universities and schools of Europe and America. Besides the provision made for the pursuit of musical study in schools and colleges, they have special institutions known as "Academies" or "Conservatoires" whose sole function is to impart regular and systematic training in all the branches of the science and art of music. In India, strange to say, music has not yet received the welcome it deserves. It is lamentable indeed that only a couple of years ago a responsible body of eminent men brushed aside music as "unworthy of academical pursuit." Right enough, music has so far remained conspicuous by its absence in our educational system. Perhaps the only school of Indian music is the Morris College of Music, Lucknow. And isn't the Calcutta School of Music the first and the last that has taught European music in India?

The reason for this indifference is not far to seek. "To music," says a Philosopher, "we must remain inattentive altogether or become altogether enslaved." So far therefore we have remained inattentive. The "psychological moment," however, seems to have come when

we can no longer ignore the claims of music. The Universities of Calcutta and Madras have already extended their patronage to music. And we are happy to learn that the Academic Council of the University of Bombay has appointed a committee to draw up courses for Indian and European music right from the Matriculation up to the Degree examination.

This praiseworthy step of the Bombay University ought to dispell from our mind any fear we might have had of the supposed antagonism between Indian and European music. After all they are not two different arts but two systems of one and the same art. Eastern or western, it is music after all, and nothing is so degrading as to import the monstrous elements of prejudice and antagonism in its blissful domain. Indian and European music are like the lotus and the lily; and while we admire the loveliness and tenderness of the one, we must not forget the stateliness and the magnificence of the other. According to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore:—The world by day is like European music: a flowing concourse of vast harmony composed of concord and discord and many

disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music, one pure, deep and tender Raga. They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the very root, nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and the infinite. Music is universal in its appeal, and it may truly be said in regard to it that

East is West, and West is East
And *ever* the twains shall meet.

It is right and proper to conclude with the hope that our country will soon be "strewn with first grade musical institutions supported by the state," that the masses will henceforward be educated from a very high standpoint, and that music in immediate future will be an integral part of the curricula of every school and university in India. For, music is the *utterance and expression of the soul* no race can live without, and

"Our race goes bravely forward,
Head erect, and clean and strong,
In the fellowship of music
And the brotherhood of song."

LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA

By PROFESSOR H. D. MOOKERJEE

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THE struggle between capital and labour in India is of recent origin. In western countries the labourer had to fight hard against the capitalist to be in a position to enjoy the benefits of his own labour. However that may be, there is no denying the truth that the capitalist has for a long time utilised the labourer as a means of producing commodities at a cheap rate and placing the same in the market at a high rate, thereby earning a good return from his investment. We do not grudge him for his enormous profits. He is perfectly entitled to the gains but unfortunately he has not paid as much attention to the bare needs of the worker. The condition under which the latter has to live is very often pitiable. Under years of subjection a consciousness grew in the worker of his potent contribution to the employer. When he saw before his very eyes his employer enjoying all the privileges accruing from his honest and prolonged efforts, his mind

naturally revolted against him. This mental unrest gradually spread from worker to worker until they learnt to combine in a body and place there joint grievances to their employer. The latter being givers of job, naturally felt arrogant and would not easily concede the workman's demands.

I am of the opinion that a little humanitarian and philosophic touch in the employer could have avoided many of the ills that have resulted from labour troubles. But that is not to be found in the world such as it is. Of course, there are sympathetic employers but their number is few and far between. Turning our attention to the immediate problem we find in the industrial world the growth of trade unions, workers league, etc., in order to put in forceful fight against the Employers Associations and to safeguard their own interests. The continued discontent of the workers result in the adoption of coercive

measures affecting the normal and peaceful activities of the loyal workers and compelling the Government to appear in the field to restore normal working conditions and to prevent further troubles. So we find how the social structure is seriously affected by labour lockouts, strikes, etc. In all western countries both the capitalist and the Government have realized the strength of the labour force and all trade disputes are now referred to conciliation or Arbitration Boards, Wage Fixation Boards, etc. Also a Labour Commissioner is appointed to settle minor disputes. The labourer wants to have more share in the profit of the capitalist and if this is willingly conceded so much the better, if not organized strike is resorted to and the whole organization is brought to a standstill. I can easily appreciate the endeavour of the worker to secure his minimum and more urgent needs by peaceful methods but to adopt means that produce unpleasant situation at the instigation of interested persons is certainly not desirable. During the last two decades the worker has gained his points to an extent which has made him more optimistic and also realise his own status in the industrial organization. The employer has also understood the importance of the worker who is treated in a much better way. In all leading industries more care is devoted to the housing, welfare, education and sanitation work of the labourer and to other details so as to attract him to the industries and to make him as much happy as he is entitled to. But even after achieving all these benefits, if he is not satisfied he will be a source of constant mischief harassing both his employer and his fellow-workers who may be deprived of their legitimate wages and bring ruin on themselves. I should call him to halt and not to proceed further because that would ultimately affect the peace of the society.

The labour unrest in India became more pronounced probably after the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Although the Commission has taken good care to appraise the work done for labour in some industrial spheres, in the vast majority of cases fault has been deplorably found with the management for its apathy towards the working class. Strong recommendations have been made for ameliorating the conditions of labourers in India. But unfortunately these recommendations were not given effect to by the management in the true spirit and as a result we find that the major

industries e.g., the textile industry, the jute industry, iron and steel industry, mining industry and tea industry have been affected one after the other. Other concerns like electric supply corporations, Dockyards, etc., have also experienced similar troubles at times. The labour unrest had usually its origin in those industries where exploitation has been maximum. I think that the subsequent unrest in other industries has been more or less sympathetic. Where the labourer was successful in achieving his ends in one industry, those working in others naturally reciprocated their feelings to their employers and when they were repulsed, a tense situation was evident. Triumphs of the labourer in one industry have naturally emboldened those in others and in this way the whole of industrial India is today affected by labour troubles. If the problem is approached in a peaceful and legitimate manner more tangible gains can be achieved than if intimidation and mischievous methods are resorted to. Of course in many cases the employers have not implemented the recommendations mutually arrived at between the representatives of labourers and employers. The present deadlock at Hirapur Iron and Steel Works and Mosabani Copper Mines is due to this cause. However the matter has now been referred to a Conciliation Board appointed by the Government and let us hope for a permanent settlement of the dispute. But in the case of those companies which have always sympathetically dealt with the workers, there should not be any question of strike. For instance, Messrs. Tata Steel & Iron Co. have been paying a bonus equivalent to 2½ months' salary to all employees and yet there was a threat of a strike which the company very wisely avoided by increasing the bonus from 2½ months' salary to 3 months' salary. Labourers can expect such gains only when the companies make huge profits but in the business cycle there is boom and depression. The labourer can not therefore under the circumstances hold fast to their dogmas for long. On the other hand, the capitalist who has put his vast wealth at stake has to safeguard it against periods of depression and so even when there is good profit he has to set aside a fair amount to form a reserve and to meet depreciation charges. Therefore the relation between the capitalist and the labourer can be promoted only on a profit sharing basis. If the employer makes a profit in any particular year, the labourer will have a certain percentage to his credit. But when the former has to run

the show at a loss, certainly the latter can not claim any gains. For the same reason the question of fixation of minimum wage for the labourer cannot be entertained because the profit in any particular year can not be guaranteed unless the Government wants that the public be taxed by higher prices of

commodities for the immediate benefit of the labourer. India is on the threshold of vast industrial development and it is highly desirable that cordial relations between the employer and the employed be maintained. A little give and take policy on either side will go a long way to achieve this end.

NEW INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN IN CHINA AT WAR

FROM CHINA INFORMATION COMMITTEE, HANKOW

WOMEN's place in China at war is in the rear. As able-bodied men are drafted and sent to the battlefields, their wives and sisters stay behind to keep production going. That, in effect, is the slogan of the Productive Affairs Department of the Women's Guidance Committee of the New Life Movement Association.

Guided by this slogan, this department confronts the stupendous task of providing work for thousands upon thousands. Women, driven to strange parts by war and stranded there, are found in multitudes everywhere throughout the vast country. They are for a long time fed and sheltered in refugee camps, but they must be given work as a basic solution of their problem of livelihood.

Work they shall all have, if the ambitious new industrial programme for women mapped out by Miss Yu Ching-tang, head of the department, following consultation with Madame Chiang Kai-shek, directress of the Women's Guidance Committee, should materialise. With many years' experience in promotion of industries among women in Kiangsi Province under the Women's Department of the New Life Movement Association, Miss Yu should find herself equal to the present task of carrying out this comprehensive industrial programme for women in China at war.

Humbly to begin with, she is now equipped with a 20-spindle spinning machine. In this miniature machine which is now displayed in her office in Hankow, she foresees the humming of light industries that would keep all available women busy in factory or at home throughout the rear of China's all-front resistance against Japanese aggression.

Such machines will be used in the first of

a network of experimental stations to be established in Chungking, in Szechuan, and other centres in the provinces of Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan and Kwangsi. Besides the cotton-spinning factory, other plants for making soldiers' sandals, raincoats and salty vegetables will be set up in the Chungking experimental station.

In these factories of handicrafts and light industries will the thousands upon thousands of women refugees throughout the country find work and, therefore, solution of their problem of livelihood. These industries, tested and proven successful in the factories, will soon find their way to the homes where women are still clinging to the age-old methods of spinning, weaving, sewing and stitching by the toil of their hands.

Co-operative societies which will spring into existence with the factories will extend the poor women in the homes financial aid to buy the necessary machines and raw material.

Their men away on the war front, women have also to work on the farm. So the Department also plans to establish experimental farms in various places to train the farmwives in improved methods of agriculture and supply them better seeds and modern implements.

All done, Chinese women, thanks to the Productive Affairs Department of the Women's Guidance Committee, will have fulfilled their mission in this country at war which is one of keeping the production in the rear at its full speed.

[The 20-spindle spinning machines used in China should be introduced in our country. too.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

MOUNT KAMET

Second Highest Peak in the Empire

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

'THE Himalaya must be approached humbly. Respect their beauty, their majesty, and their power, and they will treat you as you deserve: approach them ignorantly or in a spirit of bravado, and they will destroy you. Other mountains forgive mistakes, but not the Himalaya,' so says Mr. F. S. Smythe, the famous British climber who has explored the Himalaya as extensively as none else has probably done.

Mount Kamet, 25,447 feet, is situated at east longitude 79°35' and north latitude 30°55'

the hot-bed of mountaineers. Previous to Smythe's successful onslaught in 1931, Kamet had repulsed ten determined attempts by famous mountaineers. No other great Himalayan peak has received so much attention.

It was in 1848 that Richard Strachey determined trigonometrically for the first time the height and position of this peak. In the year 1855 the brothers Adolphe and Robert

Schlagintweit of the magnetic survey of India made resolute attempt to climb it from the Tibetan side. The highest camp of the party was pitched at 19,325 feet and from this they reached a height of 22,239 feet, after bivouacking continuously for ten days at altitudes over 17,000 feet. It was a remarkable feat as at that time many of the great Alpine peaks had not been climbed, and not for another nine years was this altitude surpassed.

In 1877 Kamet was again accurately fixed both for position and height by E. C. Ryall of the Survey of India.

No further attempt on Kamet was made until 1907, when Doctor T. G. Longstaff, Major

C. G. Bruce and Mr. A. L. Mumm first proceeded from Niti, taking with them the Italian guides Alexis and Henri Brocherel, six Gurkhas, and ten coolies, in the Dhauli valley up the Raikana Glacier. From there they turned off to the east along the course of a smaller glacier rising below the summit itself and reached a height of over 20,000 feet on the left side of the glacier. Further progress was found to be impossible; the Upper Kamet glacier lies in so narrow a gorge that it would be impossible to escape the ice avalanches that constantly fall into it. Reconnaissances were also made without success from the west up the Ghastoli and Khiam Glaciers, above Mana.



The East Surrey Regiment Kamet Expedition at Ranikhet prior to the start of the venture

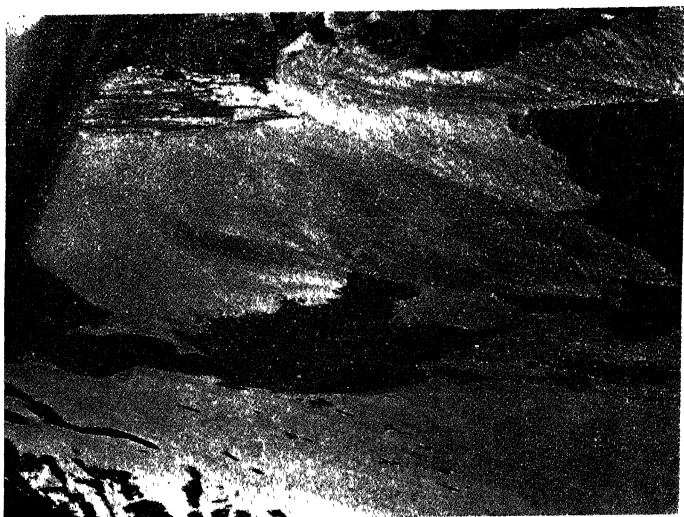
in the extreme north of British Garhwal, one mile south of the Tibetan border between the Mana and Niti passes. It is the second highest peak in the British Empire and is the highest mountain in a northern branch of the Himalaya called the Zaskar range and is the culminating point of the range that forms the water-parting between the Vishnuganga and the Dhauli river. It is the first of the seventy peaks of over 25,000 feet in height that has been conquered in 1931 by a strong party of climbers consisting of Mr. F. S. Smythe and his companions.

Kamet, as the crow flies, is about ninety miles from Ranikhet. Being a formidable peak in the Central Himalayas which dominates the ranges of Northern Garhwal, it has ever been

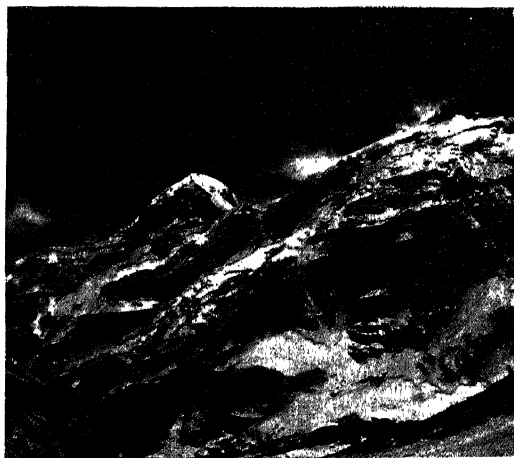
Captain A. Morris Slingsby accompanied by H. C. Crespigny made a determined attack in 1911 with eighty coolies, carrying stores for two and a half months, and climbed about 22,000 feet. He again returned to the attack in 1913 and a severe snow storm put an end to his climb at a height of over 23,000 feet. On both the occasions he had difficulty in persuading the local porters to accompany him at high altitudes.

In 1910 Mr. C. F. Meade, with the Italian guide Alex's Brocherel and the French guide Pierre Blanc, prospected the western side of Kamet; in 1912 Meade returned to the attack this time with four Alpine guides, Pierre Blanc, Franz Lochmatter, Justin Blanc and Jean Perrin, and struggled on to a height of over 23,000 feet. During July, he thoroughly explored the Raikana Glacier system to the east of Kamet and was convinced that the only solution of the problem of ascending Kamet was to traverse the East Kamet Glacier. In 1913 Meade proceeded with Pierre Blanc, established his base camp on the Raikana

Eastern Ibi Gamin but were unable to pitch a camp there. Retreat was imminent as they were beaten by the weather and the terrible snow conditions. Meade had accomplished great work; he had discovered the only practical route up Kamet. From his highest point he



Camp one (16,000 ft.)



The Mana Wall

Glacier and pitched its highest camp at about 22,000 feet, and reached the Col, 23,500 feet, now known as Meade's Col, between Kamet and

saw that no insuperable obstacle intervened between him and the summit.

After the Great War, Doctor A. M. Kellas and Colonel H. T. Morshead came to assault the mountain, and engaged twenty-one Yaks and forty porters and ascended to Meade's Col and pitched camp there with three Mana porters. From the Col, they pushed on for a short distance up the final slope of Kamet and attained an altitude of 23,600 feet but the coolies flatly refused to continue on the summit.

SUMMIT ATTAINED

The credit of successfully scaling the mountain, however, rested with the expedition of 1931 which consisted of six British members, namely, Shipton, Birnie, Greene, Ho'dsworth, Beauman with Mr. F. S. Smythe as their leader. The expedition managed with only seventy porters and these included ten men carrying cinematographic and photographic apparatus. The party followed the route taken up by Meade and established their base camp at an elevation of 15,500 feet on June 6. Camp one was established on East Kamet Glacier at 16,600 feet, Camp two at 18,600 feet, Camp three at 20,600 feet, Camp four at 22,000 feet and Camp

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR OCTOBER, 1938

five at 23,300 feet. On account of the unexpected physical fitness and acclimatisation, the party progressed wonderfully well on their onward march. Smythe, Shipton and Holdsworth with Sardar Lewa, the Sherpa porter,



Climbing to Camp four

climbed the summit on June 21 under most arduous conditions, which was not hitherto trodden by the foot of man; followed by Birnie, Greene and a Mana porter Keshar Singh. The first party left Camp five at 8 a.m. and arrived on the summit at 4-30 p.m.; eight and a half hours work for about 2,300 feet of ascent. The first 500 feet had been climbed in a little over an hour, the ascent of the last 1,500 feet had taken no less than 7½ hours. Snow conditions rather than altitude, had been responsible for this slow progress.

Describing the view from the summit, Mr. Smythe says:

'It is difficult to render any account of it. We were too far above the world. Our gaze passed almost contemptuously over mighty range upon mighty range . . . The breeze fanning us was dearily cold, the silence and sense of isolation almost terrible . . . Thousands of feet beneath curved the glacier flowing south-wards of Kamet, ribbed and girded with moraines like some monstrous dragon, crawling from one cloudy cavern to another. Our sole link with the world

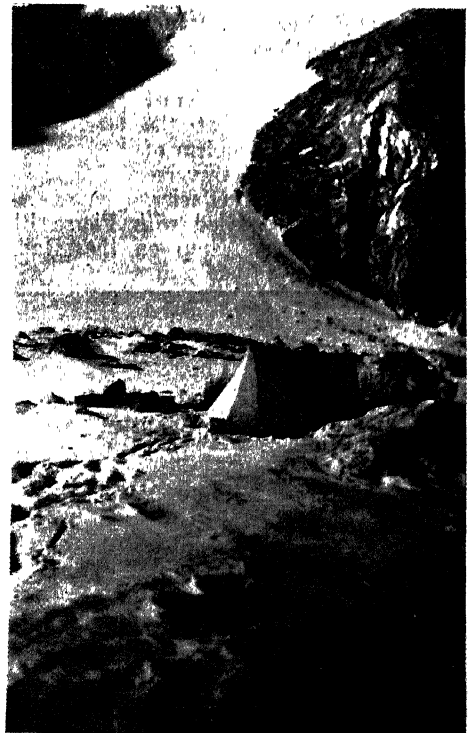
was the Camp we had left, now a mere blob on the snow of Meade's Col . . . Nanda Devi was buried in clouds and there was naught to challenge Kamet with the exception of Gurla Mandhata's massif, 110 miles away . . . Only in the north was relief to be found from a savage mountain world: there, barren hills, streaked untidily in snow, fell away into the golden plains of Tibetan plateau tessellated with blue cloud shadows . . . At our feet we could see the East Kamet glacier curving in a serene arc through its gorge of peaks.'

Adds Captain Brinie:

'To the north the vast brown plateaux of Tibet stood out in contrast to the snow clad peaks to the south, dominated by Nanda Devi. Far away to the north-west, a magnificent range of mountain-must surely have been the Karakoram, over 250 miles away.'

EAST SURREY'S VENTURE

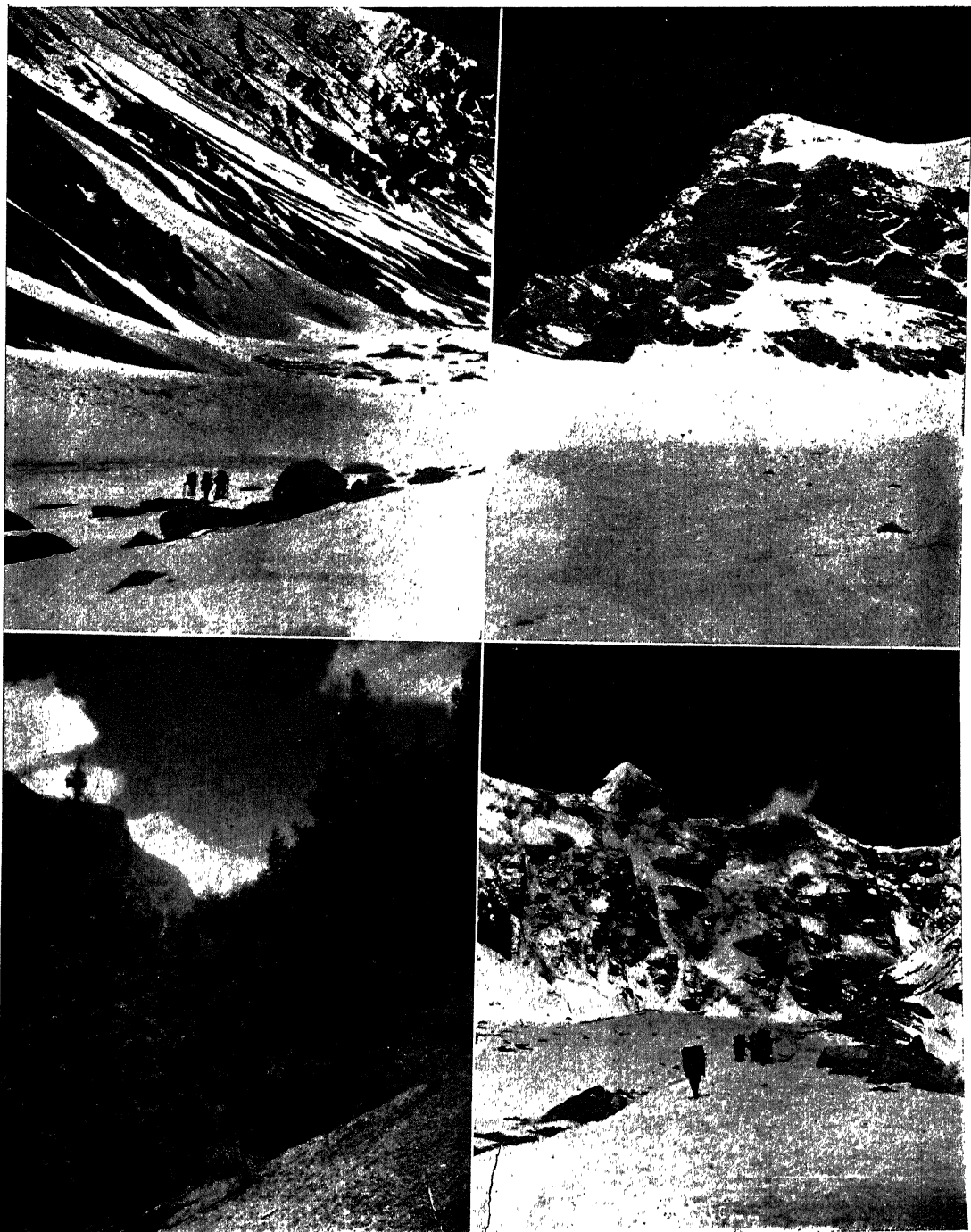
Last summer, a party consisting of Corporals R. Ridley, J. Williams, J. Bull, L. Hamilton, and Private S. Hillier of the 1st Battalion, East Surrey Regiment, set out to



Camp four (21,000 ft.)

attempt the ascent of Kamet. Blizzards, avalanches and a mistake in tactics compelled the party to return after reaching a height of 23,500 feet on the final slope of the summit but

MOUNT KAMET



Top : Left : Towards Camp one
 Bottom : Left : Subsidiary Valley of the Dhaul

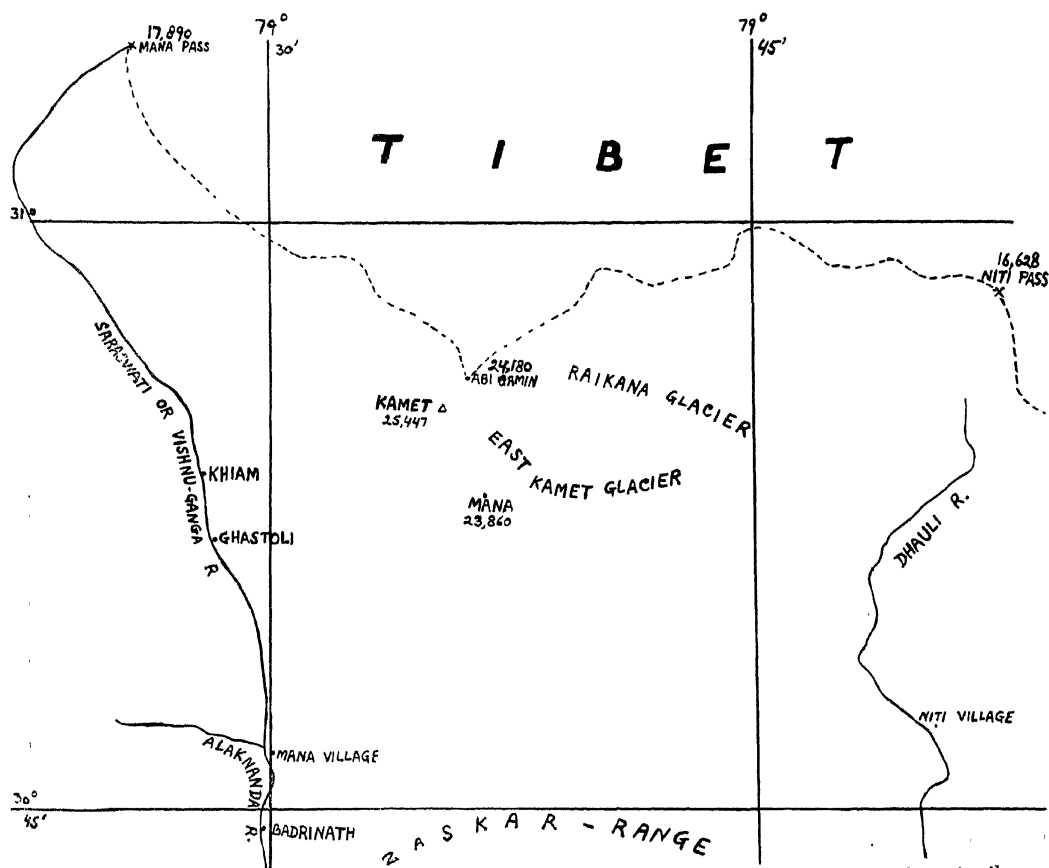
Right : Kamet from Camp four
 Right : On the East Kamet Glacier toward Camp three



Top : Base Camp in the midst of snow-clad peaks

Middle : The East Kamet Glacier from the Couloir above camp four

Bottom : South from Camp one



Scale 1 inch to 4 miles

it was a magnificent effort against heavy odds, and was unique in many respects.

The party decided to work without the aid of porters beyond the head of the East Kamet Glacier, and therefore they had to keep the weight of stores and other articles down to a minimum. Under such conditions, large supplies of food and fuel were not possible. The party in fact did not require such, for long besieging tactics were no part of their plan. The smallness of the party did not allow for any system of communication between the various camps. The party was reluctant to return from any point they had reached if there was a prolonged spell of bad weather or an illness among the party. One advantage of such a plan was the relay system of carrying kit and stores made necessary, which ensures proper acclimatisation at each stage of the climb.

In considering the equipment they were to use, the party were forced to act in accordance

with the limited funds at their disposal. The type of sleeping bags used consisted of two separate eiderdown-filled bags, with an outer covering of a light waterproof material. The total weight of each complete bed was only six and half pounds, a great advantage where weight must be reduced as much as possible. These bags gave every satisfaction throughout the trip. Practically all their warm clothing was service kit. The following articles were taken by each member of the party for use at high altitudes:—two Balaclava helmets, two flannel shirts, two cardigans, two pairs woollen underpants, three pair socks, one pair woollen gloves, one pair leather gloves and a light over-all of rain and windproof material. Climbing boots were made to their design by the Regimental Mochi; they were made large enough to allow for three pairs of socks. These boots were made of strong waterproof leather and lined with felt. On the heavy side they

gave excellent service and kept the feet warm the whole time. Ordinary sun glasses obtainable in any bazar were used for snow glasses, taking a reserve pair for each member



The brave porters used to head off
East Kamet Glacier

and the porters who also were provided with the necessary warm clothing and boots. The only tents used were the small army twenty-one pounders of which they took six. These tents



Above the Couloir and on the south slopes
leading to Meade's Col

can not be described as suitable for use at high altitude but as Meade's or similar pattern tents were not possible, they just had to make the best of things.



Niti Gorge beyond Niti on the way to the base

Beyond the Base Camp cooking was simplified and the high altitude ration to serve one man for one day consisted of Horlick's Malted Milk—4 ozs., chocolate—4 ozs., biscuits—8 ozs., tinned meats—4 ozs., Bovril—1 oz., sugar—3 ozs. The cooking utensils used beyond the Base Camp were two primus stoves, two aluminium cooking pots and enamel plates and mugs. Spoons were taken but no knives or forks. Arranging the menu in this manner meant cooking was reduced to merely heating water. As things turned out it was fortunate that the meals required such little preparation, for at times even this simple arrangement was very difficult to carry out.

BASE CAMP

Situated as Kamet is, on the Indian border, a march of nearly two hundred miles from Ranikhet brought them to the Base Camp which they established on the Raikana Glacier at a height of 15,000 feet. Beyond the Base Camp, two camps on the East Kamet Glacier and a further three higher camps were necessitated. It was also found necessary to establish

an additional camp on the East Kamet Glacier. Over the last four stages of the march to the base, kit and stores had to be carried in relays. The track had not been repaired after the ravages of the winter snow, and the party had to make a path for their porters themselves, by cutting steps by pick-axes to ensure proper footing.

Camp one was pitched at the junction of the Raikana and East Kamet Glaciers at a height of 16,000 feet. The distance from the base to this point was only about six miles, but the maze of moraine mounds covering the area made the journey very trying. The party carried heavy loads as they used only four porters.

The most hazardous part of the route has been between Camps two and four. Between



Climbers taking rest in the Pindar Valley during their march to the foothills



The climbers approaching Niti Gorge

Camps two and three, the party had to traverse a section of the East Kamet Glacier which was

more like a narrow trench. The snow was sodden and they sank down in it up to their wastes. The southern wall of the glacier rose above them in a ridge of peaks, ending in the Mana Peak (23,000 feet). From the precipitous sides, hanging glaciers of snow and ice, hundreds of feet thick, threatened them with destruction. It took them over seven hours to cover a distance of five miles.

Between Camps three and four, they had to ascend a gully of snow and ice for some three thousand feet. They were forced to kick and cut steps nearly the whole day. Above them they could hear ominous rumblings of sliding snow and ice, and as the gully was a natural chute for any avalanches that fell into it, it made this part of the route very dangerous. After some three hours toil, they safely reached the ledge at the head of the East Kamet Glacier at a height of 21,000 feet and pitched Camp four there.

For twelve days the party was encamped at 21,000 feet. Unaided by porters they moved their kit by a succession of relays across the great glaciers and precipices of this formidable peak.

A BRILLIANT FAILURE

Commenting on the result, Corporal Ridley states:

'Our failure to reach the summit must be attributed to a mistake in tactics. Those who are familiar with the topography of Kamet are aware that the crux of the climb is the ice precipice leading from the glacier

plateau above East Kamet to the snow slopes ascending to Meade's Col.

'Encamped at the foot of this precipice we made the mistake of attempting a route directly over its face in preference to a steep snow couloir on the right, for the risk of avalanches falling into the couloir from the vertical cliffs of East Ibi Gamin appeared great. Although we actually reached the top of the precipice we found it impossible to get the kit up to establish a camp.

'We now decided to risk the couloir. Our efforts on the ice wall had weakened us and instead of attempting the essential higher camp we decided to climb unloaded and reach as far as we could from our present position. Although the climb up the couloir was by no means easy the risk of avalanches did not appear as great as we anticipated.

'We reached our final point 23,500 feet at 4 P.M. and after taking photographs began to descend. Thus ended our attempt on Kamet. Naturally we feel disappointed at not reaching the summit and deeply regret our mistake in tactics. Excepting for two days when we experienced snow blizzards, the weather has been perfect. The modest equipment that we used, the non-employment of porters above the glacier camps and the fact that this was our first serious attempt at mountaineering combine to make the result a satisfactory one.'

To climb Kamet, or even to fail in the attempt is a glorious feat and a great adventure. It reflects nothing but credit upon the battalion

that its soldiers should have been encouraged to make this notable climb. The party spent three weeks beyond the Base Camp. The greatest height which the expedition reached was 23,500 feet on the last slope of the mountain above Meade's Col. The merits of the undertaking may be better appraised when it is considered that apart from Mr. Symthe's successful ascent in 1931 only one of the ten previous expeditions succeeded in reaching above the Col. The result must rank as an object lesson in what can be achieved by a very moderately equipped party with only limited means. The total expenses of the party came to a little over Rs. 2,000.

KAMET AGAIN

A party of East Surreys, under the leadership of Corporal Ridley, was coming to make another effort this year all the way from England by car but the latest intimation received in India indicates that the expedition was abandoned owing to lack of funds by the members at Home and leave not being obtainable for those in Palestine. So Kamet will repose in peace for a while!

CHINESE MOSLEM LEADER BACK FROM PUBLICITY TOUR ABROAD

FROM CHINA INFORMATION COMMITTEE, HANKOW

"ALL Mohammedan countries in the Near East support China and her righteous cause against Japan," declared Mr. Ta Pu-sheng, Mohammedan priest from Shanghai, when interviewed upon his arrival in Hankow from his recent publicity and lecture tour abroad.

The Moslem leader left Shanghai on his publicity tour immediately after the withdrawal of the Chinese forces from that sector. Before that, he had been most actively engaged in refugee relief work and in pushing the sales of the Liberty Bonds among his brethren-in-faith. On the pulpit in his mosque, he preached the righteousness of China's resistance, citing the Koran in which Mohammed, the Prophet, said, "Kill thy enemy that encroaches upon thy rights, and yield thou not one inch of thy territory."

Moved to action by Japan's false propaganda in foreign countries alleging that the Mohammedans in China are disloyal to the

Central Government and at loggerheads with the other sects of the Chinese race, Mr. Ta left Shanghai and travelled at his own expense on his self-imposed mission of revealing the true state of affairs in China.

He arrived in Egypt early in January. On very many occasions he had the opportunity of interpreting China's all-front resistance against Japanese aggression as one solidly backed up by all sects of the Chinese race. He attended the royal wedding ceremony on January 21 when he offered the Egyptian King his greetings on behalf of China.

Following the wedding, the King granted a special interview during which Mr. Ta explained in details the struggle of his fatherland against Japan's aggression.

"I was very cordially received during the interview, and my travel throughout Egypt and contacts with the people of that country in

general were very encouraging," Mr. Ta stated during the interview in Hankow.

The relations between China and Egypt, the Chinese Mohammedan leader added, have always been very cordial. In Egypt, he said, is the world's best Mohammedan institution of higher learning to which China sent her first group of Mohammedan students in 1931. Mohammedan students from China joining this institution have been increasing in numbers year after year.

During his lecture tour in Egypt, Mr. Ta distributed tens of thousands of copies of a circular letter entitled "An Admonition to Mohammedans All Over the World" which he had written in Arabic.

From Egypt, Mr. Ta proceeded to India

and Bombay. There he lectured in many centers and attended nine mass meetings. Mohammedan leaders in India promised to translate the circular letter into the Indian language for circulation with a view to intensifying the China-aid campaign which had been afoot at that time.

"Plans were started by various Moslem groups in India," Mr. Ta said, "to send a goodwill delegation to China."

At a recent reception given by various Mohammedan groups in Hankow, the Mohammedan priest was honoured for the well-wishes and assurances of sympathy and support of Mohammedan countries for China's righteous cause which he brought back from his patriotic tour.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Srimati Shakuntala Diwanjee of Allahabad, who is the first lady graduate of the Sathodara Nagar Caste, is a painter of merit

Srimati Prema Johari, M.A., L.T., Lady Principal of the Municipal Girls' School,



Srimati Shakuntala Diwanjee



Srimati Prema Johari

and has exhibited her paintings in different art exhibitions at Bombay and Madras. She is also an adept in dancing and music.

Bareilly, has been awarded by the Indian Women's Education Association, London, a scholarship to study abroad the methods of training.

NOGUCHI'S LETTERS TO TAGORE AND GANDHI AND TAGORE'S REPLY

Letter to Rabindranath Tagore

DEAR RABINDRANATH,

When I visited you at Santiniketan a few years ago, you were troubled with the Ethiopian question, and vehemently condemned Italy. Retiring into your guest chamber that night, I wondered whether you would say the same thing on Japan, if she were equally situated like Italy. I perfectly agreed with your opinion and admired your courage of speaking, when in Tokyo, 1916, you censured the westernization of Japan from a public platform. Not answering back to your words, the intellectual people of my country were conscious of its possible consequence, for, not only staying as unpleasant spectacle, the westernization had every chance for becoming anything awful.

But if you take the present war in China for the criminal outcome of Japan's surrender to the west, you are wrong, because, not being a slaughtering madness, it is, I believe, the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent, where the "principle of live-and-let-live," has to be realized. Believe me, it is the war of "Asia for Asia." With a crusader's determination and with a sense of sacrifice that belongs to a martyr, our young soldiers go to the front. Their minds are light and happy, because the war is not for conquest, but the correction of mistaken idea of China, I mean Kuomintang government, and for uplifting her simple but ignorant masses to better life and wisdom. Borrowing from other countries neither money nor blood, Japan is undertaking this tremendous work single-handed and alone. I do not know why we cannot be praised by your countrymen. But we are terribly blamed by them, as it seems, for our heroism and aim.

Not long ago the Chinese army defeated in Huntung province by Hwang-ho River had cut from desperate madness several places of the river bank; not keeping in check the advancing Japanese army, it only made thirty hundred thousand people drown in the flood and one hundred thousand village houses destroyed. Defending the welfare of its own kinsmen or killing them?—which is the object of the Chinese army, I wonder? It is strange that such an atrocious inhuman conduct ever known in the world history did not become in the west a target of condemnation. Oh where are your humanitarians who profess to be a guardian of humanity? Are they deaf and blind? Besides the Chinese soldiers, miserably paid and poorly clothed, are a habitual criminal of robbery, and then an everlasting menace to the honest hard-working people who cling to the ground. Therefore the Japanese soldiers are followed by them with the paper flags of the Rising Sun in their hands; to a soldiery work we have to add one more endeavour in the relief work of them. You can imagine how expensive is this war for Japan. Putting expenditure out of the question, we are determined to use up our last cent for the final victory that would ensure in the future a great peace of many hundred years.

I received the other day a letter from my western friend, denouncing the world that had gone to Hell. I replied him, saying: "Oh my friend, you should cover your ears, when a war bugle rings too wild. Shut your

eyes against a picture of your martial cousins becoming a fish salad! Be patient, my friend, for a war is only spasmodic matter that cannot last long, but will adjust one's condition better in the end. You are a coward if you are afraid of it. Nothing worthy will be done unless you pass through a severe trial. And the peace that follows after a war is most important." For this peace we Japanese are ready to exhaust our resources of money and blood.

Today we are called under the flag of "Service-making," each person of the country doing his own bit for the realization of idealism. There was no time as today in the whole history of Japan, when all the people, from the Emperor to a rag-picker in the street, consolidated together with one mind. And there is no more foolish supposition as that our financial bankruptcy is a thing settled if the war drags on. Since the best part of the Chinese continent is already with us in friendly terms, we are not fighting with the whole of China. Our enemy is only the Kuomintang government, a miserable puppet of the west. If Chiang Kai-shek wishes a long war, we are quite ready for it. Five years? Ten years? Twenty years?—as long as he desires my friend. Now one year has passed since the first bullet was exchanged between China and Japan; but with a fresh mind as if it sees that the war has just begun, we are now looking the event in the face. After the fall of Hankow, the Kuomintang government will retire to a remote place of her country; but until the western countries change this attitude towards China, we will keep up fighting with fists or wisdom.

The Japanese poverty is widely advertised in the west, though I do not know how it was started. Japan is poor beyond doubt,—well, according to the measure you wish to apply to. But I think that the Japanese poverty is a fabricated story as much as richness of China. There is no country in the world like Japan, where money is equally divided among the people. Supposing that we are poor, I will say that we are trained to stand the pain of poverty. Japan is very strong in adversity.

But you will be surprised to know that the postal saving of people comes up now to five thousand million yen; responding to the government's propagation of economy. For going on, surmounting every difficulty that the war brings in, we are saving every cent and even making good use of waste scraps. Since the war began, we grew spiritually strong and true ten times more than before. There is nothing hard to accomplish to a young man. Yes, Japan is the land of young men. According to nature's law, the old has to retire while the young advances. Behold, the sun is arising, he gone all the sickly bats and dirty vermins! Cursed be one's intrigue and empty pride that sin against nature's rule and justice!

China could very well avoid the war, of course, if Chiang Kai-shek was more sensible with insight. Listening to an irresponsible third party of the west a long way off, thinking too highly of his own strength, he turned at last his own country, as she is today, into a ruined desert to which fifty years would not be enough for recovery. He never happened to think for a moment

that the friendship of western countries was but a trick of their monetary interest itself in his country. And it is too late now for Chiang to reproach them for the faithlessness of their words of promise.

For a long time we had been watching with doubt at Chiang's programme, the consolidation of the country, because the Chinese history had no period when the country was unified in the real meaning, and the subjugation of various war-lords under his flag was nothing. Until all the people took an oath of co-operation with him, we thought, his programme was no more than a table talk. Being hasty and thoughtless, Chiang began to popularize the anti-Japanese movement among the students who were pigmy politicians in some meaning because he deemed it to be a method for the speedy realization of his programme; but he never thought that he was erring from the Oriental ethics that preached on one's friendship with the neighbours. Seeing that his propagation had too great effect on his young followers, he had no way, to keep in check their wild jingoism, and then finally made his country roll down along the slope of destruction. Chiang is a living example who sold his country to the west for nothing, and smeared his skin with the crime of westernization. Dear Rabindranath, what will you say about this Chiang Kai-shek?

Dear poet, today we have to turn our deaf ears towards a lesson of freedom that may come from America, because the people there already ceased to practice it. The ledger-book diplomacy of England is too well-known through the world. I am old enough to know from experience that no man is better than others, while our country being no more worse than others. Though I admit that Japan is today ruled by militarism, natural to the actual condition of the country, I am glad that enough freedom of speaking and acting is allowed to one like myself. Japan is fairly liberal in spite of the war time. So I can say without fear to be locked up that those service-crazy people are drunken, and that a thing in the world, great and true, because of its connection with the future, only comes from one who hates to be a common human unit, stepping aside so that he can unite himself with Eternity. I believe that such one who withdraws into a snail's shell for the quest of life's hopeful future, will be in the end a true patriot, worthy of his own nation. Therefore I am able not to disgrace the name of poet, and, to try to live up to the words of Browning who made the Grammarian exclaim: "Leave Now for dogs and apes! Man has Forever."

Yours very sincerely,
Yone Noguchi

41 Sakurayama, Nakano,
Tokyo, July 23, 1938

P.S.—Some days ago I presented you one copy of *The Ganges Calls Me* with remembrances old and new.

Rabindranath Tagore's Reply

"Uttarayan"
Santiniketan, Bengal,
September 1, 1938,

DEAR NOGUCHI,

I am profoundly surprised by the letter that you have written to me: neither its temper nor its contents harmonize with the spirit of Japan which I learnt to admire in your writings and came to love through my personal contacts with you. It is sad to think that the passion of collective militarism may on occasion helplessly overwhelm even the creative artists, that genuine intellectual power should be led to offer its dignity and truth to be sacrificed at the shrine of the dark gods of war.

You seem to agree with me in your condemnation of the massacre of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy—but you would reserve the murderous attack on Chinese millions for judgment under a different category.

But surely judgments are based on principle, and no amount of special pleading can change the fact that in launching a ravening war on Chinese humanity, with all the deadly methods learnt from the West, Japan is infringing every moral principle on which civilization is based. You claim that Japan's situation was unique, forgetting that military situations are always unique, and that pious war-lords, convinced of peculiarly individual justification for their atrocities have never failed to arrange for special alliances with divinity for annihilation and torture on a large-scale.

Humanity, in spite of its many failures, has believed in a fundamental moral structure of society. When you speak, therefore, of "the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent"—signifying, I suppose, the bombing of Chinese women and children and the desecration of ancient temples and Universities as a means of saving China for Asia—you are ascribing to humanity a way of life which is not even inevitable among the animals and would certainly not apply to the East, in spite of her occasional aberrations.

You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls. I have, as you rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds which brought exaltation to the heart of Tamer Lane at his terrible efficiency in manslaughter.

When I protested against "Westernization" in my lectures in Japan, I contrasted the rapacious Imperialism which some of the 'Nations' of Europe were cultivating with the ideal of perfection preached by Buddha and Christ, with the great heritages of culture and good neighbourliness that went to the making of Asiatic and other civilizations. I felt it to be my duty to warn the land of Bushido, of great Art and traditions of noble heroism, that this phase of scientific savagery which victimised Western humanity and had led their helpless masses to a moral cannibalism was never to be imitated by a virile people who had entered upon a glorious renaissance and had every promise of a creative future before them.

The doctrine of "Asia for Asia" which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions.

I was amused to read the recent statement of a Tokyo politician that the military alliance of Japan with Italy and Germany was made for "highly spiritual and moral reasons" and "had no materialistic considerations behind them." Quite so. What is not amusing is that artists and thinkers should echo such remarkable sentiments that translate military swagger into a spiritual bravado. In the West, even in the critical days of war-madness there is never any dearth of great spirits who can raise their voice above the din of battle, and defy their own war-mongers in the name of humanity. Such men have suffered, but never betrayed the conscience of their peoples which they represented. Asia will not be Westernised if she can learn from such men: I still believe that there are such souls in Japan, though we do not hear of them in those newspapers that are compelled at the cost of their extinction to reproduce their military masters' voice.

"The betrayal of intellectuals" of which the great

French writer spoke after the European war, is a dangerous symptom of our age. You speak of the savings of the poor people of Japan, their silent sacrifice and suffering, and take pride in betraying that this pathetic sacrifice is being exploited for gun running and invasion of a neighbour's hearth and home, that human wealth of greatness is pillaged for inhuman purposes. Propaganda, I know, has been reduced to a fine art, and it is almost impossible for people in non-democratic countries to resist hourly doses of poison, but one had imagined that at least the men of intellect and imagination would themselves retain their gift of independent judgment.

Evidently such is not always the case; behind sophisticated arguments seem to lie a mentality of perverted nationalism which makes the "intellectuals" of today go blustering about their "ideologies" dragging their own "masses" into paths of dissolution.

I have known your people and I hate to believe that they could deliberately participate in the organized drugging of Chinese men and women by opium and heroin, but they do not know; in the meanwhile, representatives of Japanese culture in China are busy practising their craft on the multitude caught in the grip of an organization of a wholesale human pollution. Proofs of such forcible drugging in Manchukuo and China have been adduced by unimpeachable authorities. But from Japan there has come no protest, not even from her poets.

Holding such opinion as many of your intellectuals do, I am not surprised that they are left "free" by your Government to express themselves. I hope they enjoy their freedom. Retiring from such freedom into "a snail's shell" in order to savour the bliss of meditation "on life's hopeful future," appears to me to be an unnecessary act, even though you advise Japanese artists to do so by way of change. I cannot accept such separation between an artist's function and his moral conscience. The luxury of enjoying special favouritism by virtue of identity with a Government which is engaged in demolition, in its neighbourhood, of all salient bases of life, and of escaping, at the time, from any direct responsibility by a philosophy of escapism, seem to me to be another authentic symptom of the modern intellectual's betrayal of humanity.

Unfortunately the rest of the world is almost cowardly in any adequate expression of its judgment owing to ugly possibilities that it may be hatching for its own future and those who are bent upon doing mischief are left alone to defile their history and blacken their reputation for all time to come. But such impunity in the long run bodes disaster, like unconsciousness of disease in its painless progress of ravage.

I speak with utter sorrow for your people; your letter has hurt me to the depths of my being. I know that one day the disillusionment of your people will be complete, and through laborious centuries they will have to clear the debris of their civilization wrought to ruin by their own war-lords run amok. They will realise that the aggressive war on China is insignificant as compared to the destruction of the inner spirit of chivalry of Japan which is proceeding with a ferocious severity.

China is unconquerable, her civilization, under the dauntless leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, is displaying marvellous resources; the desperate loyalty of her peoples, united as never before, is creating a new age for that land. Caught unprepared by a gigantic machinery of war hurled upon her peoples, China is holding her own; no temporary defeats can ever crush her fully aroused spirit.

Faced by the borrowed science of Japanese militarism, which is crudely western in character, China's stand

reveals an inherently superior moral stature. And today I understand more than ever before the meaning of the enthusiasm with which the big-hearted Japanese thinker Okakura assured me that "China is great."

You do not realise that you are glorifying your neighbour at your own cost. But these are considerations on another plane; the sorrow remains that Japan, in the words of Madame Chiang Kai-shek which you must have read in the *Spectator*, is creating so many ghosts. Ghosts of immemorial works of Chinese art, of irreplaceable Chinese institutions, of great peace-loving communities drugged, tortured, and destroyed. "Who will lay the ghosts?" she asks. Japanese and Chinese people, let us hope, will join hands together, in no distant future, in wiping off memories of a bitter past. True Asian humanity will be reborn. Poets will raise their song and be unshamed, one believes, to declare their faith again in a human destiny which cannot admit of a scientific mass production of fratricide.

Yours sincerely,
Rabindranath Tagore

P.S.—I find that you have already released your letter to the Press; I take it that you want me to publish my answer in the same manner.

Letter to the Mahatma

DEAR MAHATMA,

It is difficult to a Japanese today to write a letter, not touching the present conflict with China. Though I think I can understand why your people are in sympathy with the Chinese, it is very sad that my own country's standpoint is not equally well studied in India. Being a believer in silence, in action before words, Japan is no propagandist. I myself kept silence towards my Indian friends, because I know that their minds will soon become composed and thoughtful to see a great cause for which Japan is exhausting herself today. Japan is indifferent to criticism of the third party, for she thinks that talking is a foolish business of a dog and monkey. It is pity, however, that being backed by the west with commercial purpose, China, I mean the Kuomintang government, became arrogant from flattery or her own pride, and broke a neighbourly friendship; taking up an anti-Japanese campaign as the nation's only programme, she never stopped to think even for a moment what a strong fist her small island neighbour was hiding.

The results to a country will be plain and clear to see, when she only depended on the west for her existence; and if she cannot fight without a western adviser, she is already defeated before she appears in the field. The bigness of the country is something in the peaceful day; but the most important thing of war is one's heroism and sense of justice that supports his cause. The huge money that the Chinese government borrowed from the west in the past was foolishly spent for fire-arms, but not for her own people who were suffering from poverty and ignorance. I should like to know where in the world history is a similar case to the present war, for we have to help the masses of China besides defeating their government. Wherever one goes in the place of the Japanese occupation, he will be surprised to see how the Chinese co-operate with our soldiers in mending the houses that bullets damaged, and in rebuilding a railroad bridge that the Chinese soldiers ruined before they ran away. The Chinese masses are with us, because they know that our enemy is only their misguided government.

No one can deny truth in the survival of the fittest. One who is morally strong only manages to prosper.

The high officials in China, who grow fat and selfish from bribe-taking and intrigue, have now to answer to god's impeachment. When I say that the present war is a declaration towards the west to leave hands from Asia, I believe that there are many people in India, who will approve of us.

Dear Mahatma, this letter may sound to you to be something that you do not expect from a poet; but I trust on your noble sense of justice, for the generally unkind atmosphere towards Japan in India made us impatient. But believe me, I myself still keep enough amount of aloofness to deny the foolishness of mutability

and to adapt myself to optimism that fits to my age. If the optimism of my choice has something of martyrdom, that is because I am patriotic in the good old fashion.

And if you open *The Ganges Calls Me*, a book of my Indian poems, that I sent you a few days ago, you will see a Japanese soul in response to nature and life of your country, that uplifted me to a higher spiritual status. Will you accept my sincere greeting in "Mahatma Gandhi"?

Yours very sincerely,
Yone Noguchi

July 20, 1938

THE EUROPEAN TANGLE

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

ENGLAND is working might and main to prevent Germany going to war with Czecho-Slovakia over the Sudeten German issue. Acting in the closest possible association with her is France. All over Europe the nations are looking to France and England to save them from the threatened beginning of a world war. And in the United States President Roosevelt and the bulk of the American people are lending their powerful moral support.

Nothing in fact has been more striking, during the present crisis, than the way in which Germany's prestige has declined. Her violent propaganda against the Czechs has over-reached itself: it has created the opinion that in this quarrel it is the Germans and not the Czechs who are irreconcilable. Lawless behaviour on the part of Nazis in other foreign countries strengthens this opinion. Such behaviour has indeed undone much of Herr Hitler's careful diplomacy. His famous Non-Aggression Pact with Poland, thanks to Nazi outrages in Poland and above all in Danzig, has now very little value in Polish eyes. Poland instead is turning once more to Geneva and is sending her Foreign Minister to the forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations Assembly. Even Hungary, though her Regent went to be feted in Berlin, took care at the same time to hold one finger out to the Little Entente at Bled. The most, it is said, that she will promise is benevolent neutrality.

If Germany were to make war tomorrow, it is doubtful whether she would have a single important ally except perhaps Italy—and Italy, impoverished by her wars in Abyssinia and

Spain, might well prove a liability rather than an asset. In the Far East, no doubt, Japan is at the end of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. But if Japan were to come to the aid of her German ally she would have to fight two wars: her present war with China and war again with Soviet Russia. And it is interesting to remember that in the recent boundary dispute between Russia and Japan all that Germany would offer Japan, in the event of a war, was "moral" support.

At the moment of writing, the week-end before the Nazi Congress opens at Nuremberg, there is a lull in the political atmosphere. This too in spite of rumours that Herr Hitler, when he saw Herr Henlein yesterday, rejected the Czech proposals for a solution after the Swiss model of cantons—rejected, that is, the third solution which the Czechs have proposed and which is said to go to the extreme limit of concession. Instead he is said to have drawn up his own plan and attached to it a time limit. In the absence of course of definitive news any sort of rumour arises. And one wishes there were more solid grounds for optimism other than the mere fact that fireworks are unlikely until after the Congress has opened. Incidentally a great part of the present campaign is due to a ruse yesterday on the part of the newspapers. They came out with posters proclaiming *Hitler's Message of Peace*. Everyone thought of course that it had immediate relevance to the Sudeten question—and prices on the Stock Exchange firmed up! Actually it was only the report of an interview which Herr Hitler had given *some time ago* to a distinguished

French writer, was in general terms and chiefly addressed to France, and had no special message for Czecho-Slovakia. Or rather, if it had any message at all, it was an unwelcome one. For it ended with the usual animadversions against Russia—Russia who is the especial ally, the eternal question mark, behind Czecho-Slovakia.

Still if it was a ruse it was a well-intentioned one. And if we want Herr Hitler to speak peace to the nations, we must do all we tactfully can to make it easy for him. He will get no help from the kind of Germans whom he and Dr. Goebbels, his Propaganda Minister, have raised up. They will have to eat so many of their words! What indeed is to be done with a man like Dr. Robert Ley, the leader of the Nazi Labour Front, who has been saying the wildest things to the Conference of Germans Living Abroad which has just been meeting at Stuttgart. An audience of 20,000 men received with "thunderous applause" (says *Reuter*) his assertion that "Geneva no longer exists and Germany has the best army in the world." Dr. Ley glories in brute force, is drunk with it.

"Come what may, we will not yield in anything. A victorious army is never weary. Our fanaticism does not abate, but is becoming daily even greater. The Swastika has crooked hooks that never let loose, but dig ever deeper into the people. The German people have put away their slippers and put on marching boots."

It is appalling to think that these words were spoken by the Leader of the Labour Front to Germans gathered from abroad. So wide a range for such terrible words. Incidentally, the part about the Swastika sticking ever deeper into the people, is the kind of sadistic fantasy that makes people outside apprehensive because they realise that they have in fact to deal with men who are not quite normal.

It is not surprising perhaps that German propaganda has not only alienated foreigners but is even antagonising some of the Sudetens themselves. That Germany should want to incorporate them in the Reich, even though it can only be done after a war in which the Sudeten Germans themselves will be the chief sufferers, losing their homes and most probably their lives, is asking too much of the times. If it could have been done by superior might, by merely threatening war, well and good. But since it cannot—since if she is invaded Czecho-Slovakia will fight to preserve her territorial integrity, and France will come to her aid, and Russia, and finally England—now is the time to parley. Germany should

throw her weight into obtaining the best possible terms for the Sudetens. But instead, hitherto, she has talked nothing but war. Her press and her wireless and her spokesmen have all been engaged in working up feeling against Czecho-Slovakia. On the Czech frontiers, in the prolonged manoeuvres, German guns thunder as if war had already begun. On the French frontiers work on the fortifications goes on apace, and Herr Hitler visits them to see how near they are to completion, as if the French Army were already on the march. No wonder there is talk of divisions amongst the Sudetens, of increasing accessions to the "moderates." No wonder many of them are beginning to doubt whether they are so much an end in German eyes as the means to an end—the end being German hegemony in Europe. (Why all this pother about *them*? Why doesn't Germany worry about those other Germans, similarly stranded and far more repressed, in the Italian Tyrol?).

Quite a number of people believe that there will be no war now because Germany could never have succeeded except in a short war, and all these delays have made such a war impossible. France has had time to decide on her line of action. England has made it perfectly clear that she will not allow France to be defeated. Russia is already credited with gun-running. America, in spite of her Neutrality Acts and her Johnson Acts, would lend her powerful aid if Germany made this war which is unnecessary on all counts and denounced by general opinion the whole world over. It is not as if the Czechs were unwilling to make concessions. They have proposed concessions which they will be hard put to it to justify to their own peoples. It is not as if there were no third party on the spot, as there is in Lord Runciman, to formulate an agreement which is honourable to all parties. No, if Germany makes war now it will be because she *wants* war—and everyone knows that and knows what the verdict if history will be on the Nazis.

It would indeed be a reckless gamble if Germany were to begin this war. Times have changed since Italy was able to annex Abyssinia, since Germany over-ran Austria. Even since both Italy and Germany began to intervene in Spain! They thought that England was decadent and they could do as they liked. (They have done as they liked in the matter of bombing British ships trading to Spain and that, no doubt, misled them.) But if they had reflected a little more deeply on the course of English history they would have noted that

England can never afford to allow any one Power to become too strong on the continent. There always comes a time when she realises that a stand will have to be made. France, also, for that matter, and whatever the odds against her—and in the present situation in Spain and the Mediterranean there are odds to reckon with—is of the same opinion. Indeed few things have been more impressive than France's calm and clear pronouncement on her present case. Said M. Daladier:

"Two possible courses, were open to France. One was to ensure respect of her undertakings and continue to appear before the world as a great nation. The other was to draw back into a sort of neutrality and take no interest in outside events. The first of these courses was the one he had chosen and intended to follow."

Could the issue be better expressed?

All things considered, and contradictory and paradoxical as it may be, we are back in the world of Mr. Eden though Mr. Chamberlain (and the Cliveden set) might not subscribe to that conclusion! Mr. Eden was thrown to the wolves because he believed and said that the time had come to stand up to the Dictators. Because he believed that if such a stand were at Geneva, the nations would rally behind France and England. Everything he said is coming true. As the Americans, who as onlookers see most of the game, are remarking:

"The aggressor nations have profited by hesitancy and divided counsels among other Powers. They have been able to pick off their victims one by one, because it was plain that no hand would restrain them. *Now a new concept seems to be dawning—or rather, the betrayed principle of collective security is being resuscitated . . .*"

All the same, if and when the present crisis passes, can we hope for a revival of the League idea? The logic of events may have resuscitated it for a moment, but the same men who betrayed it—the Chamberlains and the Simons—will still be in power. In their desire to let the Dictators down gently, will they not send it into cold storage again? One can only hope that events will continue to keep the idea alive. Perhaps France, who in her time has made good use and bad use of the League, will see to it that the present opportunity is not allowed to pass.

It would be a tragic waste of the moment, of an *affirmative* moment in which all peoples of goodwill are on the side of the democracies, if a determined effort were not made now to bring the Spanish Civil War to a conclusion. Once the threat of a German-provoked world war is passed no reason can remain for in-

difference to this other war, especially since, with its German and Italian intervention, it has admittedly been largely a dress-rehearsal for the possible world war. Or rather it has been not so much a dress-rehearsal as a preliminary campaign. In this campaign Germany and Italy hoped to obtain such strategic positions as would (taken in conjunction with the re-fortification of the Rhineland) tie up the French army at her frontiers and in the Mediterranean make the convoy of troops difficult for both France and England. So successful have they imagined themselves to be, so delighted at the way in which Mr. Chamberlain has turned a blind eye to their wave after wave of intervention, that they had come to believe that the world war would not be necessary. England, so determinedly their "friend," even to the extent of refusing to protect her own merchantmen against their cynical depredations, would never have the courage to stand up to them in their next phase. England and France (since in their foreign policy they act as one) would stand aside and let a triumphant Germany trample as she chose over Eastern Europe. Such was the general impression. As a Hungarian, for instance, picked on by a news correspondent to give the impression of the man in the street, remarked the other day:

"We thought for some years that Britain was in decay. We don't think so now."

(For how long have they thought Britain in decay? Is it since the present National Government came into power, and betrayed successively China, Abyssinia, and Spain?).

Mr. Chamberlain must be as sick of the word Spain as ever Mr. Baldwin was sick of the word Coal. He has only one and a *fixed idea* on that subject, that nothing must be done to displease Italy there and so interfere with his Anglo-Italian Agreement. Because Mr. Eden believed that any Anglo-Italian Agreement should be negotiated after Italy had ceased to intervene in Spain, rather than as a bribe while she was still intervening, Mr. Chamberlain got rid of Mr. Eden. To confound Mr. Eden in the House of Commons, he triumphantly assured the House that he had just heard that Signor Mussolini had agreed to the British plan for the withdrawal of the "volunteers" in Spain. To-day, weeks and weeks after the departure of Mr. Eden and that assurance, we know that General Franco has rejected the British plan on the instructions of Signor Mussolini. We know more, that Signor Mussolini has shown himself capable of the utmost perfidy. He no

longer pretends to conceal his intervention in Spain. He sends his reinforcements and, when questioned in the matter, replies that this is no new intervention, it is merely *filling up the gaps made* in his troops.

So the coming into force of the Anglo-Italian Agreement is as far off as ever, but the price of it has been staggering. The Committee of British Shipowners Trading to Spain have just issued some figures. Fifty British seamen have been killed by Franco's aeroplanes and a hundred and twenty seriously wounded. During the last six months alone eighty-six British ships have been attacked. In hard cash the losses are estimated at £3,500,000.

But the worst feature of it all, of course, is the injustice to Republican Spain. While Germany and Italy have been free to intervene with their aeroplanes and their men and their guns, the Spanish Government have had to fend for themselves unable even to buy arms from France and England—since France and England have scrupulously observed their so-called Non-Intervention undertaking. And, ultimate injustice, they have not been able even to buy arms elsewhere latterly, since, on the representations of England, anxious as ever to do nothing to displease Italy, the French Government has closed its Spanish frontier.

Surely no expediency can justify such injustices! Wrongs like that will one day like chickens come home to roost . . . But the Chamberlains, with their fixed idea about Italy, seem even now to close their eyes to what they are doing in Spain. Only the other day, it was reported, Lady (Austen) Chamberlain had been feted at Burgos, the headquarters of General Franco's Government.

Yet Italy's mischief making, and mischief making which has no other object than to make things difficult for England, shows no signs of abating. Her latest crime is, of course, her decrees outlawing all the Jews who have settled in Italy since the war and, as regards Jews in general in Italy, excluding them from Italian schools, whether as teachers or pupils, and from all "academic, literary and artistic councils." The first reaction to this with most people was that this was but one more proof of Italy's growing subservience to Germany, a subservience she could not avoid from the moment when Herr Hitler marched into Austria and became her powerful neighbour. But it is not as simple as that. The Jews as ever are but a scapegoat. This latest move on the part of Italy is meant to have far-reaching effects. And the real Powers struck at are France in

North Africa and Britain and America in Palestine.

Signor Mussolini, we know, has lost prestige in his own and in Italian eyes through the long delay in implementing the Anglo-Italian Agreement. It does not become a Dictator to be kept waiting in this fashion. Accordingly a few weeks ago he began to press for a conclusion of the Agreement without this waiting for a "settlement" in Spain. But on this point, at least, opinion in England is too strong for Mr. Chamberlain. So Signor Mussolini thereupon began to use threats as to what Britain might expect if she remained in this mood. He might, he said, "be obliged to resume his liberty of action" in the Moslem world. *And this is exactly what he is now doing.*

For some years now Signor Mussolini, the Dictator who once claimed the gratitude of Catholics everywhere for making peace between the Italian State and the Papacy, has assumed the role of Protector of the Moslem World. He saw that by playing such a role in North Africa he could eat away at the French interest there. He saw that by championing the Arabs in Palestine, by subsidising terrorism, he could make things difficult for Britain who has to administer the Mandate. One Arab leader is reported to have stated that they have available in Palestine an enrolled force of some 15,000 men and all the arms they require and that they can get more! Thanks largely to the mischievous Italian activities, matters are coming to a head in Palestine. Partition may come and with it the setting up of an independent Jewish State. That Jewish State will be on good terms with Britain and the United States—and so it suits the Italian Dictator to make trouble for it in advance by swelling the numbers of Jewish refugees. Indeed, the new Jewish State will be of the utmost strategic importance and a perpetual irritant to the Italian Dictator who would like to rule the waves each end of the Mediterranean.

It only remains to point out that a contingent of Arabs is attending the Nazi Congress at Nuremberg . . . And so, however the present war scare resolves itself, there are webs and webs of German and Italian scheming spun across the path of France and Britain and America.

But the democracies hold all the cards if only they had the wit to realise it! The smaller States in Europe cannot stand on their own feet. That has been proved over and over again. They must revolve around some Great Power. But that arouses the rivalry of some

other Great Power—and there seems no end to the tug-of-war, no end to the restlessness and scheming. A Little Entente may form itself in Europe and for a time create the impression that as a bloc of some 50,000,000 peoples it can control its own future. But soon it is revolving around France. Then a Balkan Entente arises, with the same laudable intention in the beginning of casting off the yoke of the Great Powers. It is actually originated by one of the members of the Little Entente. But soon it also is revolving around a Great Power—this time the Berlin-Rome axis. And so what does the poor remains of the Little Entente, or to be more exact its most vulnerable member, Czecho-Slovakia, do? It draws closer to Russia. And the only result of these ententes is that the small States are back where they started: with Germany and Russia glaring across them at each other.

France must surely have awakened to the fact that there is no lasting security to be had through the method of ententes. There is no security but *collective security*.

If France and Britain, with the moral support of the United States, begin a back-to-the-League movement, they will show themselves able to grasp the present opportunity—and opportunity that may not come again. If we cannot bring to an end now the German and Italian war menace in Central Europe and the Mediterranean, we will have scotch'd the snake, not killed it, even though we may prevent it from striking for the moment.

The democracies hold all the cards for two reasons. In the first place, world opinion is on their side. In the second, they have all the resources. Italy may make war on Abyssinia; Japan may make war on China; Germany may dream of her hegemony in Europe. But Italy cannot develop Abyssinia without credits; nor Japan develop China; nor Germany make war (some critics say) for more than a *few weeks* in the present state of her finances.

The German hegemony of Europe is a nightmare to all the Eastern States in Europe. None of them really cares for Germany. The Nazis with their jack boots and their persecution of everyone who thinks differently, whether it be Jew or Christian, have seen to that. Nor are Nazi methods of obtaining economic control anything but repellent. They have no money with which to make loans to Balkan countries. But they have devised a clever system of manipulating their clearing arrangements in

such a way as to tie these unfortunate people indefinitely to their chariot wheels. One trick, perhaps the meanest and the cleverest, is this. Germany buys far more from a Balkan State than such a State could buy from her. It sounds a good idea to the Balkan State. But when the Balkan exporters ask for payment they are told there is not enough money in the clearing account to pay them. The Balkan State must go on buying German goods until the discrepancy is wiped out! According to Mr. Vernon Bartlett in fact Governments have had to intervene in order to pay their exporters—and Rumania even had to inflate in order to do so.

There seems a field then in the Balkans for British and French and any other proper loans. And especially, it appears, in Rumania. There is a lot to be said, on every count, for giving assistance to Rumania. Situated as she is, it is the easiest thing in the world for reactionaries in that country to raise the Bolshevik bogey. Nothing might bring such an access to Balkan stability as a prosperous Rumania. It is said that she is potentially one of the richest countries in Europe. "According to geologists, no more than 10 per cent of her mineral wealth has yet been tapped."

It is Rumania, or economic control of Rumania, that Germany is out for. That is why she is so hostile to Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia has the temerity to bar her way—and to call in Russia to help bar the way. In the coming days it will be interesting to see what becomes of this Russian protection. Will Czecho-Slovakia be forced or beguiled into giving it up? The Germans themselves make no secret of their determination to get rid of Russian "interference." It is the Russian question which has induced the Sudeten Germans, or the extremists amongst them, to assert that they must have a voice (and they mean a determining voice) in Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy. They will, if they can, make Czecho-Slovakia revolve round Germany. This was nakedly stated the other day in the German paper *Boersen Zeitung*. It complains:

"Czecho-Slovakia has usurped the functions of pointer on the scales of the European balance of power and attempted to be a bulwark against the so-called German 'Drang nach Osten' . . ."

We will not quarrel with this description of Czecho-Slovakia's tragedy.

Westminster, London
September 3, 1938



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER AND DOMINION STATUS: By K. C. Wheare. Oxford University Press, Oxford, Calcutta, Bombay. Price 10s. net.

In this volume the author has not attempted an exhaustive examination of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, or of Dominion Status. He has performed the narrower task of explaining what are the effects of the Statute of Westminster upon Dominion Status, which "have often been exaggerated and are occasionally the subject of controversy." So far as India is concerned the subject, though deserving of study and can with advantage be studied from this book, is at present merely of academic interest. For, it is clear from the parliamentary debates and Blue Books preceding the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, as well as from that Act itself, that it is not the intention of the British Parliament and politicians that India should have the status of the Dominions, not to speak of the status of fully independent countries. There is only one sentence in the book, page 90, in which the word India occurs with reference to the classes of persons who can become members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The book contains a table of cases and a table of statutes, and chapters on law and convention, Dominion Status in 1926 (I & II), the special case of the Irish Free State, the scope of the Statute, the Statute and the United Kingdom Parliament, and separate chapters on the Statute and the legal status of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, South Africa and the Irish Free State respectively, a chapter on the Statute and the Monarchy. There is a concluding chapter, in which the author's summing up is that "The Statute of Westminster forms a part and not the whole of the body of rules, legal and non-legal, which define Dominion Status." There are four appendixes containing—The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865; The Statute of Westminster, 1931; The Status of the Union Act, 1934; and The Statute of Westminster Adoption Bill 1937, (Australia).

EMPIRE SOCIAL HYGIENE YEAR-BOOK, 1938-39. Preface by Mrs. C. Neville-Rolfe, O.B.E., and Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, M. C. Prepared by the British Social Hygiene Council Inc. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 15s. net.

This is the fifth edition of this useful year-book. In addition to relevant statistics and other information drawn from official sources, the United Kingdom section (occupying the greater portion of the volume) is amplified by a series of authoritative articles on health services,

illegitimacy, blind and deaf persons, cripples, maternity and child welfare, housing, marriage laws, juvenile delinquency and probation, prostitution and venereal disease, mental illness, mental defectives, tuberculosis, education, training in citizenship, and the like. As many aspects of social hygiene cannot be satisfactorily portrayed without reference to their international setting, there is a special section outlining international action in regard to the welfare of the mercantile marine, the campaign against traffic in women, the work of the health and labour organizations, the film, etc.

For England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland statistics are given on all the heads for all counties and county boroughs. Infant mortality rates are given separately for legitimate and illegitimate births. This indicates that unmarried motherhood is rather common, but it also is a proof of the humanity which takes care of illegitimate children. They are not secretly got rid of or seriously neglected.

The information given for other parts of the Empire, including India, is not of course as elaborate as that for the United Kingdom.

The following figures of the incidence of venereal diseases in the British Army and the Indian Army in India for the year 1935 (the latest given for both) are instructive: British Army—gonorrhoea 25.8 per thousand, syphilis 6 per thousand, soft chancre 6.8 per thousand. Indian Army—gonorrhoea 4.6 per thousand, syphilis 3.6 per thousand, soft chancre 1.8 per thousand.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII CATALOGUE: *Being the University of Hawaii Bulletin for April 1938.* Pp. 253.

It contains the Register of Faculty and Students for 1937-1938 and Announcement of Courses for 1938-1939. For a comparatively new University like that of Hawaii the variety and number of courses in various subjects are truly surprising to those who know how few are the courses in Indian universities, relatively speaking.

GIRLS' EDUCATION IN INDIA (*In the Secondary and Collegiate Stages*). By Mrs. Jyotiprabha Dasgupta, M.A., B.T., T.D. (London). Viharilal Mitra Fellow. Published by the University of Calcutta.

Miss Jyotiprabha Dasgupta was entrusted by the Calcutta University with the work of visiting the important institutions for the education of girls in the different provinces and the more important Indian States, and was asked to submit a report thereafter. Her report is before us. She did her duty with assiduity. The report is lucid, interesting and informative. It shows clarity of judgment and the power of sober criticism. Clear printing and a number of illustrations add to the attractions of the volume. Those who intend to start new institutions for

girls' education, as well as those who have been conducting institutions already in existence may read this report with advantage.

MASARYK ON THOUGHT AND LIFE: *Conversations with Karel Capek. Translated from the Czech by M. & R. Weatherall. George Allen and Unwin, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

Readers of *The Modern Review* know who Masaryk was and what he did. Son of a coachman, apprenticed in boyhood to a black-mith, he received the advantage of university education and became university professor of philosophy. But he was also a realist idealist. He took a prominent part in the struggle for the independence of his country, and was the liberator, father and creator of Czechoslovakian Republic. He was its first President. In the e conversations with Karel Capek the late President Masaryk speaks with simplicity and intimacy of his own faith and philosophy which guided him throughout his long and active life. They cover a wide range of subjects—theory of knowledge, metaphysics, religion, christianity, the so-called cultural conflict, politics, nation. Those who are of a philosophical or religious turn of mind will prize the majority of chapters printed first. The chapters on politics and "nation" will appeal to others most. But in them also Masaryk appears as an idealist-realist who had faith in the core of religion. *His insistence on both political and cultural endeavours should convey a lesson to our leading political speakers and workers and their followers.*

IDENTIFICATION OF HAWAIIAN PLANTS: *A key to the Families of Dicotyledons of the Hawaiian Island; Descriptions of the Families, and List of the Genera. By Harold St. John and F. Raymond Fosberg, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.*

The title of the booklet is a sufficient indication of its contents. It will undoubtedly be of considerable use to students of botany in the Hawaii Islands. There ought to be similar publications by Indian universities for regional use.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S INDIAN LETTERS. *Edited by Priyaranjan Sen. Illustrated, and with notes and appendix. Pp. 67 duodecimo. Published by Mihir Kumar Sen, 1, Dover Lane, Calcutta.*

Florence Nightingale deservedly enjoys world-wide fame for her work for the relief and treatment of the wounded in the Crimean war and as having assisted in founding the Red Cross Society. She formed an institution for the training of nurses and gave valuable help in the reform of army hospital. So far as India is concerned she had been hitherto known as the authoress of *Life or Death in India*. The letters under notice reveal a hitherto unknown aspect of her personality, namely, her deep interest in the welfare of the poverty-stricken peasants of India. The sub-title of the book indicates that it gives "a glimpse into the agitation for tenancy reform, Bengal, 1878-1882." The letters show her shrewdness, integrity, practical compassion, and understanding of the condition of the peasants. In a full introduction the editor discusses the problems with which the letters deal.

CAPITAL (KARL MARX'S FAMOUS WORK): *A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production, translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and edited by Frederick Engels. A photographic reprint of the stereotyped edition of 1889, with a supplement including changes made by Engels in the fourth German edition, and his preface to that edition, with notes, Marx's preface to the French edition, and*

notes on the English edition; edited and translated by Dona Torr. Medium 8vo., pp. xxxi+882. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Karl Marx, the founder of international socialism, requires no introduction. The name of his epoch-making book *Kapital* is known to many by repute who have not read or even seen it. The publishers have brought it within their reach in a handy form and at a moderate price. The translation given in the volume is the only one edited by Engels. For the first time the translation has a complete List of Authorities, based on that prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of Moscow.

"Since the beginning of literature few books have been written like the first volume of Marx's *Kapital*. It is premature to offer any definitive judgment on his work as revolutionary thinker and agitator, because that is still very far from completion. There need, however, be no hesitation in saying that he, incomparably more than any other man, has influenced the labour movement all over the civilized world; his theories have in a thousand ways already penetrated the different strata of society, even the highest, but most of all the working classes. It may also be safely said that his views can have any hope of realization only after very extensive modification. In many respects the analysis of the economic development of modern society has been justified by subsequent events, but in many also it has been falsified; and it could be shown that he has left out of account some of the decisive factors in social development."

Marx tells us in his preface that the final aim of his great work is to reveal the economic law that moves modern society. He was a man of uncommon knowledge, which he used with masterly skill. To those who understand his terminology, his style is lucid and powerful, though also sometimes tedious owing to the minuteness of his exposition. The march of his thought is enlivened by humour, severe invective, and flashes of light from the most unexpected quarters.

D.

THE SNAKES OF INDIA: *By Lieut.-Colonel K. G. Charpurey, I.M.S. Published by The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Grant Road, Bombay 7. Pages 165. Price Rs. 3.*

A book like this should have been reviewed by an expert on snakes, though we are not sure if such a reviewer could be easily found. A lay man sees in it a description of the physiology and habits of life of snakes, specially those of India. There is a chapter at the end of the book on 'A World Survey of Dangerous Snakes' from the pen of another writer. We have a classification of snakes into land-snakes, tree-snakes, sea-snakes, &c. There is also a chapter on the treatment of snake-bite and another on protection against snakes. These chapters contain useful, though not absolutely new, information for people living in snake-infested areas. When one remembers that about 20,000 people die every year of snake-bite in British India alone, the value of such information cannot be over-estimated.

There are several illustrations in the book. These, however, as the author himself admits, are not always very clear, 'as they represent specimens of snakes preserved in spirit' (p. ii).

While giving some general information about snakes, the author says: "Nearly all snakes are *cannibals*, that is, they eat other snakes and even those of their own kind" (p. 4; Cf. also p. 129). Ordinarily, a cannibal is 'one who eats human flesh'. An animal feeding on its own species is also sometimes called cannibal; but is this use really very common?

Snakes, we are told, have no external ear, and hence, 'sounds conducted through the air are not heard by them' (p. 7). And we are further told that one Col. Wall, I.M.S. has conclusively proved this (p. 50). But sounds conducted through solids are heard by snakes. The proposition laid down here is not free from ambiguity. What is sound, after all? Is any vibration that reaches the body sound? And are snakes really unable to hear the flute of the charmer?

Chapter XXXIV (Hindu Mythology : Snakes and Folklore) is rather scanty and could be considerably enriched by more copious references to the ancient literature on snakes, Sanskrit as well as vernacular. Snakes and their controlling deity occupy a considerable section of early Bengali literature.

No one can deny that the Seducer of Eve and the sinister enemy of man deserves study. We congratulate the author on his venture. He has given us an interesting book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN INDIA: By *Nabagopal Das, Ph.D. (Econ.) (London), I.C.S. Published by Oxford University Press, 1938. Pages 174. Price Rs. 7.*

During the last few years, the problem of industrial development in India has loomed large in all public discussions and the facts and factors that have been found to stand in the way of progress have been widely studied by economists and businessmen. The book under review by Dr. N. G. Das of the Indian Civil Service critically analyses the points of defects and drawbacks that have so far retarded industrial progress in India. The author at the outset deals with the various defects in Indian money conditions in its relation to the financing of industries. He very rightly points out the hindrances in our "System" of Government domination over the money market owing to their rigid control of currency and credit, resulting in a lack of elasticity and stability of the monetary conditions. The establishment of the Reserve Bank of India to a certain extent improved the position, but still, it has much to depend on the Governmental policy. Author's study of the English, American and German system of banking and industrial finance and his suggestions towards reforming the Indian system, deserves careful consideration. In dealing with the system of managing agency, although the author has very little to say, he has nevertheless studied the whole problem from economic and objective point of view. He has also pointed out at great length the very many malpractices in our industrial system. Dr. Das has emphasised, which will be subscribed by all sound thinking men, that economic welfare of a nation depends not so much on the quantity of progress as on the quality of the economic organisations. The book will undoubtedly prove useful.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

INDIAN STATES AND THE NEW REGIME: By *Maharaj-Kumar Raghubir Singh, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., with a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, K.C.I.E. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons, and Co., Cloth bound; Pp. xxviii + 469. Price Rs. 10.*

The learned author of the book is no other than the heir-apparent of the Sitamau State in Central India. A work on the new federal constitution of India from the pen of a member of the princely order itself is bound to be of considerable interest to all students of Indian constitutional history. The author has given a masterly survey of the development relating to the Indian States prior to the passing of the Government of India Act

of 1935; and it is refreshing to find that he has taken a sober and dispassionate attitude in his analysis of the part played by the Indian Princes in the final shaping of the federal constitution. The commentary on the new Government of India Act is detailed as well as critical, and gives evidence of the writer's grasp of the legal and political implications of the federal idea embodied in the new constitution. The author has shown commendable judgment and breadth of view in his bold criticism of the attitude of the so-called smaller Princes who have managed to capture the Chamber today; and his scheme for strengthening and reorganizing the Chamber is exceedingly interesting, and deserves close attention of everyone concerned. We cordially welcome this valuable addition to the literature on the Indian States.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

THE MALERS OF THE RAJMAHAL HILLS: By *Sasanka Sekhar Sarkar. Published by The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1938. Pp. XI+129.*

This is a short monograph on the Malers, a Dravidian speaking tribe living in the Rajmahal, Pakur and Godda sub-divisions of the Santal Parganas district in Bihar. The Malers appear to have moved away from their original moorings in these parts in comparatively recent times and their contacts with the Hindu population in the neighbourhood have introduced significant changes in their social and economic organization. There are six short but readable chapters on general considerations, appearance, domestic life, social organization, ceremonials, religious and magical practices, besides an introduction which sets forth many of the author's conclusions and four brief appendices which complete the account.

The author points out the cultural differences between the Oraons and the Malers and concludes that "the Malers and the Oraons are two independent Dravidian speaking people and they never came into contact with one another and that the Malers are the autochthonous inhabitants of these hills to which place they are still confined to in the face of their gradual extinction and are one of the earliest remnants of the pre-Dravidians in this region." The evidence he has put forward does not however support his conclusion. He says that "the first thing that strikes one is that the Oraon religion is essentially communal or tribal whereas the Maler religion is purely individualistic (p. 10)." In page 11, commenting on the Maler religion, he says, "the communal worship is done by the village headman (Manjhee) and in case of individual calamity the person himself performs the worship." The absence of the clan system among the Malers has been cited by the author as proof of cultural difference between them and the Oraons who possess the clan system. In page 55, he writes, "there is a prevailing belief among some of these Paharias that Samria is their clan. Particularly the Munshi of Karambi explained to the author that the Paharias are divided into Samria, Malpaharia and Kumarbagh sections—these he claimed to be divisions like the Santal clans." Writing about the changed cultural outlook of the Malers the author was uncertain 'whether the same sort of disintegration has also occurred with the clan system of these people.' Any one who has lived with primitive groups for any length of time knows how fast social institutions are being disintegrated among them.

The territorial organization found among the Malers, their love of finery and flowers, the excessive bride-price which make it difficult for people to marry and settle down, the customs and rites connected with birth, name giving,

marriage and death, the institution of village dormitory among them and the agricultural practices commonly met with, unmistakably affiliates them to the Munda-Dravidian cultural pattern. It is only in their religious life that the Malers show some divergent practices but knowing as we do, the contacts these people have with neighbouring Hindu and Hinduised tribal groups, it is no wonder that foreign names have been adopted by them to designate their clan and tribal deities. The evidences provided by the author do not justify the assumption of independent origin of religious traits, for whatever rites and customs may have been borrowed by the Malers, their attitude to these, in other words, the configuration of their culture has not been tremendously upset.

From 1901 to 1931, the Malers have increased from 47,066 to 59,891. Does it show that 'the tribe is becoming gradually extinct'? 'The fecundity of the Paharia women seem to be low when compared with those residing in the plains,' p. 71. This statement is important and is expected in a dying tribe, but no data have been cited by the author in support of this conclusion. The 11 genealogical charts do not make a representative sample on which to base the generalization. Investigations into size of families and the fertility rates are necessary before we can accept this. In one passage (p. 8) the author writes, "They (Oraons) are thoroughly an agricultural people and the temporary interment of the dead bodies are due to the lands being under the crops." Does he mean that the custom of burial is a fertility rite or does he mean that land for burial is not available when lands are under crops? He says that 'unmarried girls above the age of 20 are met with among the Malers' but during the long experience of the author, he could get only three cases and these were either deformed, decrepit or guilty of social lapses.

Malers are not a primitive people. They represent a blended culture where rites and customs introduced from highly organized societies have mixed with those of primitive or infantile character. It is not a closed unit either as interpenetration of culture traits is still going on. It is therefore difficult to distinguish the alien traits from the indigenous ones. Many of the new traits referred to as characteristic of the Maler culture are introduced from alien sources and grafted on their indigenous stem. These are, however the limitations of the monographic method applied to a study of blended cultures and we sympathise with the author in his difficulties. A study of the cultural changes that have taken place would be an important contribution to our knowledge of culture contacts and acculturation. The author may take it up with advantage as he is eminently qualified to do so.

The book is otherwise well written and the author has given evidence of his earnest and careful investigations.

D. N. MAJUMDAR

THE EVOLUTION OF THE RIGVEDIC PANTHEON:
By Srimati Akhsaya Kumari Devi. Published by Bijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pages 212. Price Re. 1.

In this book, as its name implies, the authoress has traced the origin and evolution of as many as 86 deities of the pantheon of the Rigveda, including Buddha, Rishava and Mahavir. To the Vedic people the stars also were objects of adoration like the sun and the moon; so a majority of Rigvedic divinities were deified stars.

The study is based on comparative philology and mythology. It is interesting to know how the conceptions

of the gods have evolved through different stages from time to time. Brahman, for example, meant praise, prayer or priest in the Samhita. More than two hundred times this word has been used as prayer or praise in the Rigveda. In the *Aitereya Brahman* it means Holiness and in the Upanishad only it has been identified with the Ultimate Reality.

It must be said to the credit of the authoress that she has succeeded in discovering similar conceptions of Babylonian, Egyptian and Avestic gods thus pointing out clearly the cultural intercourse that must have existed among the ancient nations.

One conclusion of the authoress will, I am afraid, appear startling to a section of the readers. In her opinion, the genesis of *Om*, the sound-symbol of Reality, is not Vedic or Indian but Egyptian for she says that *Om* is not even once found in the Rigveda. There in the sacred Gayatri too is without *Om* which has been added to it much later. As there is an Egyptian god called *Om* representing eternity and immortality, it is very likely, observes the authoress, that *Om* has been adopted from Egyptian mythology.

Original references to the Rigveda and other Vedic literature have enhanced the value and the importance of the book.

We congratulate the learned authoress on her success in this new publication which seems to have surpassed all her previous works in many respects. Few Hindu women of our times have produced such a scholarly book as the one under review.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

VEDA AND VEDANTA: *By Ernest P. Horowitz. Published by the Advaita Ashrama. Price Rs. 2.*

In this book the author has embodied a series of his lectures delivered at the University of Bombay. In some of the lectures the author has sought to construct a history of the Aryans in the Arctic region as well as of their expansion; while, in the rest, he dealt with the Indian religion and philosophy. His treatment of philosophy consists in vague generalisations clothed in a grandiose style; and his history is based chiefly on philological assumptions. The account of the *Narasimhas*, mighty heroes possessing lion's strength and engaged in bloody battles with the (seven) great polar bears, as well as the story of the exodus of the heroes from the ice-bound north to the Himalayan region, full of Jujube (Badari) trees, are instances to the point.

In order probably to show his originality the author has often done violence to established tradition. Badarayana, we are told, was not originally the name of an acharya but of a school at Badara; Gaudapada is made one of the band of the Gauda Brahmins, who smuggled the 'Buddhist heresy' into the Vedanta; while his disciple, Acharya Govinda, is named Bhagabatpada. These and similar other uncorroborated statements naturally raise doubts in the minds of the readers as to the competency of the author to speak on the philosophy and religion of India. The irrelevant references to Vivekananda are apt illustrations of what is known as the fallacy of *Argumentum ad Hominem*.

SIVA-MAHIMNA STOTRAM: *Edited by Swami Pabitananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta. Price annas five only.*

This is a nice edition of the famous hymn, with word notes and English translation. The printing is good and the translation fairly accurate.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

THE INDIAN INCOME-TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1938 : ITS SCOPE AND EFFECT : By *Raghu-pati Ghatak, M.A., M.L. Calcutta, 1938. Price Rs. 3.*

This timely publication provides a running commentary, clause by clause, on the Income Tax Amendment Bill now before the Central Legislature. Mr. Ghatak's book deserves to be widely read, both in view of the great changes contemplated in the Bill and on its own merits. The author has referred, in appropriate places, to the relevant provisions of English law and practice, on which a number of the contemplated changes are based, and has very cogently commented, where necessary, on the differences between England and this country in these matters. The book contains, besides, references to the case-law on the subject and to those court decisions in view of which it has become incumbent to make revisions in the existing law. On the important issue relating to the vesting of Income-Tax officers with wide powers for penalising assesses who fail to make the statutory return of income, Mr. Ghatak points out that the Bill goes much beyond the English law, and that it would involve an amount of trouble to tax-payers and to the administrative authorities, hardly commensurate with the financial results likely to be achieved. His comments on these inquisitorial provisions are indeed mildly worded. We cannot however, agree with his view that "To define 'Income' by an enumeration of particular cases, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of English Jurisprudence, as developed by great jurists, is sure to lead to difficulties in future," for, in the first place, there is no practicable alternative to it, and, in the second place, this is the usual practice in most countries. In fact, difficulties would of course arise, but they are unavoidable. Mr. Ghatak's observations on the provision for the joint assessment of husband and wife on their individual incomes deserve careful consideration by the legislators. He points out that the proposed amendment goes against the Law of *Stridhan* in Hindu Law, the Law of Dower in *Mohomedan Law*, and the Married Women's Property Act, 1883, and he cites the British Royal Commission on the Income Tax, 1920, against too sweeping an application of the joint assessment principle. Mr. Ghatak doubts whether any advantage will result from the 'carrying forward of losses' contemplated in the Bill, but he does not seem to have dealt with the question adequately. The need for such a provision was recognized by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1925, and the present Bill has been worded so as to extend the benefit to the income from professions and vocations, the reservations embodied being necessitated by practical considerations. The general public would have welcomed a more extended discussion of the "Slab" system.

On the whole, the author is to be complimented on his able discussion of the Bill, written in such a short span of time.

P. CHAKRABARTY

THE ARYA MARRIAGE VALIDATION ACT, XIX of 1937, with *appendices*. By *C. L. Mathur, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), B.Sc. (Punj.)*. Barrister-at-Law, Reader, Law College, Lahore. Published by The University Book Agency, Law Book-sellers, Kachari Road, Lahore. Price Re. 1.

This Act has been placed on the Statute Book in order to legalise inter-caste marriages among Arya Samajists and to confer validity on such marriages celebrated prior to the Act.

During the last seventy years Social Reformers have been waging a ceaseless war against the Institution of

Caste and as the out-come of this movement several Acts have been passed by the Indian Legislature for facilitating inter-caste marriages amongst the Hindus, and the last Act of the series is the Arya Marriage Validation Act of 1937. The question of inter-marriages amongst various castes has for some time been seriously agitating the minds of the younger generation. Tradition and to some extent public opinion amongst Hindus of the older generation have been fighting against this innovation, but the greatest obstacle was the legal one. This difficulty has now been completely removed in the case of Arya Samajists by the Act of 1937. This Act has clearly defined the position of the Arya Samajists in the Hindu social system by giving statutory recognition of the same by the said Act. According to this Act, the Arya Samajists have been classed as Hindus.

The learned author has very clearly dealt with the whole subject in a very able manner and has reproduced all the Acts relating to this subject in the book under review. We thank the learned author for giving a historical summary of the legislation from the very beginning.

JITENDRANATH BOSE.

LOVE SONNETS AND OTHER POEMS : By *M. Krishnamurti*. Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Pp. 56. Price not stated.

This neatly got-up little book contains a sequence of unrhymed sonnets followed by a number of other poems. One wonders why a poet who chooses such an inelastic verse-form as the sonnet shies at the lesser bondage of rhyme, especially as Mr. Krishnamurti does seem to obtain quite pleasing effects with his verses even though the theme is often slight enough and the conclusions even banal sometimes. Only occasionally a startling figure or an unusual but apt simile calls forth in us that poignant delight which is, or should be, the *raison d'être* of lyrical poetry.

It is satisfying to realize that though writing in English Mr. Krishnamurti is thoroughly Indian in spirit. It is the virgin simplicity of a Hindu faith as well as a Hindu charity that gives a touch of pathos to many of his poems. Perhaps the best example of his poetry is his shortest poem 'Quest':

I came to seek my love
My love has found me
My morning dream clouds are chased
By the blue of eternity.

THIS CIVILIZATION : By *P. R. Kaikini*. Published by New Book Company, Kitab Mahal, Bombay. Pages 44. Price 1-8.

The dominant colour in this little collection of pastels is a murky grey. Most of the poems affect a very belated di-illusionment of the postwar type, and some also take on the diagrammatic form in which the European post war generation sought to piece together its shattered emotional apparatus. Michael Roberts speaks, with implied approbation, of Kaikini's verse as being 'different from most of the Indian poetry I have seen': the difference lies in the fact that there is precious little here that is characteristically Indian, except the author's passionate sense of right and wrong and his intense moral horror at the ruthlessness of modern civilization—neither of which, by the way, accord very well with the pose of cynical detachment which he inherits from his western predecessors. Not only the thought but even the imagery is often foreign—the peasant girl takes 'bacon and bread and butter and tea' and talks brave love-words after D. H. Lawrence.

The sophisticated, however, will respond enthusiastically

cally to some of the poems—*Slaughter House, The Pit, and Workshop* expressing the dazed confusion of modern life; *Arab Woman* with its forceful epigrammatic conclusion :

In return
She receives
Devoted protection
Enough food
Enough work
Unremitting love
And a child every summer—

and one or two other pieces.

S. H. V.

BENGALI

SHISHU-BHARATI : *Eight Volumes, from Volume one to Volume eight. To be completed in two more Volumes. Edited by Jogendranath Gupta. Indian Publishing House, 22/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 per Volume.*

The Indian Publishing House has added substantially to the joy of Bengali-reading children and to their means of acquiring knowledge by the publication of *Shishu-Bharati*. It began to be published serially in monthly numbers priced 12 annas each several years back and will soon be complete. It may be called the children's encyclopædia or the children's treasure-house of knowledge. The editor has shown considerable resource and enterprise in getting together articles on a great variety of subjects and illustrating them profusely. The illustrations include many printed in many colours. The eight Volumes so far published contain 3,200 pages of the size of *The Modern Review* printed neatly on thicker paper than is ordinarily used in monthly magazines in India. A list of all the subjects on which articles are included in these Volumes would be too long for this brief notice. The first Volume alone contains Sections devoted to the lives of great men, astronomy, primitive man, our country India, light, photography, history, life of plants, select poems, cereals, legends and stories, water, national songs, animals, life as chemical activity, foreign lands, the shape and location of the earth, ages of the world, the air, introduction to science, world-literature, course of human life, sound, art, development of art, music and crafts, selections, and literature.

SENJUTI ("The Evening Lamp") : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price one rupee.*

This is the first edition of the latest book of poems by Rabindranath Tagore. It is dedicated in a fine poem to Dr. Sir Nilotan Sircar under whose and whose colleagues' treatment he was during last serious illness. The first poem, "Janma-din" (Birthday), was written on his first birthday after recovery from that illness. It is a great poem, in which the poet sings mostly of things of all time, laughing to scorn at the same time man's hungry inhumanity to man. There is another poem on Birthday in this book in which the poet longs to be included among those who are unknown to fame. Lovers of his poetry will welcome this volume for its own sake as well as because it is a sure earnest of more poems to come.

BIDAYA-ABHISHAP ("Curse at Farewell") : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price three annas.*

This is the fourth reprint of the poet's famous poem on the mythological story of Kacha and Devayani. Kacha, son of Vrihaspati, the preceptor of

the gods, came to the hermitage of Shukra, the preceptor of the Deitya., to learn from him the art of restoring life. With the help of Devayani, Shukra's daughter, whose favour he had won, he succeeded in learning the art. The conversation between him and her which is the theme of the poem, takes place on his coming to bid farewell to her. He does so like one entirely fancy-free, as it were. Devayani is deeply mortified and curses him that he will not be able to apply the art he has learnt. The story is an illustration, hoary with antiquity, of the dictum,

"Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
'Tis woman's whole existence."

VISVA-PARICHAYA ("Introduction to the Universe") : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition, revised and enlarged, and fourth reprint. Illustrated. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This book, which we have noticed thrice already, has been printed four times in the course of one year. In this edition the author has corrected certain errors pointed out by Professor Bibhutibhusan Sen of Krishnanagar College and Sriyukta Indramohan Som of Bombay, to whom he has expressed his great gratitude.

SHYAMALI : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Second reprint. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This is a volume of prose-poems, which we have noticed before. The only poem in verse in it is the dedication addressed to Srimati Rani Mahalanobis. Reading over again some of the stanzas of some poems in this volume we felt that true poets are endowed with youth everlasting.

D.

CHALAR PATH (THE WAY) : *By Dr. Nishi Kanta Ganguly, M.A. Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Re. 1.*

This Bengali book of 115 pages is worthy of note for certain reasons. The author, we are told, was in-charge of a Vedantic Monastery of Bengal, arrested and detained for seven years in jails and detention camps. Out of his experience was born this book—his thoughts on 'The Way of Life' on its four stages, that of Brahmacharya, Vivaha, Samaj and Mukti (*i. e.*, Training Period, Married Life, Social Life, and generally, the Life of Emancipation). The division is not orthodox, neither is the treatment orthodox, as would be expected from a member of a monastic order. He sets quite sane and rational value on the common life of the ordinary citizen who marries and settles down and fights his way through life in joy and sorrow among his own dear and near ones. It does not deny life, it accepts that, and then tries to raise it to a higher level by an application to it of the scientific knowledge of the modern times and of the spiritual heritage of India. It reveals a fair attempt at a synthesis of the old thought and the new challenge, and deserves serious study by all—old or new.

"ACHAL"

HINDI

LONDON MEN BHARATIYA VIDYARTHI : *By Rajkumar Man Singh, Vidyabhushan, Bar-at-Law. Published by the Rajasthan Sahitya Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. 250. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is no book of travels and impressions in the ordinary sense. The life of an Indian student in London is depicted in story form, which will be found to be interesting and instructive. The author has ably drawn the picture of extra-university life of an average Indian student, which is not without pathos, humour and romance. The book may be an eye-opener to many.

RAMES BASU

GUJARATI

RAGHUVAMSHA : By *Nagandas Amarji Pandya*, B.A. Printed at the Yashwant Printing Press, Joravarnagar, (Wadhwan). Illustrated. Cloth bound Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1937).

So far as we know this is the first attempt to render into Gujarati verse (*Samasholaki* translation) the very well-known Sanskrit poem of Kalidas. It is at all times a difficult task to render such poems into a vernacular so as to bring out and preserve the beauty and charm of the original classical text : it is rendered more difficult when one has to deal with classics of such acknowledged superiority as the one under notice. By means of illustrations and footnotes the translator has tried his best to bring home to the reader the underlying beauty of the original verses but as he himself candidly admits, it is but a dim picture that he has been able to paint. The reader can merely have a "peep" at the original through his rendering. We agree with him. A scholarly introduction from the pen of Shastri Durgashankar Kevalram on the time when Kalidas flourished is a welcome feature of the book.

ELEVEN BOOKS

The Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad has presented its members with eleven books brought out during the course of 1937 which comprise :

(1) **DARSHANIK KOSHA :** By *Chhotatal Narbhe-ram Bhatta*. Price Re. 1-0-0.

It is the first part, and displays the very intimate knowledge that the compiler of the Kosha possesses of the Darshan philosophical works in Sanskrit. It is the first of its kind.

(2) **PRAJA JIVAN NI DRISHTIYE DUDHA ANE GHEE** (Milk and Ghee viewed from the popular eye) : By *Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai*. Price 0-2-0.

A most useful work as it treats the subject both from the popular and scientific point of view.

(3) **LIMBU ANE TENI JATNAN FALO NO UDYOG** (Lemon and other fruits belonging to the same species, such as oranges, sweet limes and grape fruit) : By *Maganlal Gajjar*. Price 0-4-0.

In a small compass the writer has treated the subject of the growth and rearing of these fruits successfully from the grower's and the trader's as well as the householder's point of view.

(4) **GUJARATIOYE HINDI SAHITYAMAN APELO FALO** (Contribution of Gujarati writers to Hindi Literature) : By *D. P. Derasari, Barrister-at-Law*. Price 0-4-0.

It is a most informative work. Vraj or Hindi was always studied by Gujarati scholars of old, mediæval and even modern times, as much of religious and devotional literature was found in it, and it was this literature which was the staple food of the poets. Beginning from Bhalan, of the fifteenth century and Mira Bai, right up to the present times, a large number of Gujaratis have written in Hindi, and a collection of their efforts such as is to be found here, is bound to prove impressive, showing as it does, that Gujarati writers were as much at home in Hindi as in their mother tongue. It must have cost much labour to Mr. Derasari to collect all these materials and put them together.

(5) **NITISHAHSTRA :** By *Prahlad A. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B. Advocate*. Price 0-12-0.

It is a translation of Prof. Moore's Book *Ethics* from the series "The Home University Library of Modern

Knowledge." The translation, looking to the difficult nature of the subject, is indeed well done.

(6) **TUSKEGA ANE TENA MANASO :** By *Amratal Chunilal Modi, B.A.* Price 0-10-0.

Booker T. Washington's practical methods to bring about the uplift of the American Negroes are known by this time all over the world. They have been described in a volume written by A. J. Scott, Secretary of the Tuskegee Institute, that looks after the welfare of Negro community. The contents of the book are very interesting and furnish a good guide to those who desire to work in the same direction.

(7) **PLATONUN ADARSHA NAGAR**, Vol. I, Parts 1 to 5 : By *Pranjivan V. Pathak, M.A.* Price Re. 1-0-0

Prof. Javett's translation of Plato's Republic (*literally* City States)—has been taken as his text by Mr. P. V. Pathak, a distinguished student of Philosophy. He has done his work, because of his great familiarity with the subject, very intelligently and ably and when the time comes to study such subjects in one's own mother tongue, the book will surely prove of much use.

(8) **GUJARATNO MADHYAKALIN RAJPUT ITIHAS :** By *Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri*. Price Re. 1-0-0.

The chronicles of the mediæval Rajputs of Gujarat, Part I, begin from the Vedic times, when the Aryas had not penetrated as far as Gujarat, and traversing the later period, come up in this volume to the reign of Siddharaj Jayasinh. The chronicles are based on authentic sources, and certainly throw a flood of light on a subject which has not yet shed its obscurity. It is an addition of great value to the old historical literature of the province.

(9) **MANO MUKUR**, Vol. III : By *the late Narsinhrao Bholanath Divatia, B.A.* Price Re. 1-0-0.

It is a collection of sixteen essays written by that veteran poet and critic at different times on literary and other subjects. They required to be preserved in a collective form and that has been done. Thanks to the G. V. Society.

(10) **GRANTH ANE GRANTHAKAR, PART VIII**, and (11) **ARVACHIN GUJARAT NUN REKHADARSHAN :** By *Hiralal T. Parekh, B.A., the Assistant Secretary of the Society*. Price each Re. 1.

Mr. Parekh comprises in him the unique qualities of an ambitious thinker and a practical person putting the thoughts thought out by him into execution. He conceived the idea of collecting and printing the biographies of all writers in Gujarati and has been able to carry it out and spread it over eight volumes.

In each volume appears also an essay on a literary or allied subject and a classified list of books and useful magazine articles published during the past year. The volumes therefore prove useful not only for contemporary reference but also for reference to future generations. This time there is an erudite contribution on the present state of novel writing in Gujarati by Surendra Pandya and 40 pages of selected poems written in 1936. Outlines of Modern Gujarat (No. 11) is an equally useful and praiseworthy work betraying the writer's deep love of research and facility to marshal intelligently the facts resulting from the research. All that one wants to know about Gujarat, its literature, its domestic and social conditions, its educational activities and particulars of the lives of those who have worked or are working for the uplift of

the Province, are to be found in this small but encyclopaedic hand-book. It is styled, *Vyaktitwa*, the individuality of Gujerat. The contents justify the title. It deals with the period 1908-1936. K. M. J.

TELUGU

MEGHA SANDESAM : By M. M. Venkatachari, B.A., Tirupati. Pages 67. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author.

A Telegu rendering of Kalidas's immortal classic *Meghadutam*.

JATAKA RAJAM : By Singayarya. No. 1 of *Daivagna Grandhamala*, Tenali. Pages VIII+244. Price Rs. 2

A treatise on astrology comprising of over six hundred slokas in Sanskrit, with Telugu commentaries by Messrs. Sridhara Venkayya Sidhanti and Viswanatha Sastri.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE : LIFE AND LECTURES : By Komaduri Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Pages 107. Price annas six. Can be had of the author, Coconada.

The work records the landmarks in the life of Babu

Subhas Chandra Bose, the young President of the Indian National Congress. The personality of the foremost politician of the younger generation, is presented in an intimate way throughout these pages.

NEHRU CHARITRAM : By Komaduri Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Pages 192. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author, Coconada.

The work records the biography of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. This edition is commendably revised, enlarged and illustrated.

RAJATVA POURATVAMULU : (SOVEREIGN POWER AND CITIZENSHIP) : By T. Sivasankaram, with a foreword by Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu. Pages 109. Price Re. 1. Sadhana Press, Anantapur.

The work is an attempt at pre-entation of both sides of the shield, State and Citizenship. The limitations and obligations of each are fully dealt with. The author deplores the lack of civic sense among us in all walks of life. His criticism of the nationalistic arguments should be toned down. The work on the whole is commendable, though it suffers much from the use of local idiom.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

WORLD AFFAIRS

THESE are fateful days for Europe. The "hour of decision" for people and their leaders is about to arrive—decision for war or peace. May be it is being forced on nations by the will of a single man in whom a mass frenzy finds its long-denied focal point of suppressed nationalist expression. In bated breath the world awaits the Nuremberg speech of the Fuehrer. Legions stand by for the word of command. The vigil for the Czecho-Slovak liberty is long and painful as the future grows more and more uncertain. The people require self-control more than ever. But it is become increasingly difficult. For nerves have been tried by a continuously long process of provocation. Tempers are frayed and it makes the position gloomier in the Central Europe. All Europe is reacting to its affairs in the same way. The French army is prepared. Silently it goes to the fateful fortifications of the Maginot line; across the Mediterranean the coloured forces are drawn for the probable danger that threatens France on the Rhine. The British fleet is ready as well, and the Cabinet meets in anxious mood to know the developments from hour to hour, and to repeat appeals and counsels, which it realizes have very little effect on the peoples and parties at the hour. Naturally even the Fascist dictator and the Japanese militarists no longer occupy the world-stage. They are being denied today the blaze of political foot-

light which they still could claim with equal force. In these first days of September they have all paled into insignificance—the Russo-Japanese frontier clash is almost forgotten; the reply of General Franco, practically refusing to fulfil the agreement for evacuation of volunteers from Spain, is no longer worthy of remark; of course, the Palestine of Arab guerillas, or the French Moroccan Arab restlessness is in comparison with things about to happen of no account. The Mexican expropriation of British and American oil interests by Cardenas, or the Japanese exclusion of the foreign trade and commercial interests from the Chinese territories occupied by them fail to raise the issues to the plane that in other times they would do easily. For, even as the Japanese are now battering one Chinese line of defence after another around Hankow, the Central European unrest is reaching a climax; the barometers there record a rise and fall incalculable to all except to Herr Hitler, the Dictator of Europe. Important as it was, the Balkan Entente that struck an agreement with Bulgaria, removing the disability regarding rearmament imposed on her so long by the treaty of Neuilly, fails to secure the notice that is its due as a practical demonstration of peaceful diplomatic settlement in presentday Europe. The defensive alliance entered into by the Little Entente with the Hungarians, who have nursed

their war-wounds,—or peacewounds,—imposed by these powers, was the only break in an ever-deepening gloom around the Danubian states, in particular as the Entente has Czecho-Slovakia as one of the members. For it is the fate of Czecho-Slovakia that now hangs by a narrow thread which the breath of a Fuehrer can blow away or the rising temper of an over-wrought people can snap at any hour. Emotional tension of the Germans and the Czechs is at the breaking point now. A declaration for a plebiscite in the Sudeten areas may bring matters to a head. For, the result is foregone—Germans would no longer desire full autonomy in the State, but merger in the Third Reich. Events have emboldened them to claim nothing less even though Henlein programme, drawn in April, it should be remembered, was more moderate. So, the world may be said to be gathered at Nuremberg as the Fuehrer would pass his decree on Czecho-Slovakia. The hour is drawing near. Lives and fortunes of millions besides the Czech or the Sudeten Deutsch are about to be affected in course of the next few days.

CZECH CONCESSIONS

Lord Runciman's mission of mediation has progressed almost as foretold by the critics of British policy. The Czech authorities have produced at least four schemes of concessions in succession, each more liberal than the other. With the advice of the mediator to guide them and the vast war preparations of the Nazi Dictator to launch a *putsch* if the independent and disinterested counsels of the British mediator do not accomplish the Nazi end there, the Czecho-Slovak authorities could not afford to be in any other frame of mind. The threat of a *putsch* and the pressure of advice for a peaceful solution has had their weight in framing these last proposals (September 7, '38).

The latest Czech proposals to the Sudetens contain the following points:

Firstly, recommendation of the principle of proportional employment of officials, according to population;

Secondly, employment of officials in districts of their own nationality;

Thirdly, division of security services so that local regions may have police of their own nationality;

Fourthly, a new linguistic law based on complete equality of language;

Fifthly, assistance to industrial life in German districts, which are most affected by the crisis, including a loan of 700,000,000 crowns on advantageous terms;

Sixthly, the creation of equality of national status on the basis of national autonomy by the introduction of the system of cantons, whereby Germans are in the majority. All questions not concerning national unity

to be dealt with locally. The integrity of the frontier and unity of the state to be effectively guaranteed;

Seventhly, special sections for cantons to be created in all central administrations, which can be run by nationals, who will deal with matters affecting their own nationality;

Eightly, national right of citizens to be protected by special laws, and the elected representatives of various nationalities in various representative bodies to have the right to complain against any interference with rights or interests of their nationals. A special register to be established for each nationality;

Ninthly, immediate steps to be taken to reach agreement on those points which do not require legislation.

In effect this would mean cantonal Government, only the frontier and defence and finance being reserved for the centre. In other times, in other circumstances, terms like these would satisfy the Sudeten Germans easily. For they go certainly a long way to meet the Carlsbad demands put forward by Henlein on April 24 last. We may repeat them for comparison as the Sudeten Deutsch representatives in their negotiation with the Czecho-Slovak authorities have stuck to these as their basic conditions to be guaranteed at any cost.

The eight demands are:—

1. Full equality of status for the Czechs and Germans.

2. A guarantee for this equality by the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body incorporated.

3. Determination and legal recognition of the German area within the State.

4. Full recognition of the German areas.

5. Legal protection for every citizen living outside the area of his own nationality.

6. Removal of injustices inflicted since 1918 and reparation of the damages thereby caused.

7. Recognition of the principle: within the German area German officials.

8. Full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy.

Perhaps the world outside would subscribe to the Czech and French view that the limit of concessions has been reached, if, of course, it maintains that the Czecho-Slovakia State has the right to exist as sovereign power and retain its territorial integrity by refusing to create a 'state within a state.' That however, we know, is the very intention of the Sudeten German movement, which contemplates a final merging in the Third Reich. For the present however the proposals fail to satisfy the Germans as they hold that these grant only local rights and no power to make decision over the important questions, in the Central Government. This is not the German conception of autonomy—at this moment at any rate. The withdrawal of the Czechs from the Sudeten services is to be spread over a decade, as the Government contemplate; over the police and

the postal departments German control is not conceded; the right to profess Nazi philosophy is not, it is said, refused, but neither is it explicitly recognized. It is unknown therefore how far the proposals grant the three main demands *viz.*, full equality of status between the Czechs and Germans, guarantee for the same by a recognition of the Sudeten Germans as the legal body incorporate, and recognition principle within the German areas German officials. Naturally, Herr Kundt and Herr Hebeckowski and the Sudeten German leaders replied with the curt *communiqué*: 'All reports go to show that the dispute can be settled only by comprehensive and rapid realization of the Carlsbad demands.'

RUNCIMAN MISSION

It is evident that the Czecho-Slovak State of Masaryk is in danger of slow dismemberment. For, the dread is growing into a certainty. After three hundred years of long agony and the brief and glorious twenty years of liberty and reconstruction, of days of proud achievement and noble promise—of democratic advancement and progress, when Fascist reaction engulfs the peoples around it—the Czechs may fail to keep their heads cool when they know what they are about to lose, and, especially, as they know what the powers that advise patience and reasonableness and sacrifice mean by that. The new terms were in the hands of the Sudeten representatives, and the British mediator was in Prague to persuade the Czecho-Slovak authorities to concede, and still to concede, when *The Times* suggested (Sept. 7.) in a leading article the secession of the Sudeten Districts as possible solution of the problem.

The paper says that if the Sudetens now ask for more than the Czech Government are apparently ready to give, it can only be inferred that the Germans are going beyond the mere removal of disabilities and will not find themselves at ease within the Czechoslovak Republic.

In that case it might be worth while for the Czech Government to consider whether they should exclude altogether the project, which has found favour in some quarters of making Czechoslovakia a more homogeneous State by the secession of the Sudeten Districts.

The paper adds that in any case, the wishes of the population concerned, would seem to be a decisively important element in any solution that can be regarded as permanent.

The official circles in Britain disclaimed any such plan, or to have tendered any such advice, but a suggestion from *The Times* at the very hour betrayed probably the inner thought of the well-known group of British ruling class that gathers at the Cleveland House

and among them the editor of *The Times* and the British Premier and the Foreign Secretary are counted as prominent members. No wonder if the official denial was not believed in Prague, which remembered the Halifax visit of friendship to Berlin, the Wiedemann mission of goodwill to Halifax, the British ruling class admiration for the Fuehrer as the saviour of their class interests which might be swept off by new and popular socio-economic forces. This might serve at least as a feeler for a plebiscite in the area to be proposed by Britain if the Fuehrer is bent on military aggression. The practical result of such a plebiscite would be satisfying to all except to the Czechs—Hitler will get all he wants; the British avoid a war which was likely to bring them on the side of France and Soviet Russia, against Hitler and Mussolini—and possibly Japan (her Chinese engagements would permit this only partially). Only the Czechs will be thrown to the wolf. The Czecho-Slovak spokesman had to admit, probably not referring merely to the activities in Germany, "The new proposals have only been made because of foreign pressure, urged to a degree that has surprised, and even pained us." The Runciman mission is apparently succeeding and *The Times* spoke not merely for itself. Much as the Britisher would see the Czecho-Slovak State to live—of course away from the Moscow contagion—as a bulwark against a German *Mittleuropa*, he is neither in a position to displease the Nazi warlord nor willing to question his ends and means. As a mediator Britain is to give Hitler what he wants and keep her friend France too away from a war against Germany that may involve Britain.

THE CZECH TEMPER

Nerves have been set at edge for too long a time for the Czechs to maintain quiet. The Sudeten and Nazi challenges are intended to provoke them to deeds of violence. The foreign pressure must have sent them to despair and desperation. Every day 'incidents'—a memorable word in the modern world since the Japanese meant it to signify their 'stabilization' efforts in China—incidents, however, 'occur in a bigger scale and ever widening field', as we are told. Following the Maehrishoatrau incident (in which two Sudeten German deputies were alleged to have been shot by the Czech police) the Sudeten Deputies were about to break off the negotiations when the terms were being offered. The Czech Premier promised immediate inquiry. Quick

steps have been taken in anxiety to appease the Sudetens and to demonstrate that Prague can guarantee peace and order. For, the German press utilized the occasion, and every other imaginary and actual occurrence, to play the old card it showed on the eve of the Austrian *coup*—the state is too weak to cope with the trouble and to protect the German minorities. The Third Reich alone can guarantee that as the Third Reich is the natural destiny of the German people everywhere. "Blood was stronger than enemy power and that which was German must belong to Germany," significantly declared Herr Hitler at the German youth parade at Nuremberg. And in the Sudeten areas the Germans similarly declared their will. While their leaders still openly professed themselves to be not separatists or Nazis, the people sang the forbidden Horst Wessel song, shouted 'We want our Fuehrer', and cried, as at the Nazi occupation of Austria, 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer.' What is there in the whole Czecho-Slovak situation to help the long tried Czech temper not to rise into desperation and fury as their days of liberty appear to be numbered through a conspiracy of the mighty powers of Europe? Other minorities, they know, are only waiting—the Slovaks, the Magyars, the Poles, and even the Rumanians. The Czech, therefore, are in no peaceful mood. Yet this is not likely to save their State. It is feared that the concessions announced, if accepted by the Sudeten Germans, would bring a fall of the present Czech Government in their Parliament.

In the face of all this the broadcast of Dr. Benes has more than its moral value. A note of dignified calm worthy of a tragic character—worthy of the man and scholar, who helped to make twenty years ago the State out of the debris of the Hapsburg Empire—runs through the brief report that the News Service offers.

Dr. Benes broadcast an appeal for a calm and dispassionate judgment on the international crisis at Prague today.

He described the present international difficulties as "the most serious since the war," and added:

"For 20 years the Republic has developed quietly and progressively. Political democracy, freedom, economic prosperity, religious tolerance and social justice have been achieved without crises, upheavals or revolutions."

"What in other countries caused dangerous upheavals, was in our country reasonably, dispassionately and practically resolved."

"This is a sincere and fruitful effort on our part to achieve as great a degree of political justice as is politically and practically possible. This must be done in the spirit of true and sincere democracy."

"In this spirit we opened negotiations with different nationalities of our Republic. We have begun with the

Sudeten Germans as the most important group but the proposals apply to all citizens of the State."

The Czech President expressed the belief that the proposals would be beneficial to the State and its future and also by renewing co-operation between all nationalities. Even in the present period of difficulties nothing could threaten their unity and integrity.

"We want" he said, "to contribute to a settlement of the European problems generally and the establishment of good relations with all our neighbours, especially Greater Germany."

"We want to prove to Europe and America, and above all to England and France, that we understand the duties imposed upon us and we shall fulfil these as far as the needs of the State allow us."

As the President of the Republic Dr. Benes recommended the solution to the population, although, he said, it entailed heavy sacrifice.

Dr. Benes concluded: "We must re-establish full confidence and co-operation between the two great nationalities of the Republic, and thus ensure internal calm, peace and peaceful development."

Still unrest is abroad and incidents are daily occurrences. A serious incident may be feared in such circumstances.

The possibility of some serious incident between the Sudeten Germans and Czechs and the animosities fanned by the weeks and months of constant propaganda by the Reich newspapers and broadcasts cannot be overlooked.

Ever since the Sudeten leaders withdrew the orders to their followers not to offend or be provocative, says a Prague message, a complete change has come over the Sudetens who almost go out of their way to be offensive.

And an incident would serve to offer Hitler the occasion for "intervention" (Berlin distinguishes between 'intervention' and 'invasion'. The world has already known in the Spanish affairs that 'non-intervention' meant 'invasion,' in Czecho-Slovak affairs 'intervention' may come to mean, however, the same thing). He, it is thought, considers that to be the Nazi solution of the problem. Consequences are being carefully weighed no doubt. The manoeuvres have left in his hands the German army ready for action. The temper of the people is warlike. The press has whipped them into a frenzy. The last Austrian success has intoxicated the nation, and the little Prague 'pigmies' are considered too insignificant to raise any trouble to the Fuehrer's people. Have they not the best army, the biggest air fleet, the most disciplined people organised under a totalitarian State on basis of autarchy (though that may be no sure foundation as the Bourse proves, its very cracks require to be set off by a foreign adventure now. Trouble at home is best met by big adventures abroad)?

The rejection of the Czech plan is therefore most probable though the negotiations have been resumed.

FRENCH AND BRITISH ATTITUDE

Three hundred thousand French troops moving to man the Frontier, hundreds of reservists arriving at Metz daily, thousands in the subterranean burrows of the Maginot line, in the rear, in the huts and camps of the forests nearby, the Atlantic fleet of more than 60 ships ready (Sept. 9) to put to sea with munitions and supplies—behind the apparent calm of French life these movements leave no doubt that France would not allow Berlin to decide the fate of Prague and simply look on. It is apparent that, if necessity arises, she will act alone. This strong stand on the part of France will go a long way to determine the British attitude too. There has been a lack of determination in that quarters in this respect with a desire to see the Czechs peacefully yield to the Fuehrer what would satisfy him. Peacefully—for war would mean the French intervention on behalf of the Czechs and an obligation as we said, on the part of Britain to follow France. For, the British frontier is on the Rhine now. In the present state of warfare and defence France forms practically the first line of strategic stand for Britain. So, the pro-German and pro-Fascist British foreign policy is on its trial. It is going to be unmasked, or, fall in a line with France after exhausting all efforts at persuasion in Prague for peaceful submission and appeal in Berlin against the aggressive line of solution. Downing Street is busy and the diplomatic correspondents speak of the decision of Britain not to stand away from Czecho-Slovakia if Hitler disregards the warning. But to think of Britain throwing herself in a fight against the Fascists and that on the side of Soviet Russia! Can the British Cabinet do it?

The situation is recognized as serious, and, naturally, anxiety is evident, pending Herr Hitler's declaration tomorrow (Sept. 13).

It is felt that it is of first importance that the Reich Government should not assume that a brief, successful campaign against Czechoslovakia could safely be embarked on without danger of the intervention, first of France, and, later, of Britain.

The Government have taken special pains to keep in the closest touch with the Dominions.

The gap between the Sudeten- and Czech Government is considered to have been appreciably narrowed by the latest Czech proposals. It is considered that, although it may be necessary for a good many more negotiations to take place for the elucidation and modification of the proposals, there could be no justification now for the abandonment of the negotiations in favour of a more violent solution.

It is realized that there may be further setbacks

to the negotiations, though the British view is that there is no reason why efforts by mediation, or, otherwise, to find a peaceful solution should be abandoned.

Any great European conflict is regarded as a tragic disaster, which is avoidable, and British Ministers will spare no effort to avert it.

ON THE WAR-PATH ?

So the question of opening the Pyrenees is put aside by France to the disadvantage of the Spanish republicans. In the Ebro sector they are being forced to abandon the territories they won. Silently therefore Mussolini's plans are succeeding. In the present crisis the Italian voice was heard only once—Signor Gayda advising the Germans to accept the fourth offer of the Czechs. Naturally. For, 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer' is not a delightful music to the ear of the Fascist dictator, all whose efforts at Italianization of the 2,30,000 Germans in Tyrol have not succeeded and must one day be accounted for when the Fuehrer is freed from the Sudeten and other eastern complications. As yet Mussolini is silent and secure; his ambitions in Spain promise to mature without French murmurs. Similarly, the Palestine situation, which is nothing short of an open revolt now, is passed by and the fierce fight around Hankow in which the toll of war on both sides was heavy, cannot be adequately appraised to see the full significance of these. A more dreadful chapter is about to open in Europe. The Continent is being pushed to the edge of a precipice. A man like Lord Grey might say again, "The lamps are going out all over Europe; they will not be lit again in our time." Mankind is about to plunge again in the maelstrom of death and destruction, but it could still be saved from the calamity. As the gathering darkness is shot by sinister flashes of lightnings, man feels more and more a victim to forces before which he is helpless. Yet this catastrophe is by no means unavoidable or inevitable. Could not the situation be straightened? If not, is it but a proof that in the texture of the life of humanity passions and interests have been so blindly woven into wild and planless patches that our reason and intelligence are left helpless to bring design of pattern into it. We are blind enough to be victims of the blind destiny—victims to our racial pride and prejudice, our garbled self-interests and group-interests, and to the fever of our hate and the hunger of gold and power.

G. H.

September 12, 1938



INDIAN PERIODICALS



'The Mahatma's Creed and "Hind Swaraj"'

In making an estimate of Gandhiji's creed and of his book *Hind Swaraj*, the English edition of which is a translation of the original in Gujarati, Hugh I.A. Fausset observes in *The Aryan Path*:

Hind Swaraj was written in 1908 in answer to those Indians who preached violence as a remedy for their country's ills. It was published serially in *Indian Opinion* and later in book form. But for some years it has been out of print. It is now issued in Mr. Gandhi's own English translation at a price within the reach of everyone and at a time when we in the West are more ready to listen to its revolutionary message than we were when it originally appeared. Our self-complacency has received some rude shocks since then and we are being compelled by events to recognize the truth of Mr. Gandhi's claim that civilization requires the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection than that of brute-force. This in fact is a profoundly revolutionary little book and the fact that it is addressed to Indians and concerned with their specific problems does not make it less relevant to Englishmen, though it may be harder for them to accept it. *For the whole purpose of the book is to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West.* Today Mr. Gandhi's conviction of the disease of modern civilization is deeper than ever. But while continuing to work individually for the ideal self-rule pictured in these articles, he admits that it requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for. And so he is ready to tolerate Parliamentary Home Rule, railways, hospitals, law courts, machinery and mills as at best necessary evils which will die a natural death when enough people come into possession of their true selves. It is likely, even in India, to be a long and painful process and for the Westerner in particular the problem, though fundamentally a spiritual and moral one, is perplexingly involved in the question whether we can use or must abandon the machine.

For Mr. Gandhi no compromise is ultimately possible with that Frankenstein's Monster. He applauds the wisdom of his ancestors who saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet and so rejected anything which would curtail that use. "Machinery," he wrote, "has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization, it represents a great sin." And he would reject outright the suggestion that it may be used eventually for the spiritual and material benefit of all.

In surveying the contents of the same book in the same magazine Professor Frederick Soddy expresses the following views:

How far it is to be regarded as a complete or abiding philosophy and how far a temporary political weapon of

expedience, the reader must decide for himself. The author evidently believes in it in the first sense more than ever and says, in a preface, that India has nothing to fear or lose and all to gain by discarding "modern civilization," whilst admitting that the time is not yet ripe for it. But one would have thought it was even less ripe in 1938 than in 1908, and, short of time going backward or a similar miracle, the likelihood of India ultimately doing so seems remote. Certain features, even the whole of the philosophy may survive, as founded on one of the eternal verities, incorporated with the positive achievements of modern civilization which, just as much as they, are also founded on the eternal verities. The days when this self-satisfied assumption of the superiority of one sort of truth over another was considered the highest form of it seem to have passed away.

The Social Implications of Science

The present dislocation in the entire world is the result of maladjustment between scientific development on the one hand and social and international relationships on the other. Efforts are now being made to make scientists, who as a class have not tried to inform and train the public mind, conscious of the duty they owe to society in this regard. *Science and Culture* writes editorially:

The International Council of Scientific Unions set up last year a Committee on Science and its Social Relations, which was instructed to prepare a report on the effects of science on human life and social relationships and present its report in 1940. For this work the Committee is expected to receive collaboration from national correspondents and scientific societies in various countries. The Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has also formally pointed out in a resolution the changes in the physical and mental environment of man and the complexities of social, economic and political relations that are being brought about by science and technology. Both the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Association are seriously considering these social problems created by science. Views of representative scientific men in Great Britain on this question were sought recently by *Nature* and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that a society for the study of the social relations of science is needed. A concrete scheme for the organization of such a society and for its lines of work is naturally more difficult of formulation, but it constitutes at least a re-asserting symptom of the growing awareness of scientific minds to the urgency of the question.

We consider it desirable that the Indian Science Congress Association should discuss this question in a plenary session in the forthcoming Lahore Congress,

and, if necessary, organize a Committee for the study of this question. The social implications of science are even more ignored in this country than elsewhere, as the mass of the people is ignorant and illiterate. But India is as much within the orbit of the action of deadly scientific weapons as any other country. India, as a nation, is really at the threshold of her scientific career, and if her scientific men organize their thoughts betimes with regard to social, economic and political questions, it may be possible to arrest drift and guide her destinies in the direction of social progress and peace. India, like many other countries, abounds in quacks—medical, political and spiritual and the help of sincere scientists trained to study problem with objectivity and without prejudice may help to steer her course evenly in a sea of passion and unscientific thought.

Idealism and Realism

In the course of his article in *Prabuddha Bharata* on the fulfilment of Beauty, Dr. Cousins makes the following observations on idealism and realism, two forms that have mixed and erroneous connotations in their general use :

Both idealism and realism, as generally thought of, involve a mutual deficiency, in the exclusiveness of the one towards the other. To the extent that idealism concerns itself with the relatively permanent things of life—with aspiration, intuition, imagination, and the higher mind—those things that liberate the consciousness from the dictatorship of its physical agents, into the aristocracy of the spirit, it may be regarded as of greater importance than realism. Realism concerns itself with the objective things in life, which, by their intimacy with time and space, partake of the transiency of the latter, and by their pre-occupation with the modes and implements of expression, and the relatively lower things of life, tend to reduce the consciousness to servitude under its own agents.

But when idealism turns itself outwards towards expression, when it immerses itself in the successively denser strata of feeling, thought, succession, design, language, verbal or artistic, and instrumentality, it cannot retain its idealistic purity, for its expression must take on the inevitable limitations of its media. It is in order that the limitations of expression—limitations of definiteness as well as of indefiniteness—may be surmounted, that the utterances of vision and intuition have to be interpreted and reinterpreted; that the Sermon on the Mount has to be followed by the Epistles and Commentaries; and the Vedas by the Upanishads and Puranas. Neither can expressive idealism ignore the available media of expression and their natural limitations, otherwise it would not find expression. Idealism cannot exist without realism.

On the other hand, realism can have no relationship to reality while it seeks to live without the imagination and the higher experiences of consciousness. The attempt to eliminate everything but direct perception of objects cannot make even a beginning in the visual arts, sculpture and painting, since we literally "walk by faith," faith in experience that enables us to correct the up-side-down and inside-out retinal pictures, and through an incalculable number of inferences put the world in its proper position. This is a subjective experience. A purely objective thing is an impossibility : realism cannot exist without idealism.

Congress Ministry

In comparing the case of the Punjab with that of Bengal in *The Hindustan Review*, Nagendra Nath Gupta incidentally makes the following remarks on the communal decision:

Of the four provinces which do not possess a Congress Ministry, the Punjab is one. This fact by itself is no reproach, for Bengal, which claims a lead in all national movements, has no Congress Ministry. This is due to the majority of the electors being Mussalmans in Bengal just as they are in a majority in the Punjab. The communal problem owes its acuteness mainly to the formation of communal electorates in India. It has been accentuated by the communal award made by the late Mr. MacDonald. To hedge in the right of vote by religion is really a denial of that right. Why must a Mussalman voter vote for a Mussalman, or a Hindu for a Hindu? Has any one ever thought for a moment that if there had been such a distinction in England, Dadabhai Naoroji or Bhowmagree could never have been elected to the House of Commons? There can be no doubt that the government which introduced the communal electorates in India intended to keep the Hindus and Mussalmans apart and prevent a national political fusion among them and in this they have succeeded.

Congress High-Commands and the Question of Cow-slaughter

According to the editor of the *National Wealth*, the statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter is an imperious necessity from the standpoint of national wealth and health of teeming millions of India irrespective of any religious differences and interests. He observes:

The famous fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah which have practically become the Scriptures of the communal problem had been the subject of an unusually elaborate correspondence between their tenacious author and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the ex-President of the Congress. The way of approach of the Congress veteran was undoubtedly a conciliatory one, that of granting concessions to Muslims as far as possible or even beyond, with a view to bring them over or anyhow appease them. But the Muslims remained obdurate and implacable, their points increased in quantity and intensity until at last they gnawed at the very soul and self-respect of the Congress. All these events have led to the present impasse.

In order to avoid this undesirable contingency the Congress high-command with the necessary approval of the Wardha Whitehall proffered many concessions which the Congress as representing the Hindus was not strictly entitled to concede. One such horrible concession is the "right to cow-slaughter" granted or allowed to continue in its enjoyment, to the Muslims. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his letter of the 6th of April, 1938, to Mr. Jinnah says :

"As regards cow-slaughter there has been a great deal of entirely false and unfounded propaganda against the Congress suggesting that the Congress was going to stop it forcibly by legislation. The Congress does not wish to undertake any legislative action in this matter to restrict the established rights of the Muslims."

We are simply at our wit's end to know that cow-slaughter is being turned into a right and that of an established character as if the right to kill a cow is a

fundamental right under the constitution. Does it not mark the height of presumption and the implacability of the Muslim League leaders which demands a right, which goes against public policy and national welfare? Are the Muslims demanding a right to slaughter the best cattle-wealth of the country, to annihilate national wealth and national prosperity, to set fire to happy homes and peasants' huts, to impoverish agriculture and create a scarcity of food-stuffs and to starve their own dear little children by refusing them the milk of the mother cow, telling their innocent little angels that cow-milk can no longer be had because they kill cows? Apart from the higher national ideal which every community worth the name should put before it, is this not a perfectly self-destructive policy?

But unfortunately, it is one of the tragic ironies of time that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to confess that the Congress does not wish to undertake any measure to stop cow-slaughter.

It is a matter of the greatest regret that the present president of the Congress Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should also follow in the same trail as Jawaharlalji, thus shaking rudely the foundations of liberty of thought.

If the Congress does not intend to undertake any measure to enact the statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter, let it at least support a private measure to that effect. Then alone the Congress would have acted rightly and in the best interests of the nation.

My Experiences in the Welfare Works for the Blind abroad

Subodh Chandra Roy who has distinguished himself as a scholar inspite of his visual handicap, writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

During my study trips to Europe, America, Canada and Japan, I was pleased to note that the stamp of each country's peculiar genius was definitely recognisable in its welfare works for the blind. It may be said, as a rather broad statement, that Great Britain and the United States of America have influenced directly or indirectly the works for the blind throughout the world; but the evidences of adaptations by each country to its peculiar needs and environmental demands are unmistakably noticeable.

After recounting his experiences regarding what other countries are doing in order to ameliorate the lot of the sightless community, he goes on to remark:

It will be seen from the above dissertation that the visually handicapped persons are taken care of by those societies from the time they are born until they die. As a matter of fact, the societies in the West have become definitely conscious of the sacred responsibility towards their handicapped members. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* in this matter is considered to be very dangerous and has been abandoned by all civilized countries. It has been realised that society cannot progress very well if the handicapped persons belonging to different groups are allowed to remain as permanent drags on it.

I am positive that our society in India is making a great economic waste by not educating and not employing its blind individuals. Our society has to bear the burden for these people anyhow; then why should it not take something out of them? Besides, in certain spheres of activity, the blind individuals can render

better and more efficient service than even the seeing. The Western societies have realised this truth and have been prompt to take advantage of it.

There is another way of looking at the same thing. Real sympathy is shown to the blind persons not by feeding them at public expense and keeping them idle at home, but by giving them education and burdening them with work and responsibility. This truth has not been realized in India and all efforts in helping the blind have thus been misguided and abortive. Dr. Childs, Professor of Psychology at Teachers' College, Columbia University, has rightly said: "For an individual to be a member of a society and yet have no responsible part in its activities is a form of social ostracism that breeds disastrous spiritual consequences." In my opinion, the blind people have a more urgent need for education than even the seeing.

Francisco Franco

There are some who consider General Franco as the saviour of Spain. There are others who consider him merely a rebel pushed on by Mussolini and Hitler. Prof. P. L. Stephen gives a short sketch of his life in *The Indian Review*:

Born forty-five years ago in a family of adventurous mariners at El Ferrol, Francisco Franco chose to serve his country through the army. After his early studies he joined the Military Academy at Toledo, and graduated from there in 1910 with the rank of second lieutenant.

The young lieutenant was eager for service and glory; and he naturally turned to Morocco where Spanish arms were then faring none too well. The native tribes were carrying on a vigorous uprising.

It was then that Damaso Berenguer conceived the idea of forming the Native Regulars of Melilla—a body of men consisting of Moors commanded by Spanish officers. Franco was one of the first who volunteered to serve under Berenguer.

At the battles of Yadumen and Izarduy, his feats of courage and skill astonished the officers. He seemed to have a charmed life. Men and officers standing by his side fell shot dead.

Franco's great triumphs were obtained as a Commander of the famous Foreign Legion. This Legion consisted of adventurers who refused to recognize fear, and who asked for the most dangerous posts. They were the shock troops in every engagement, always in the vanguard and at the most dangerous places. When this Legion was formed by Lt.-Colonel Astray in 1920, Franco was the first Commander chosen by Astray. The Legion was responsible for the success of many engagements, as the battles of Beni Aros and of Sebt, and the re-conquest of Melilla and Segangan.

He was unanimously chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Legion when he was only thirty years of age. Soon after this appointment, he left for the Peninsula to celebrate his marriage. This was the fulfilment of a long deferred desire, often postponed on account of the exigencies of military service. He had met Carmen Polo when she was only fifteen, and he twenty.

By 1925, Franco effected a few operations that brought the rebellion to an end. With the breaking up of the rebellion in Africa, Franco was free to go back to Spain. Primo de Rivera, the Dictator, appreciated Franco's character and ability, and so

appointed him Director of the General Military Academy of Spain.

But after the death of Rivera, Governments changed and the fortunes of Franco also underwent constant changes. The Socialist Ministry had no trust in him, and he was sent away as Commander of the Balearic Islands. The next Ministry, however, had him back at Madrid as Division General of the army, and it was then he helped to scotch the Communist revolution of October 1934. Again in 1936 February the elections brought the Communists to power, and this time Franco was got away to the Canaries as Military Commander there. But his active mind was vigorously at work.

A vigorous propaganda was carried on, and all those who opposed Communism joined up. The result was the uprising which began on the 18th of July 1936, and still continues without any sign of abating until one side or the other wins outright.

Features of Orissa's Temples

Nirmal Kumar Bose introduces his article on "Features of Orissa's Temple" in the *Current Affairs* with the following paragraph:

In different parts of Orissa, there are living even now some of the descendants of the artists who built the great temples of Puri, Konarak and Bhuvanewar. These *silpins* have preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts fragments of the science of architecture; and when we study them with the help of the craftsmen, they almost open up a new world of science to us. One particular manuscript seems to have been very popular throughout Orissa, and that was named the *Bhubanapradipa*. But we also hear of others named the *Rajaballava* and *Ratnakara*, which yet remain to be properly edited and translated. These canonical books give us a description of different kinds of temples, their specifications, the relation of their different parts and so on. The *Bhubanapradipa* tells us of four orders of temples named the Rekha, Bhadra, Khakhara and Gaudiya. Of these the Gaudiya occurs as an exotic type in some limited portions of northern Orissa and Puri. The Bhadra and Khakhara are more numerous; but the Rekha alone seems to have been the most important architectural order in ancient Kalinga.

The form of the Rekha is familiar to all, for the main temples of Bhuvanewar and Puri belong to this order.

In conclusion he says:

It is necessary that we should measure the temples of Orissa very carefully and see how far they actually conform to the canonical rules. This will help us in two ways. The fragmentary books of architecture do not record all the phases of the evolution of temples; they merely record one phase of it. A field-study of proportions would firstly help us in fixing the approximate date of the *silpa sastras*, while it will also help us in tracing

with some degree of confidence the actual course of evolution followed by Orissan temples through several centuries.

Fruit or Pan?

The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health makes an extract from a book entitled *The Rural Uplift Education* by Dr. S. S. Nehru, of Manipuri. Regarding the relative value of fruit and *pan* Dr. Nehru observes:

The Western fancy may boggle at this quaint choice between fruit or *pan*, but here is a conflict of tastes if not a clash of culture. In the West a true complement to a good meal is the apple; the finish to the feast is the fruit; so much so that while Nordic countries have their puddings, the Latin lands have their fruit baskets as the last taste of sweet. Here in India, especially rural India which carries an extra hard crust of conservatism, the grand finale of the feast is the ubiquitous *pan*—a betel leaf rolled into a lozenge and filled with a mass of limewash, *catechu*, and betel-nut. The finer specimens have also wet tobacco rolled with molasses. The finest specimens carry cocaine—this is a costly speciality for the townsman. The rolling of the betel leaf into a diamond nugget—in shape not colour—is an art comparable with flower arrangement in Japan. The rolling of a cigarette is mere child's play. The *pan* cone is prized for properties which are precious at first glimpse but poisonous at the last. For, patently, the *pan* provides something astringent to chew; it promotes salivation and the digestion, and lends the mouth, tongue, and lips a lustre which puts in the shade the finest vermeil tint of the lipstick which only dyes the outer fringe of the lips and causes the victim to keep the mouth prized apart and the lips needlessly turned up and down. The victim of the *pan* suffers very much, if less obviously. The teeth are eaten and eroded to stumps. Further they are blackened. Finally they are rotted, and then the poison is spread to the bowels through pyorrhoea.

Distinctly, the *pan* is a menace. Dwell a little longer on the slippery weed and the unsavoury moss it prepares, causing dry-rot in the teeth, red-rot in the throat, brown-rot in the bowels. It recalls tea, but goes beyond it in the uses, and indeed misuse, not to say abuse. If tea is a slow poison, *pan* is a sure one. Tea is partaken three or four times a day, if the quantity at a time is apt to double or treble itself, but *pan* is partaken at all times, before meals, after meals, at visits, at partings, on rising, sleeping,—every time.

True, the afternoon garden party and at-home ceremonial functions have caught on; but the *pan-supari* persists.

How can fruit displace such a hoary sinner as the *pan* in the rural area? By producing more fruit, better fruit, richer fruit, newer fruit, and seeing that it is consumed in the village. In one word, with the fruit-eating habit.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Cattle Drain in India

According to a recent estimate India maintains 215,000,000 cattle out of the world's total cattle population of 690,000,000. In spite of certain valuable qualities, the cattle of India, judged by economic returns, are poorest in the world. Dr. Sam Higginbottom, president of Allahabad Christian College and principal of its Agricultural Institute, writes in the *Asia* :

The Indian cow usually matures slowly, and may not give her first calf till between four and five years of age, as compared with maturity at two or three years for the breeds of temperate climes. This late maturity almost doubles the cost of raising a cow to the income-producing stage. Fortunately, the milk of Indian cows is fairly high in butter-fat content, but the average yearly yield is estimated at no more than from 600 to 750 pounds. It is difficult to see how such an amount of milk, only about a quart a day for the three hundred days of the lactation period, will pay for the cow's food and care.

India today is estimated to produce annually approximately 29,000,000 long tons (a long ton is 2,240 pounds) of milk from her 80,000,000 odd cows in milk, or about 750 pounds of milk per cow per year. Another estimate arrived at in a different way gives the average yield per cow in India as 600 pounds of milk per lactation. Both these figures reveal the poor average milk-giving capacity of the Indian cow. Both estimates bear out the results of my own inquiries and observations over the past thirty-five years, that is, that over 90 per cent of the cows of India do not pay for their keep. They are an economic drain on the country.

It is axiomatic that low-yielding, small-value cows produce expensive milk, whereas high milk-capacity, high-value cows produce cheap milk. Milk in most parts of India at wholesale is much more expensive than in the United States, Canada or the dairy countries of Europe, or in Australia or New Zealand. And it is almost impossible to buy sanitary milk in any one place in India in amounts sufficiently large to allow a butter, cheese or condensed-milk factory to run at a profit. Yet, with better quality cows and scientific feeding, India could produce milk as cheaply as any country in the world. India can graze her cattle for twelve months in the year, if the grazing area is properly rotated and managed, and she has some of the best grasses in the world if properly treated.

Recent estimates give the average per capita consumption of milk and its products in India at 7 ounces per day. India is very largely a vegetarian country: for most of the people, milk is the only source of animal protein. In seventeen countries for which records are available, the per capita consumption of milk and its products varies from 63 ounces in Finland, 61 in Sweden and 56 in New Zealand to 39 in Great Britain, 35 in the United States, 30 in France and 10 in Italy. But all these countries are, generally speaking, non-vegetarian; hence milk does not have the same relative importance

in their diet as it does in vegetarian India. For India's needs to be met in any reasonable manner, her daily consumption of milk should be raised anywhere from five- to seven-fold, the higher the better. May there not be some relationship between expectancy of life and average milk consumption? The three nations that consume the most milk have the greatest expectancy of life of any people in the world, all of them over sixty years, whereas the countries with the lowest expectancy of life (India, twenty-six years) have the lowest average consumption of milk.

Difference of opinion exists in India as to what the next step should be in cattle improvement. Some breeders think that no more foreign cattle should be imported but instead all efforts should be concentrated on improving the Indian breeds of cattle, which have already adapted themselves to the environment and can live and thrive under conditions where imported cattle suffer and deteriorate. There is much to be said for this viewpoint; for it is true that imported cattle and cross-bred cattle have so far not accomplished as much of permanent value as was expected. It is risky and expensive to import cattle. Many of the imported animals have died before they have had any opportunity to leave any progeny. Many of the half-breeds of the first generation have been good cows but could not transmit the improvement to their descendants. Succeeding generations have grown progressively worse. Another objection is that the cross-bred bullock is alleged not to be so good as the purely Indian. Some matings of certain breeds of foreign with indigenous cattle result in bullocks which cannot stand the climate as well as the local ox, and rapidly lose constitution, although other combinations seem almost or entirely equal to full-blooded Indian cattle.

It is now seen that what is needed to establish a new breed having the immunity to disease, ability to stand the climate and high digestive capacity of the Indian cattle, plus the milk inheritance and early maturity of the West, is to import not only foreign bulls but also a few foreign cows, which could be mated to the best bulls of Indian breeds. The half-bred bull of a mating of Indian sire and imported high milk-yielding dam would carry his mother's high milk-giving capacity. If he were mated to a half-bred daughter of an imported bull and an Indian cow, both of these half-breeds, having in their inheritance the characters for milk capacity and early maturity, on both sides, would pass it on to their progeny.

The writer suggests that two policies might well be carried out simultaneously with regard to further improvement of Indian cattle:

The improvement of the existing Indian breeds through proper selection and care and proper feeding on a much larger scale than at present, and the adoption of a cross-breeding program of mating both foreign bulls and a limited number of foreign cows with Indian cattle. If the latter experiment were kept in the hands of skillful breeders, a few years would show whether a new breed made up of the imported and the Indian

breed could be established in India, which would have practically all the advantages of the Indian animal, plus the great advantage of early maturity in the cow and enough milk to make a profit under Indian conditions. The resulting gain for India, in physical health and economic well-being, would indeed be great.

China's Staying Power

C. Kuangson Young, until recently Managing Director and Editor of *The China Press*, Shanghai, analyzes, in a paper contributed to *The Asiatic Review*, China's staying power—human, territorial and financial.

China's human power is almost inexhaustible, says the writer :

Four months after the fall of Nanking in December, China was able to inflict the first serious defeat known in the modern military annals of Japan. Forty-two thousand of a Japanese army of 65,000 perished in the debacle of Taierchwang at the beginning of April.

Since then, with considerable reinforcements, the Japanese armies from North China and the Yangtse Delta have been advancing. At their disposal is the most modern equipment for destruction and death, but the Chinese defenders have held on. When forced to retreat, they retreated only to resist another day. Their morale has remained excellent, their determination unchanged. For the first time in China's history one sees unmistakable evidence that her teeming millions have found a director and organizer.

China's human power has found direction and organization at this crucial moment in the soldier-statesman Chiang Kai-shek.

China's new army is growing daily. It is replenished with recruits from the interior provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Hunan, Szechwan, and elsewhere. Several millions are undergoing the various stages of training, and in another year 10,000,000 men, trained and adequately armed, will have found their way to the fronts. If the struggle continues, another 10,000,000 men will be going forward to fill the gaps left by the fallen.

A million Japanese soldiers are now on Chinese soil. Four hundred thousand are being kept in Manchuria. Japanese casualties are estimated to be already over 100,000. How long can Japan stand the drain on her human power?

China's space is a favourable factor :

Japan's hold on the so-called occupied areas is precarious. True it is that many large cities are within their military control. The Shanghai-Nanking railway, the Tientsin-Pukow railway, the Peiping-Mukden railway have passed into their hands. But these are only dots and lines in an ocean of a hostile population and of untractable mobile units.

China's financial and economic staying power depends on the factors noted below :

First and foremost, China is an agricultural country. Economic interdependence of the various regions exists in a rather negligible degree. There is individual, district, and sectional self-sufficiency. The stress of war has not affected to any appreciable extent the economic life of territories outside the actual theatre of hostilities.

The nationalization of silver has enabled the Chinese Government to have within its control, both abroad and at home, huge stocks of silver which have kept China's financial Maginot Line intact. It is quite well realized that a breach in the financial front will result in the collapse of the military.

It is a remarkable fact that the Chinese Government has not imposed new taxation to finance the war.

Islam and Bolshevism

What Bolshevism has done to the Christian Church in the Russian Empire finds frequent reference even in the daily press, but we seldom hear what Bolshevism has done to the millions of Muslims who formerly dwelt within that empire. Arthur Jeffery reviews in *The International Review of Missions* a book on the subject by Von Gottfried Simon :

It comes somewhat as a surprise to many people to realize how great a Muslim power Russia has been. Turkestan was one of the early centres of Islamic power and in the period of Russian expansion great areas of Turkestan came under the dominion of the Czar, and from Turkestan there was considerable penetration into European Russia. It was natural that when Bolshevism came to power these Muslim communities of the empire should be sovietized.

Islam presented a peculiar problem to the Bolshevik leaders and they have dealt with it with great skill. The first card they played was self-determination. Muslims in Russian Turkestan were at one with Muslims living under English, French, Dutch or other Christian domination, in their resentment at being subject to a non-Muslim power. Soviet leaders played on this and made a bid for enthusiastic support from the Muslim communities by announcing that each community was given the right of self-determination, and no community need any longer feel under the domination of any other. Added to this was their interest in the vernaculars and the local culture. Further, they quickly made capital out of the Qur'anic teaching where the Prophet tirades against the rich of his day, condemning their injustice, their oppression of the poor, their pride and arrogance in their riches. This, they said, proved that Islam and Bolshevism were fundamentally the same. The terrible disaster which overtook the Orthodox Church at the hands of the Soviet Commissars was also a thing pleasing to the Muslim communities.

Thus in the early years of Bolshevik power there were many pious Muslim leaders who hailed the new regime as that of a power wholly favourable to Muslim objectives, and thus to be whole-heartedly supported by the Muslim peoples. It was not long, however, before the anti-religious bias of the movement became evident, but by that time the Soviet power was too firmly established among the Muslim communities for any revolt to be successful. They have had to watch their mosques and schools go the way of the Christian churches and schools, and see their faith just as harshly outlawed as the Orthodox faith. Great masses of them seem to have accepted secularization, but there is still an element, particularly in Turkestan, which is maintaining the fight for the maintenance of the Muslim religion.

Food Planning For 400,000,000

The following extracts are made from a review, appearing in the *Journal of The Royal Society of Arts*, of Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee's book with the above title:

Agriculture in India must be approached from a new angle in the future so as to ensure the most economical use of the land; it must attract the most gifted brains, British and Indian; it must include a new population policy and systematic food and crop and labour planning.

Even if India can bring her yields up to the best standards of other heavily-populated eastern countries, certain problems will remain—one being the attitude of the peasants towards the maintenance of uneconomical and useless cattle which amount to 125,000,000, and another that, assuming the present rate of increase of population which may well be realized under the improving conditions, India's population by the middle of the century will in all probability overstep 447,000,000, which is said to be her ultimate population capacity.

The average Englishman, even though he grows today less than half the food he eats, is largely unaware that the problems of population pressure exists in the East. There is no hope of India being able to import food from foreign countries in exchange for her manufactures; Japan and, to some extent, China are already ahead of her in this respect, and their population pressure is likely to become even heavier than that of India. Even in these countries the food production, though high per acre, is low per human hour of production. Hence wages are small in industry and manufacturing costs low in comparison with Europe.

What is the solution? We give it in the words of the author: "The future population adjustment thus seems to lie more in the directions of of judicious combination of food and industrial cropping than in subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialization, and above all more in the restriction of numbers than in the diversification of employment."

Professor Mukerjee reminds us that Malthus first enunciated the law of diminishing returns, so important for India, and that in Asia 1,000,000,000 people live in an area which is one-sixth of that occupied by 600,000,000 people in Europe and America. In the Ganges plain over 80 per cent of the total cultivable area is cultivated, and in some districts 96 per cent is cultivated; here the density of population exceeds 1,000 per square mile! Under such conditions there is necessarily no fallowing, the soil becomes depleted, and the general costs of cultivation is increased.

The Negro in America

Writing in the *World Order*, James A. Scott presents an over-view of social practices which block the American Negro's exertions in almost every worthwhile direction.

In the fourteen states where they live in largest numbers an elaborate though somewhat flexible etiquette deeply entrenched in law and custom governs every detail of inter-racial association. Under no conditions, it prescribes, is a Negro to be addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs." Never is he to sit on a bench in a public park or read as a patron in a public library. He must enter and leave a street car by a designated door—in some localities the front, in others the rear—and sit in a

designated section. Unless a servant of some white passenger, he must travel in a jim-crow compartment, frequently a division of the baggage car—and at all railroad stations he must use separate waiting rooms. When he has business at a hotel, he is generally required to use the freight elevator. In the matter of residence he is relegated *en masse* to undesirable quarters on the "other side of the tracks" where insanitation prevails and such services as garbage collections are woefully inadequate because he cannot vote. Above all, he must not commit the offense of dining with a white man.

Nowhere is the Negro more fundamentally handicapped, the writer points out, than in the lack of educational opportunities:

According to statistics issued by the Department of the Interior, the *per capita* expenditure for public school education for each child in the nation in 1930 was \$99.00; for each white child in the South, \$44.31; for each Negro child in the South, \$12.57. In one state the expenditure per white child was \$45.34; per Negro child \$5.45; in another the expenditure per white child \$35.42; per Negro child \$6.38. The salaries of Negro teachers averaged 47 per cent those of the white. The value of school plant and equipment per white pupil in the South was \$157.00; per Negro pupil \$37.00.

When suspected of crime, he is more than occasionally tortured, murdered, and dismembered by maniacal mobs which undergo no observable remorse of conscience if they subsequently learn that the offense with which the victim of their orgiastic holiday was charged was the crime of a white man who had charcoaled his face. More generally than that, where he is granted trial it is in many instances in an atmosphere so electric with mob spirit and before a tribunal so biased by pre-convictions that the whole procedure is lynching legalized.

War and Youth

Robert James, Freshman at the University of California, Los Angeles, observes in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

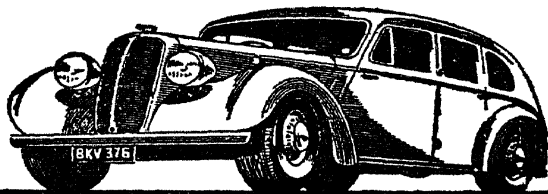
Today war is coming. The same selfish forces that asked the young of another generation to lie beneath white crosses in Flanders fields are talking again of saving democracy and of preserving international morality. Our elders are listening to glib tongues and are becoming bitter little by little, day by day, against the poor of the earth under immoral dictators. Is it moral to subjugate half of the peoples of the world to the extent that they turn to half-mad leaders for succor? Is it democratic to use force to maintain an unjust peace? Can't you solve the world's difficulties through understanding and good will? Can't you prevent war by giving a little of life to the oppressed peoples of the world? . . . If there is no other way we must give up our dream of life and breathe the stench of gas-filled trenches before falling, a half-destroyed, shapeless thing, education gone through the power of a hand grenade, dreams drowned in the clatter of a machine gun. Amid our studies we wonder at the things happening around us. War is coming and we are twenty. Will you ask us, too, to die?

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Dictators and Mass Psychology

The New York Times has the following note on the dictators of to-day:

The new totalitarian masters in Europe have established a grasp on the minds and feelings of their subjects which the old despots of history might well envy. Louis XIV said, "I am the State." Mussolini goes much farther and says to his people, "I am your state of mind." Thus it will happen that on Monday afternoon the Italian people hate England and love Hitler. By 10 a.m. Tuesday they are decidedly cool to Hitler and recall the old ties of friendship between Italy and Great Britain. In between somebody has issued orders.

The Republic of Cuba

Juan-Manuel Planas writes in *La Nature*, Paris :

The Republic of Cuba includes not only the Island of Cuba, but also the Pine Island and several other large and small islands lying around it which altogether make up an area of 114,524, sq. kilom. for the whole Republic. When Columbus discovered the Island of Cuba on 27th. Oct. 1492, he found there Red Indians of a kind and mild temperament, standing on a low cultural level. To-day, in contrast with the Middle and South America and Mexico, there are no Indians left in Cuba. After its discovery, this land was conquered and colonised by Spain. As the natives perished, the colonists imported Negro slaves from Africa and also allowed the Chinese to immigrate. When the Edict of Nantes was cancelled, and again when France gave over Louisiana to the United States in 1803, French colonists came over to Cuba and settled there as planters.

It was a Franch general in the Spanish army. Louis de Clouet, who was responsible for founding the city of Cienfuegos and settling many French families there. Thus the majority of the population of Cuba is today made up of Spaniards, black slaves, French, and Chinese people. The number of the Chinese and Spaniards, who are attracted by the fertile soil, is still on the increase. Since the war, a large number of Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians and Russians, most of whom were Jews, have immigrated. About 600 out of 4,000 students of the University of Havanna are Jews born in Cuba. The Chinese own two big daily newspapers, whereas there are nine Spanish periodicals in Havanna . . . The population of the Republic is over four millions, of which the white population (including foreigners) is estimated to be 72 p.c. The density of population is 35 inhabitants per sq. kilometer.

It is not known well enough that the Wars of Independence fought by Cuba against the mother country, Spain, were not fought by Red Indians against their conquerors, because the native element had already become extinct, but by the descendants of the Spanish colonists, supported by French settlers, Negroes and the Chinese. The last War of Independence gave rise to the Spani-h-American War of 1898, which ended with the defeat of Spain in Cuba and the establishment of the Republic of Cuba on 20th May, 1902, after an American government for three years . . . The Republic of Cuba is divided into six provinces. The capital, Havanna, has a population of 552,000 inhabitants, and there are, besides, 18 cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. Since Dr. Finlay of Cuba discovered that yellow fever is transmitted through mosquitoes, the hygienic conditions in the land have improved, and it has been possible for the Americans to complete the construction of the Panama Canal . . . Cuba, which was formerly a centre of infections, has now become a paradise and one of the healthiest lands of the world.

Trs. DR. V. V. GOKHALE

Key to the Frontispiece

The artist has in view the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, and his Rajput wife, Jodh Bai. Accurate portraiture, however, has not been aimed at.



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

One More Solution for the Problem of Communalism

OUR shrewd rulers or the Saint of Shegaon, who-so-ever be the inspirer of the idea of no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, it is a fact that at present there is a big section of people in the country who are out to please the *chhota bhai* at any cost. To add to the already suggested numerous measures, Prof. Bhuvan Mohan Sen has suggested a new one.

In the August issue of *The Modern Review* Prof. Sen has published an article, with a view to exploring the rock-bottom of communalism and advocating the cause of re-writing history. But his failure in the attempt is pathetic. It is an irony of fate that he aimed at excavating the rock-bottom but his soaring imagination landed him in fairy-land instead, where realism lost all semblance. Hence, though the article is full of pious wishes, it is equally full of misconceptions and erroneous statements.

In order to substantiate my remarks I first propose to enumerate the points dealt with by Prof. Sen and then examine them, one by one.

At the outset he has referred to communalism in India. Secondly, he writes about the futility of pacts in securing communal harmony. Then he proceeds to discuss the effect of teachings of history on Indian students. After this he has made broad suggestions as to how the history of the Hindu period and the Muslim period should be re-written. Then he presents an outline for the same purpose, and concludes by quoting Principal Sheshadri for support.

Prof. Sen has begun by stating that the absence of Moslems in India would not have placed us in any better situation than the present one. The division of Hindu society into majorities and minorities, due to castes and sub-castes or the racial difference, *viz.*, Aryan and non-Aryan, would have played its part in the destruction of social harmony. Though by reference to castes and sub-castes, or the racial colouring Prof. Sen suggests that in writing this article he has all sorts of communal problems in view, from his further writing it is obvious that it is not so, and that his attention is centred around the red rag of the Hindu-Moslem problem only. I don't want to blame him for this. Because it is but natural that this question should be uppermost in every one's mind, as one cannot open one's daily papers without having to read of a kidnapping of some Hindu woman, or looting of a Hindu merchant or of a Hindu-Muslim riot, in some part of the country or other. Even though Prof. Sen has grouped all communal problems together, I would like to state here that the solution of this Hindu-Moslem problem, shall have to be completely different from that of the other communal problems of castes and sub-castes. Prof. Sen says that communalism is rampant in India. What he says is a fact, and every one in India must be prepared to meet communalism—nay, all 'isms' on a square front.

Now let us turn to the second point, *viz.*, the futility of pacts and agreements as solutions for communal problems. Here I am glad to state that I quite agree with Prof. Sen on this point of futility of pacts and agreements, though my reasons for it are different. He

says: "I have no objection to secure communal harmony by a policy of give and take." I ask who can possibly have any objection to this policy? No one can. The theory is quite all right, but if we look at the state of affairs carefully we find that it is not give and take, but it is only give. Further he writes: "Whether we wish such a patch-work or not, it is inevitably coming; for there is the dominant party in Indian politics who are pursuing Swaraj at any cost." This means, in spite of his no faith in the patch-work Prof. Sen is prepared not only to let it go unopposed, but to suggest a measure of re-writing history to smoothen its course. In this I differ from him and I am of opinion that, though some unwise things are being carried on by a section of people in the country, on the strength of majority for some time, they cannot last and continue long, if opposed by educated people. And I think every educated person is duty bound to oppose any action which in his eyes is harmful to the nation, even if he is in the minority. The dominant party, as Prof. Sen says, is out to enter into pacts and agreements based on the policy of give and take. The party may be free to give, but what has it that can make others to reciprocate. Can the dominant party force others to give if they do not do it voluntarily? The answer is, nay. It means that the dominant party is out to give only. And this should be prevented because in this case when the two contracting parties are not equally strong to enforce reciprocation the taking party will never be satisfied unless it takes all. All the above will make it clear that the real solution of this problem lies in nothing else but in both the communities being strong and organized.

Now we come to the more important point dealing with the effect of teachings of history on Indian students. In this connection Prof. Sen after stating that in order to secure communal harmony, history of all the communities must be rewritten, tells us of Englishmen participating in the Washington memorial meetings, and joining the Wallace and Robert Bruce anniversaries with sincere enthusiasm. Does he thereby mean to suggest that this good feeling between the English and others is an outcome of rewritten history? I don't believe that Prof. Sen will dare to answer this in the affirmative. But then if he answers in the negative, he will at once have to admit that rewriting of history is not at all necessary for the creation of such good feeling. In fact history has nothing to do with this. Prof. Sen writes: "When the Hindu lad leaves the school, he is for all his life obsessed with Alauddin and Padmini, and Alauddin and his assassinated uncle." This certainly cannot be attributed to history taught in the class-room. For where's the need of reading history for this, when many contemporary Alauddins in many villages and towns frequently corroborate this failing of their co-religionist. Can all the good done by Alauddin Khilji make the Hindu lad blind to the present? Can the 'Dream in the marble'—the Taj, enable him to turn a deaf ear to the rueful tale of Ajanta or Ellora and many other similar places? Evidently it cannot. After describing the effect of history on a Hindu lad Prof. Sen

proceeds to describe the effect of reading the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and Puranas on a Muslim student. I am sure Prof. Sen must surely have been in the realm of dreamland while writing this. I have not so far heard of schools where the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, etc., are taught by way of history. If Prof. Sen is referring to boys reading these outside the class-rooms I think it cannot be helped, unless Prof. Sen suggests to proscribe the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. I do not think that he will go that length. Moreover, I can assure Prof. Sen of complete safety in this affair, without this drastic measure of proscribing, for I would sooner believe Prof. Sen being a convert to Muslim faith than Muslim lads reading the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Having thus clearly shown that history taught in class-rooms has little or no share in fostering communalism, it would not be out of place here to discuss the question of rewriting history, from the theoretical point of view. The primary consideration in this matter is, as to what purpose this branch of learning is expected to serve. In my opinion, the study of this subject is promulgated with the object of making the past a guide for the present and future life, by a race or nation, and I think there can be no two opinions on this point. In this, it is presumed that history is a correct, faithful and complete account of the peoples' past collective life in its various aspects. If it is agreed that history is to serve no other than the abovementioned purpose, it should be in conformity with the above description. Any movement or project undertaken by the leaders for the betterment of the people, but not in keeping with their characteristics and traditions, has always and everywhere failed. The guidance of the unfaithfully and incompletely represented past is sure to lead a nation or race to a disastrous end. I may be excused for quoting the following lengthy but convincing passage from *Hindu Polity* by the learned author, the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in support of my above statement.

"But when there was a Hindu revival in the time of Sivaji and the Sikhs, the Sikhs as a polity failed. They failed because they could not connect themselves with the past. They followed a system which prevailed around them and established a polity of one man's rule; Guru Govind wanted to remedy it but the attempt brought about no-man's rule. It was the Padshahi, the Moghul form, in success and defeat, in rise and in fall. But the movement in the Maratha country had a different history. There they looked into the past history and drew up a constitution and founded a polity on materials that were easily available to them, but the materials which connected them with the past. They

consulted the Mahabharata and the Shukraniti and found that the King should reign but not rule, that government should be vested in a ministry of eight ministers. And they founded the Ashta-pradhana. They searched out technical terms from the political literature of the country and drew up a Raj-kosh or a book of state terms. Yet the system tried was only one portion of Hindu polity, one-half of the whole body. They had the Pari-had but they had not the Paura-janapada. To their great credit it must, however, be said that in modern times they were the first to realize that one man's rule was not allowed by the wisdom and the experience of their fore-father, that it was foreign to the genius of their Sastras. Their limitations were the limitations of darkness and ignorance about the constitutional history of the country, a darkness which we have not yet fully removed three centuries after."

The concrete incidents from past history embodied and compared in the above passage will not leave a shred of doubt in anyone's mind as to the manner of presentation of history and its purpose. Hence history, let it be of a nation or a race, of a sect or a community, of even a movement or an agitation, must be presented in a faithful and complete manner, and it should not be tampered with even by omissions.

Now let us look at this question with reference to different communities whose lots are cast together. Just as in case of individuals, in order that two or more culturally different communities living together may develop intimacy to the extent of being co-sharers in sorrows and joys, in successes and defeats, in hard-hips as well as affluence, the condition precedent is of absolute confidence in each other. And such confidence can never be inspired in each other unless each knows the other thoroughly and completely. For this it is absolutely necessary that both must be aware of each other's merits and demerits, virtues and vices, characteristics, traditions, idiosyncrasies, and what not. Does this not mean that faithful and complete presentation of history is equally essential in this as well as in the case of peoples or communities living by themselves?

All the discussion made so far ultimately brings us to the conclusion that there is one and only one way in which history can be presented, if it is to serve the desired end about which there is no difference of opinion. As this conclusion leaves no scope for re-writing history to Prof. Sen's taste I very much regret that his labours in presenting an outline for the purpose of re-writing history, should, in my opinion, remain unfruitful.

Dhulia

D. R. BHAT

The Modern Review for September, 1938:

p 312, 2nd. column, line 12, read 'dialectal' for 'dialectual'

p 313, 1st. column, line 29, read '1911-21' for '1911-12'

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NOTES

The Industrialization of India

Though agriculture is also an industry, the latter word is generally used to denote manufacturing industries.

At present India is no doubt mainly an agricultural country. But it would be a mistake to assume that in the pre-British period also she was in all ages a merely agricultural country. Even a cursory perusal of the introductory chapters of Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* would show that India was an industrial country, too, and that, in addition to supplying her own requirements of manufactured goods, she exported such articles to foreign countries. She can again be industrialized. But it is neither desirable nor practicable to make her mainly an industrial country, as, for example, Britain is. Industrialization of India in that sense is not, we believe, aimed at by any political or other party in India. A proper balance between agriculture and manufacturing industry should and must be maintained. In fact the intensification and extension of agriculture in many directions will be required, if only for an adequate supply of raw materials for many kinds of new and already existing industries.

When the industrialization of Russia is spoken of as an example of what ought to be done in India, it is so said with reference to the progress made by Russia during the last twenty years in manufacturing industries. It is forgotten or not known that in agriculture, too, she has made equally great progress and improvement.

As the authors of the recently published book, *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, say:

"Although, as we have shown, the aim to industrialize the U. S. S. R. has been attained during the twenty years of the existence of the Soviet Government, agriculture has by no means been neglected; indeed it may be that the verdict of history will be that it is in the solution of the agricultural question that the U. S. S. R. has made the greatest and most original contribution to world economic history." Page 152.

The industrialization of India has engaged the attention of Indians for many decades past—especially after the starting of the Swadeshi movement. Indeed long before that movement, the founders and conductors of the Hindu Mela in the late sixties and early seventies of the last century made the advancement of indigenous industries one of the objects of the Mela.

The Swadeshi movement has given rise to many industries directly and indirectly.

In recent years Sir M. Visweswarayya has written a book on the reconstruction of India advocating industrialization. Sir P. C. Ray, noted both as a scientist and a practical industrialist, has been for decades harping on the subject in our English and Bengali monthlies and dailies. In June last we planned to issue a special industrial and economic number, and were able to make it ready on the 30th July for publication as our August number. It contained articles by such prominent scientists and industrialists as Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. M. N. Saha, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, G. L. Mehta, D. P. Khaitan, A. R. Dalal, Prof. V. Subrahmanyam, and others.

At the sitting of the Congress Working Committee on the 25th of July last it passed a resolution on the development of industries in the provinces,

authorizing the Congress President to convene a conference of Ministers of Industry at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the need and possibilities of new ones as preliminary to the appointment of the Expert Committee to explore possibilities of an All-India industrial plan.

Accordingly the Congress President called a conference of the Industries Ministers of the Congress provinces, to which the Industries Ministers of the non-Congress provinces might also have been invited and they might have accepted the invitation. The President's views on industrialization were known even before the conference. He made them known at a meeting of scientists at the Calcutta University Science College in reply to questions put by Dr. M. N. Saha. This was directly or indirectly the result of Dr. Saha's paper in the August number of *The Modern Review* having been criticized by Mr. Kumarappa in some newspapers. At the conference at Delhi on October 2nd President Subhas Chandra Bose declared that industrialization and that by "forced marches as in Russia" was essentially necessary for India. "In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition." He is also of the opinion that if industrialization be an evil, it is a necessary evil, [which it is not,] and that the remedy is to mitigate the evils of industrialization, not to resist the process itself.

The experts committee has been appointed by the President. His choice of the personnel has much to commend itself. It cannot and should not be contended that all the prominent scientists and industrialists should have been in the Committee.

Industrialization includes within its scope large scale heavy industries, smaller power industries, and cottage industries. No class of industries need be shut out. Many European countries—France, Scandinavia, etc.—and Japan are noted for their cottage industries. In Japan many cottage industries serve as feeders to bigger ones.

We do not know how the industries are going to be financed. State socialism in the sphere of industries, as in Soviet Russia, is, of course, out of the question now. But some kind of economic nationalism will have to be advocated. In any case, the provincial govern-

ments must aid the industries in some way or other and see that they are properly financed. President Bose is an avowed socialist. But he need not on that account fight shy of capitalism at this stage. We read in Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Life and Teachings of Lenin*:

"He (Marx) was able to show that capitalism in its early stages, despite wholesale cruelty and hardship, was nevertheless a progressive force, driving through competition to continual development of the productive forces, enlargement of the scale of production, concentration of capital and increasing of the numbers of the proletariat."—Page 13.

Even in industrialized countries of the West and in Japan "wholesale cruelty and hardship" are no longer associated with capitalism, and labour legislation in India have made them impossible.

At the Conference both Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's opening address and the resolutions agreed on the fundamental propositions that every scheme should be planned on an All-India scale including the Indian States, that an early start should be made with certain key industries of national importance and that a comprehensive programme should be drawn up by a National Planning Commission. Now the key industries, such as power supply, metal production, heavy machinery and tools, chemicals and fertilisers, transport and communication industries, etc., require much capital. Hence the co-operation of capitalists must be secured.

It is a pleasure to note that the conference has decided that every scheme is to be planned on an All-India basis, including the Indian States. A month earlier, on the 2nd September, S. J. Nalini Ranjan Sarker delivered an address on the prospects of Industrialization in India at Gwalior on the occasion of the Ganesh Festival at the invitation of the Gwalior Durbar, which he concluded by observing:

A very large measure of inter-provincial co-operation between the States and British India would be necessary to direct our industrial development along sound lines. We must evolve a common policy and technique of Government encouragement and assistance and probably also devise some effective method of mutual assistance in industrial financing. In these matters we cannot stop with British India. Our efforts should also embrace the Indian States many of which have to some extent evolved policies suitable to their peculiar circumstances, and have acquired valuable experience in regard to the nature and extent of state assistance that are likely to produce the best results. We may have several political boundaries, but in matters economic I can only envisage one boundary—the boundary of India.

Whatever plan of industrialization may be adopted, the rights of Labour are sure to be safeguarded. Dr. A. K. Saha with his Russian

experience and Mr. V. V. Giri with his experience as a Labour leader will help the committee to do it.

A Tribute of Praise to the Congress Ministries and The Congress High Command

In the October number of *The International Review of Missions*, which is a leading British quarterly, the Rev. J. S. M. Hooper pays the Congress ministries and the Congress high command the following tribute of praise:

One thing may be said with confidence, while recognizing that at any moment the position may change: a good start has been made, after the preliminary months' manoeuvring for position and the clarification of issues that resulted from it; the conditions of continued success are present in the spirit of co-operation and of eager service that has been shown by the governors of the provinces, the members of the services and the newly appointed ministers. Speaking generally and keeping clear of the ungrateful task of criticism of details here and there, most of the ministers have approached the tasks of administration with humility and courage, and with a determination to deal thoroughly with the real problems of the country. The necessary emphasis on the purely constitutional questions that have been so much debated for many years, some of the greatest of which—notably that of the position of the autocratic Indian States in a federal system—are still unsolved, should not obscure the fact that the Indian governments in power are using that power for the service of the people. It is at the least a gesture of significance that the Congress governments are working on a sacrificial basis: by their own action the monthly salaries of ministers have been limited to five hundred rupees (£450 per annum). Where there has been any hint of corruption strong steps have been taken to correct it, the Congress high command exercising at this stage a salutary influence on the provincial governments, in helping them to maintain a high standard of probity against local forces that might otherwise prove too strong.

The central Congress authority has been further praised for its work in the following

How to reconcile the responsibility of each provincial Congress government to this Congress higher command, with the responsibility to the electorate whose votes have put it in office, is one of the major problems that the Congress party will have to solve. Meanwhile, however, the central Congress authority is discharging a most useful and necessary function, so that in spite of local difficulties and the fact that some Congress men are apparently looking for trouble, it may be said that the responsible leaders have shown that they are eager to serve what they believe to be the true interests of the country and that they recognize the magnitude of their task.

"America's War on China"

This is the heading of an editorial note in *The Christian Register* of Boston, which is "a

journal of Free Churches." The heading is startling. But read the following:

Not only the liberals and the radicals but all the decent people who, so far as we have heard or read, have expressed themselves on the subject, sympathize with China in the present undeclared war. With unanimity they condemn the aggressor and his methods. Even when they admit that the Japanese were themselves in many ways the victims of a bad international situation, they still condemn the unchivalrous—to put it mildly—way in which Japan has carried on her "war."

But the voice of the people, as a nation of ethical individuals, is not the voice of the people as a state or as an assemblage of economic corporations. We are sending to Japan over half of the material which she is using in her Chinese offensives.

That means, of course, that we are accomplices with Japan in her raids upon Chinese territory. If her actions are criminal we are accessory to the crime. Even if the actions were not criminal our participation in them would mean that we were ruining a potential customer and strengthening a potential economic and military rival—that we were giving ourselves good reasons for the building of more battleships.

Our supplying Japan with 54.4 per cent of her war material is also a reduction to absurdity of our policy of neutrality, and the invocation of the neutrality act would not help in that respect: for then China would be barred from purchase of munitions, but Japan would not be barred from purchase of raw materials and machinery.

"American Committee for Non-participation in Japanese Aggression"

Though the *American State* has been, indirectly, making war on China, *right-minded people* in America are trying to right the wrong done, by organizing the "American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression."

The only decent course for America to pursue is to withdraw her economic co-operation with Japan. To this end there has just been organized in New York the "American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression." The personnel of the committee is not complete, but already it includes Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr; Dr. Edward H. Hume, director of Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work; Professor Harry B. Price of Yenching University; T. A. Bisson of the Foreign Policy Association, and a number of others the majority of whom have special knowledge of the Orient.

The committee has initiated its work by issuing a pamphlet, "America's Share in Japan's War Guilt" (15 cents a copy), which may be obtained by addressing the committee at 8 West 40th Street, New York. The pamphlet contains factual material on what we are doing to aid Japan as well as a number of opinions by statesmen and publicists which show that the demand to cease trading with Japan does not come from any one quarter but is voiced by conservatives and radicals alike, by the Churches, Catholic and Protestant, by labor, by women's clubs.

The committee seeks larger membership and financial contributions.

This American Committee has set an example which other peoples, particularly those who are free, ought to follow.

British "Empire's Largest Steel Plant Now Headed by Indian"

World Youth for September 10 last contains an article with this caption. It is said therein:

The largest steel plant of the British Empire, the Tata Iron and Steel Company, of Calcutta, India, has recently appointed the first Indian to be its General Manager—Mr. J. J. Ghandy. Mr. Ghandy took his Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees in Bombay and in 1918 began work in the Tata Company. After three years he went to the United States for graduate study in various subjects which would further fit him for the steel business, taking degrees at Columbia University and the Carnegie Institute of Technology at Pittsburgh. After returning to the Tata Company he made several subsequent trips to Europe and America to study the steel trade and has now been made General Manager, a position previously held by Americans.

An account is then given of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in a few sentences.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company was organized over thirty years ago by two brothers, Jamshedji and Dadabhai Tata. The family had previously owned extensive cotton mills near Bombay and had made the present development of hydro-electricity in Bombay Presidency. Up to the beginning of Jamshedji Tata's excursion into it, mining in India had been confined to precious metals and gems. It was Jamshedji who had a vision of the development of ore mining and the manufacture of steel. He was greatly assisted by an American steel-captain who worked out plans by which the Tata Company was launched. Today it stands as the largest single unit of its kind in the British Empire.

The output of the Company for the month of January, 1938, was 216,500 tons of finished and semi-finished steel products.

In India, largely in its own mines, the Company finds all but two of the raw materials required. Sulphur is purchased from Japan and fluorspar from Germany. Some of the ores, in particular chrome, come from Indian jungles where malaria and black-water fever abound. When a new mine is discovered the Company sends medical experts at once to ascertain what diseases must be combated, and precautions are immediately taken for the protection of the laborers.

The late Mr. P. N. Bose, but for whose discovery of the iron mines in Mayurbhanj, the Jamshedpur Iron and Steel Works could hardly have been started, ought to have been given due credit in this connection.

In conclusion, due meed of praise is given to the Parsees.

Although Americans have played a great part in developing the Tata Company, and money and labor from all communities in India are invested in it, the dominating atmosphere of Jamshedpur is Parsee. The Parsees are numerically a small community, but they are comparable in business acumen to the Jewish people of other nations, and they dominate the financial life of a large part of India.

Parsees are Persians who migrated to India some thirteen hundred years ago, and are Zoroastrian by religion. Education is more widely spread among them than

among any other people in India. The percentage of literacy among Parsee women is even greater than that of Christian women. They are a philanthropic people. The Tatas have devoted their vast wealth to the advancement of India along constructive lines. They early urged upon the Government the enactment of such tariff regulations as would promote Indian industry.

Lenin and University Education

In *The Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin* by R. Palme Dutt, published by the International Publishers of New York, we are told that Lenin's father was an inspector of schools, whose "two sons and four daughters all studied deeply, and were all revolutionaries" (p. 21). That shows—whatever some Indian revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries and some of their leaders may say—that there is no incompatibility between deep study and revolutionary mentality.

The same book states:

"In 1887 Lenin, then aged seventeen, was expelled from Kazan University, which he had just entered as a student, for participation in a revolutionary demonstration."—P. 21.

This was long before the Bolshevik revolution, and Kazan University was a Czarist imperialist university. The other universities in Russia were all at that time imperialist universities. Politically they were not better than our Indian universities. Nevertheless, the young revolutionary Lenin "continued his studies, and took his degree in law at Petersburg in 1891." Evidently this taking of a degree at an imperialist university did not make a slave of him.

No one in India is or can be a greater revolutionary than Lenin. We are not followers of Lenin, and cannot ask anybody to be a follower of him. What we say is that even those of our students who may want to become Leninists need not give up or neglect their studies. On the contrary, following his example, they should study deeply and take their degrees, if they can.

Communism and "The Whole Inheritance of Human Knowledge"

We learn from Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Life and Teachings of Lenin*, published by the International Publishers, New York:

"Lenin constantly insisted that communism cannot be regarded as a special body of doctrines or dogmas, of 'ready-made conclusions' to be learnt from text-books, but can only be understood as the outcome of the whole of human science and culture, on the basis of an exact study of all that previous ages, including especially capitalist society, had achieved."—P. 63.

Communism is popularly believed to be a subversion of all previous "isms", including even socialism and the principles of the French Revolution. So, if even communism stands in need of acquiring the accumulated knowledge of ages, India's revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries of all kinds need not confine their activities to strikes, flag-hoisting, and the shouting of all the various kinds of "Zindabads," and the like, but may safely study "the whole of human science and culture."

Speaking to the Third Congress of the Communist Youth in Russia in 1920, Lenin said:

"It would be a very serious mistake to suppose that one can become a Communist without making one's own the treasures of human knowledge. It would be mistaken to imagine that it is enough to adopt the Communist formulae and conclusions of Communist science without mastering that sum-total of different branches of knowledge, the final outcome of which is communism . . .

"Communism becomes an empty phrase, a mere facade, and the communist a mere bluffer, if he has not worked over in his consciousness the whole inheritance of human knowledge." Pp. 63-64.

Therefore he urged the youth

"to acquire the whole sum of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism will not be something learnt by heart, but something which you have thought out yourselves, something which forms the inevitable conclusion from the point of view of modern education."—P. 64.

In the same way Lenin wrote with reference to the controversy on "proletarian culture":

"Marxism won its world-historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, because it did not reject out and out the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, but on the contrary made its own and worked over anew all that was of value in the more than two thousand years of development of human thought" ("Draft Resolution on Proletarian Culture," 1920).—P. 64.

Therefore, as both Marxism and Leninism are in favour of mastering the sum-total of human knowledge, all our students, whether inclined to be revolutionaries or not, should & can go in for deep study and extensive study. They will not be outcasted by non-revolutionaries, and they cannot be outcasted by any revolutionary who is himself not "a mere bluffer," in the words of Lenin!

"Gandhi to Tagore"

Our attention has been drawn recently to the English translation of René Fülöp-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi* published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The introduction bears the date, Vienna, March, 1927, and the popular edition of the

translation is dated 1930. The section of the book devoted to Mahatma Gandhi is prefaced by the following passage ascribed to the Mahatma:

"True to his poetic in-tinct, the poet lives for the morrow, and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds had their day's food, and soared with rested wings in whose veins new blood had flown from the previous night. But I have the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realized. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food."

We do not know when and where Mahatma Gandhi expressed these opinions in writing or speech—with reference to Poet Tagore, we take it, if he did so at all. But whether they are his opinions or not, they give an utterly inadequate and wrong idea of Rabindranath Tagore as a poet, a thinker and a social worker. As a poet he is concerned not merely or mainly with the singing of birds, but with many more things, which are human in a very comprehensive sense. Of them all, this is not the occasion to speak. Suffice it to say here, that in numerous poems and stories of his he has made himself one with the sufferings and joys of the poor dwelling in villages, as well as in towns, but mostly with those of rural folk. And this sympathy is not merely that of the artist. He has tried to bring relief (including "invigorating food") to sufferers by the revival of village crafts, by village sanitation, by improved methods of agriculture, by bringing medical aid to patients by co-operative methods, by rural co-operative banks, by the Sikshā-satra scheme of education for village boys, started in 1922, which the Wardha scheme closely resembles in its educational aspect, and in other ways. His scheme of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, and other methods of village reconstruction, is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, delivered on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna, 1908. He has tried for decades to give effect to his scheme in his ancestral estate. It has formed for decades an important part of the plan of work of the Village Reconstruction Department of Visvabharati. He has given us songs which can "soothe suffering patients," but he has tried to give them invigorating food

also. He lives for today as well as "for the morrow."

Our readers may obtain a somewhat more adequate idea of the Poet's personality as a practical idealist from our article on him in the last June number of *The Modern Review*.

Great importance is rightly attached to Mahatma Gandhi's opinions. Hence, it is likely that readers of *Lenin and Gandhi*, particularly those outside India who know little of Rabindranath Tagore's life and poetry, may be misled by the passage quoted above into thinking that India's greatest living author does nothing but sing and sings only of birds, "careless of mankind" like the lotus-eaters. That would be a misconception.

It is probable that Mahatma Gandhi is now possessed of more correct and adequate information relating to the Poet.

Gandhiji For Dropping "Mahatma" Before His Name

Of the seven complaints made to Mahatma Gandhi by a Muslim friend, the seventh was as follows:

7. Your title as Mahatma is officially recognized by a Government circular, your birthday declared as a holiday, and consequently the Local Board in Amraoti has issued orders to take your image in a procession and to worship your image. Gandhiji, you may permit me to say, we are not idolatrous and we do not recognize you as Mahatma or our religious and political leader."

With reference to this complaint Mahatmaji writes in *Harijan*:

7. This is a complaint and an assertion. With both I am in hearty concurrence. It was wrong to give 'Mahatma' official recognition. I registered my protest as soon as it was brought to my notice. I would support any movement to drop altogether the use of the word 'Mahatma' before my name. My simple name sounds sweet without the adjective. The latter often stinks as when it is applied to promote violence or untruth, smoking or drinking or the sale of spurious khadi. To declare my birthday a holiday should be classified as a cognizable offence. The only use of my birthday that I have approved of is intensive spinning or some such national service. That day must be all work and no play. I cannot imagine any Local Board being so foolish as to issue orders to take my image in procession and worship it. I am hoping that my correspondent was wholly misinformed. I should imagine that the issue of such orders would be illegal. As to the assertions and repudiation, I tender my congratulations to my correspondent for them, for I have never aspired after leadership, whether religious or political.

It was quite unnecessary to give the use of 'Mahatma' before Gandhiji's name official recognition, and it was wrong to this extent that it may lead people to think that, even when people spontaneously called him

'Mahatma', they were doing so on account of official prescription. We are not for dropping the use of the word 'Mahatma' before Gandhiji's name altogether. Those who honour him should be allowed to do so by using that word.

Mahatmaji's reply is quite characteristic and does him credit.

Gandhiji On Students' Active Participation in Politics

In the course of an article in *Harijan* of the 15th October last Mahatma Gandhi writes:

"I think I have written often enough against strikes by students and pupils except on the rarest of occasions. I hold it to be quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and party politics. Such ferment interferes with serious study and unfits students for solid work as future citizens."

This has always been our opinion, too, which we have repeatedly expressed in "Prabāsi" and "The Modern Review."

"One Thing For Which It is the Duty of Students and Pupils To Strike"

In the same article from which we have made an extract above, Mahatma Gandhi writes:

There is one thing, however, for which it is the duty of students and pupils to strike. I have received a letter from the Hon. Secretary, Youths' Welfare Association, Lahore, giving copious specimens of obscene and erotic passages from the text-books prescribed by various universities. They make sickening reading. Though they are from prescribed text-books, I would not soil these columns with a reproduction of the extracts. I have never come across such filth in all the literature that I have read. The extracts are impartially given both from Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi poets.

Mahatma Gandhi observes in conclusion:

It is one thing to defend the liberty to read what one likes. But it is a wholly different thing to force on young minds acquaintance with literature that cannot but excite their animal passions and an unhealthy curiosity about things which, in due course and to the extent necessary, they are bound to learn. The evil becomes accentuated when it comes in the guise of innocent literature bearing the *imprimatur* of great universities.

An orderly strike on the part of students is the quickest way of bringing about the much-needed reform. Such a strike would not be boisterous. It would simply consist in the students notifying boycott of examinations which require a study of objectionable literature. It is the duty of every pure-minded student to rebel against obscenity.

The Association asks me to appeal to the Congress Ministers to take such steps as may be possible to remove text-books or passages which are objectionable. I gladly make the appeal hereby not only to them but the Education Ministers in all the provinces. Surely all are equally interested in the healthy growth of the student mind.

So far as our knowledge goes, the books prescribed by the Calcutta and Dacca Universities and the Bengal Education Department do not contain "filth" of the kind referred to by Gandhiji. We do not know anything about the books prescribed in other provinces.

Rammohun Roy Death Anniversary

As in previous years, the anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy was celebrated on the 27th September last in many places in India, and in Bristol in England. The proceedings of these anniversary meetings have

appeared in various newspapers.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Rammohun Roy

At the Rammohun Roy Anniversary meeting at Bangalore Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered an eloquent and inspiring address. He began by quoting the words of Mr. William Adam, "who knew Raja Rammohun Roy very well indeed through a long personal friendship and association with him in his great work of religious teaching and social reform." Mr. Adam wrote as follows:

"I was never more thoroughly, deeply, and constantly impressed than when in the presence of Rammohun Roy and in friendly and confidential converse with him, that I was in the presence of a man of natural and inherent genius, of powerful understanding, and of determined will,—a will determined, with singular energy and self-direction, to lofty and generous purposes. He seemed to feel, to think, to speak, to act, as if he could not but do all this, and that he must do it only in and from and through himself, and that the application of any external influence, distinct from his own strong will, would be the annihilation of his being and identity. *He would be free, or not be at all!* . . . *Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought.* . . . This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach of an encroachment on his mental freedom, was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

Mr. Andrews continued:

"The greatest of all things in Raja Rammohun Roy was his profound religious and moral character, which gave to everything which he did a lasting value. Intellectually, he was a giant; his whole intellectual outlook was far beyond that of his contemporaries. Indeed very few in the West, as well as in the East, could meet him and compare with him on the intellectual level. But if that had been his only qualification, he might have become nothing more than a clever sophist. It was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made him one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history in Asia at the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, it may be said with truth, that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also. He has supreme

interest for us also because he began by giving a marvellous exposition of the highest teaching of Islam, which was contained in his first book, written when he was still extremely young. His next achievement, and it was equally a great one, was to publish another book called "The Moral Precepts of Jesus," which spoke in the highest terms of the moral greatness of the Christian faith. The third book, which he published, gave his own exposition of the Vedanta, describing for the first time in the modern age the supreme beauty of the philosophy which was behind the Hindu civilization. He thus was able to appreciate historically and to put on record in writing in a very profound manner the greatness of the three religious cultures with which he came intimately into contact."

Proceeding Mr. Andrews added:

"He studied Persian and Arabic and was profoundly influenced by Islam. To this he gave full expression in his first book. Next he came very strongly under the influence of a noble gentleman of the West, Mr. Digby, and studied the Christian civilization and culture. He found its details fully expressed in the Sermon On The Mount and wrote that second book. He returned from these studies to his own ancient scriptures and gave the background that lay behind them all in the Vedanta. In these ways he laid a firm foundation in the East, especially in his own country, which all through the 19th century bore wonderful fruit. Not merely there in the religious sense of the word taking it in its exclusive meaning but also in the social political and national life of the country; for it was from these beginnings of thought which were in the 19th century and were profoundly exemplified by Raja Rammohun Roy that India through the 19th century advanced immensely in a kind of new renaissance of thought and life which changed not merely the intellectual but also the social and political and national life of the country. He has been rightly called "The Father of the Indian Renaissance" and a "Prophet of Indian Nationalism." It is of that great soul we hope to hear today from our different speakers."

Mrs. C. Tucker, Swami Tyagishananda and Mr. Muhammad Hanif then addressed the meeting.

Mr. Andrews, who was not in good health, asked to be allowed to remain seated as he delivered his concluding speech, observing:

"This thought has come to me, that surely this meeting itself is a parable. It is a parable of the unity of man and the unity of God, which Raja Rammohun Roy himself exemplified both in his religious ideal and also in his practical life. For we have had three speakers representing the three different religious faiths, which Rammohun Roy studied most. All of his thoughts tell of the Unity of God and the Unity of Man. Here tonight we have had Christian, Muslim, Hindu,—men, women,—all meeting on this platform to do homage to his great soul."

The speaker passed on to give another 'parable':

"If you will allow me, I will give you another parable, which you may take away with you. This *dhoti* and *chadder* which I am wearing, were given to me by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He gave them to me, at the beginning of this year, to wear at the Convocation

of Calcutta University, where I had to give the Address. We all remember, at Santiniketan, that Raja Rammohun Roy was the Guru of the father of our Gurudev—that Maharshi Debendranath Tagore was the disciple of Raja Rammohun Roy. Our Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore, who gave me this very dress that I am wearing, was the son of Maharshi."

Mr. Andrews dwelt for a while on this moral and spiritual succession of three great men.

"Here is a moral succession of very great men, in that great country of Bengal. Perhaps, in no other country of the world is there to be found such a succession of greatness, from Raja Rammohun Roy through Maharshi to Gurudev. Such a line of succession has gone on now for well over a whole century. We may say that modern India, as it were, has sprung out of that wonderful line—the Raja himself, the Maharshi, our Gurudev. So the one great and marvellous spirit is passed on from one generation to another."

Mr. Andrews passed on to those at Santiniketan who are continuing that succession.

When I go back to Santiniketan, I shall find there those who are still continuing that great succession to another generation, throughout this twentieth century of confusion and storm. While there is world disaster confronting us on every side, and while we look to the papers everyday, and wonder whether we are going to begin another war, we turn away from these dreaded aspects of the outer world into that inner world of spirit. We find there, in that eternal region of the soul, a permanence, a reality, an infinity, ideal, beauty, which these temporary passions of mankind cannot shake. It is in that eternity of God who is both Unity, and Love, that we put our trust, knowing that though the waves of passion rise higher and higher and are cruelly destructive of beauty, yet God Himself in His infinity of goodness, forgives and restores and creates the fair and lovely things of life which man destroys. Out of all this confusion the spiritual alone remains and ever will remain.

We come now to Mr. Andrews' closing thought.

"That is the one thought that I would like to close with today, while we look back over a hundred years. Raja Rammohun Roy, who seems to be with us today, seems in his spirit to have reached such a height, that we ourselves can hardly contemplate. But we know that, as we come close to him in the wonderful depth of his personality, we shall ourselves carry on to a new generation, here in this country, that great spiritual heritage which he has handed down to us, so that India may even now lead the world forward in the power of the Spirit while we learn more and more to revere the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

A Spanish Publication Dedicated to Rammohun Roy

In the course of his Bangalore address on Raja Rammohun Roy, Mr. C. F. Andrews observed that "it was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made him (Rammohun Roy) one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of

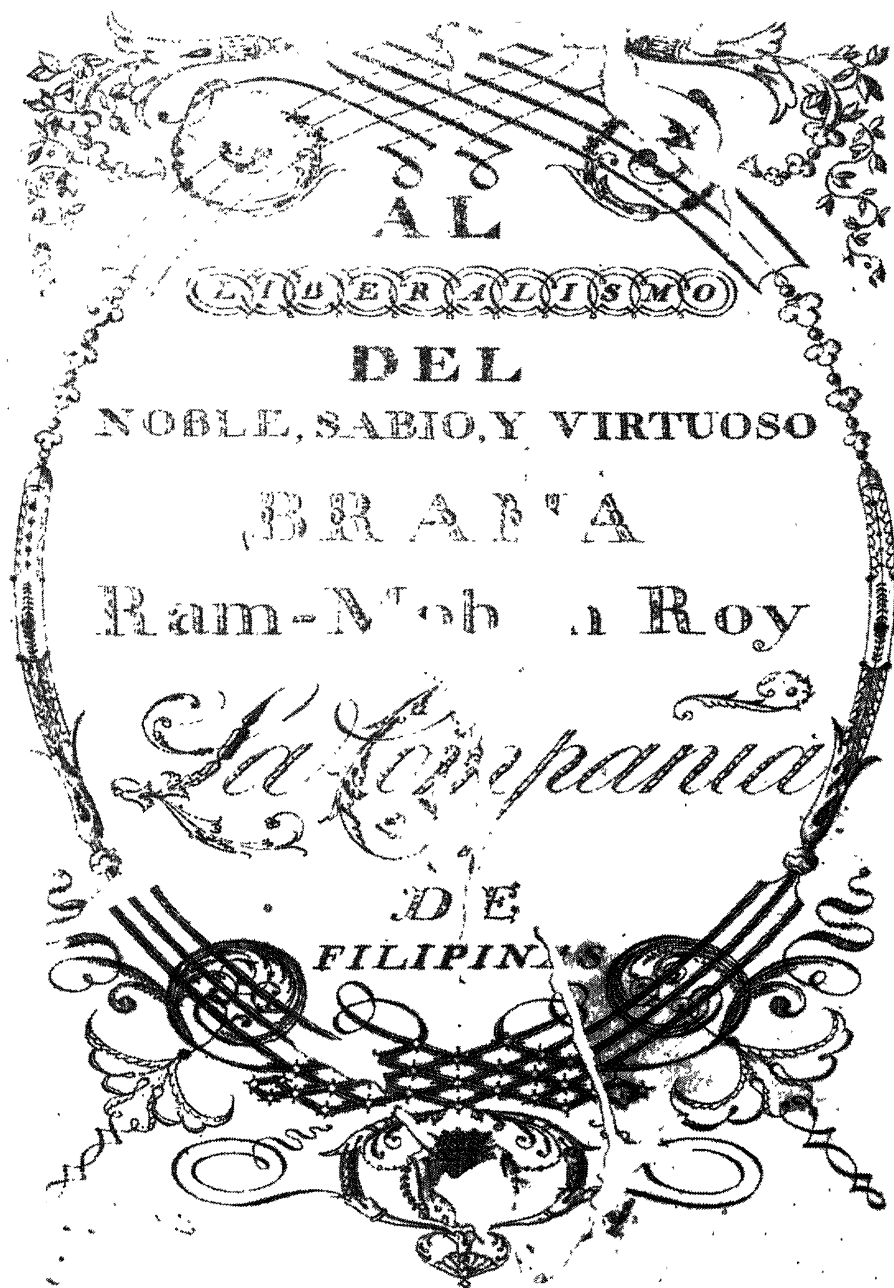
human history in Asia at the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, it may be said with truth that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also." This is not the first time that Mr. Andrews has made such an observation.

Those who are acquainted with Rammohun Roy's life know that his mind had international contacts. Not to speak of countries nearer India, such as Afghanistan, Persia and China, he was deeply interested in the politics of even far-off South America. On the receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish Colonies in South America against the authority of Spain, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall in Calcutta.

Recently a Spanish publication has been brought to light which appears to show that Rammohun Roy was very well known in Spain and perhaps also in the then Spanish Colony of the Philippine Islands. This Spanish publication was exhibited at the last Rammohun Roy anniversary meeting in Calcutta in the Rammohun Library hall by Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who was one of the speakers. This Spanish volume, the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812, has been presented to the Rammohun Library by Professor Kshitish Prasad Chattopādhyāy, who is descended from Rammohun Roy's grand-daughter. The cover of the volume, originally beautified with gilt decorations, measures 16 inches by 10. The volume is now worm-eaten, as the marks on the reduced facsimiles of the printed matter of three of its pages would show. The pages measure 15½ inches by 9½ inches.

The printed matter on the dedication page measures 11 inches by 6. The dedication is by the Philippine Company "to the most free-souled, noble, wise and virtuous Brahman Rammohun Roy." The printed matter on the title-page measures 10½ inches by 6½ inches. It shows that the volume contains the Constitution of the Monarchy of Spain promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812. The third facsimile is a reproduction of a reduced photograph of the first page of the text of the volume, on which the printed matter measures 7½ inches by 5½ inches.

It is not known when, why and under what circumstances the volume was dedicated to Rammohun Roy. Spain is still in the throes of a devastating civil war. It is not likely that these facsimiles will attract the attention of anybody there. The Philippines have passed



Dedication of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Espanola* to
Rammohun Roy by the Philippines Company



Title Page of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Española*, Promulgated in Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812

D. FERNANDO SÉPTIMO,
por la gracia de Dios y la Constitucion de la Monarquía española, Rey de las Españas, y en su ausencia y cautividad la Regencia del Reyno nombrada por las Cortes generales y extraordinarias, a todos los que las presentes vieren y entiendieren, SABED: Que las mismas Cortes han decretado y sancionado la siguiente

CONSTITUCION POLÍTICA

DE LA

MONARQUIA ESPAÑOLA.

En el nombre de Dios todopoderoso, Padre, Hijo, y Espíritu Santo, autor y suprémo legislador de la sociedad.

Las Cortes generales y extraordinarias de la Nación española, bien conocidas, despues del mas detenido exámen y madura deliberacion, de que las antiguas leyes fundamentales de esta Monarquía, acompañadas de las

First page of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Española*

through many changes. But it is not improbable that there may be some persons there who may be able to throw some light on the subject.

We are thankful to the authorities of the Rammohun Library for their kind permission to reproduce three pages of the volume in facsimile.

Gandhiji Discountenances Worship of His Image

In a previous note we have quoted Mahatma Gandhi's words condemning and discountenancing the reported carrying of his image in procession and worshipping it, as brought to his notice by a Muslim correspondent in the Central Provinces. Such condemnation was only to be expected. It is in keeping with the statement which he made years ago in *Young India* to the effect that he did not worship the images or idols in temples and that these did not excite any feeling of reverence in him.

Crowds Joining Gandhiji's Daily Prayers

Wherever Mahatma Gandhi may be, he punctually performs his daily worship at 4 a.m. in the morning, and when he is touring large numbers of persons, belonging to different religious communities, join his prayers. And, of course, it is not in temples where there are images of gods that he worships, but wherever he may be staying, without any images before him. Hence it is that Musalmans, Christians and Jews as well as Hindus join these prayers. Even illiterate common people of both sexes find no difficulty in thus worshipping with him, but find it quite easy and natural to do so. A telegram, dated October 22nd, describing his crowded programme at Kohat, a predominantly Muslim town, where he is staying at the residence of Pir Shahan Shah, concludes thus:

"Two gates on the outskirts of the city, which are opened to the public only at six in the morning, were thrown open earlier at 4 a.m. so as to enable the residents to join the daily prayers at village Jungal Khel where Mr. Gandhi is staying. Despite the inclement weather, which was marked by severe storm and rain, the attendance at prayer was fairly large."

"Congress Corruption"

Mahatma Gandhi has published in *Harijan* what a United Provinces correspondent has written to him, supporting the correspondent, who has written, in part:

"I have carefully gone through your statement in

Harijan and read your recent speech before the members of the Congress Working Committee regarding the corrupt practices among Congressmen and the Committees.

"I have myself on many occasions noticed such corrupt practices as mentioned in the letter published by you, namely, the enrolment of bogus members, paying from one's own pocket the enrolment fees of members, and even forging signatures. The pity is that such things are done even by responsible office-bearers of Congress Committees. In certain places such cases have come to the notice of the Provincial Committee officially, but these things were taken very lightly by the authorities. With the little experience I have of the Congress work in these provinces, I can say that this is true of many of the district and city committees.

"My humble reading of the situation is that such things are generally practised by that section which wants to capture the committees and retain power in their hands. Further, these things have enormously increased with the coming of the Parliamentary programme in the Congress.

"The decision of the Congress to capture the Local Boards and the Provincial Legislatures has attracted towards it a big group of men who are anxious to get into these bodies at any cost. It is this group which, failing to get the spontaneous support of the genuine Congressmen, brings mercenaries and bogus members, who but for personal attachment to the gentleman who enrols them have nothing in common with the Congress. Even among the old members of the Congress some have been taken in by the temptation of offices and power and they readily join hands with the mercenaries. It is, therefore, that such corrupt practices and grouping of parties, without any fundamental difference in principles, I had seen just on the advent of elections."

The correspondent suggests a remedy, which, Gandhiji observes, has been made by several other Congressmen and has much to commend itself. Mahatmaji mentions and supports another suggestion made to him by a business organizer, and says in conclusion:

All that is wanted is the will to clear the Congress of Augean stables. But if the heads of Congress Committees are indifferent or supine, the corruption cannot be dealt with. "If the salt loses its savour wherewith shall it be salted?"

"Politics Must Be Subject To Ethical Laws"

If there be Congressmen and Congress leaders who do not believe that politics must be subject to ethical laws, who think that the end justifies the means, and that what matters above all is what they call success, then no external remedy can rid Congress of corruption. Unfortunately there have been and these are such Congressmen and Congress leaders. Therefore, the fundamental, the essential, the root remedy is to produce the conviction that "sensible and honest politics are the most effective and the most practical." Masaryk, the late President-Liberator of Czechoslovakia,

had that firm belief. In the recently published book, *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, which records his conversations with Karel Capek, the following observations of Masaryk are recorded:

"All sensible and honest politics are the performing and strengthening of humanity within and without; politics, like everything else that we do, must be subject to ethical laws. I know that there are politicians, chiefly those who consider themselves to be terribly practical and clever, who do not care for that demand; but experience, not only mine, I think, shows that sensible and honest politics, as Havlicek says, are the most effective and most practical. In the end the ones that we call idealists are always right, and they do for the state, for the nation, and for mankind more than those politicians, that are said to be realistic and clever. The smart fellows are stupid in the long run." P. 157.

Karel Capek, demurring, said: "Except that in their own time the idealists are not usually right." To which Masaryk replied:

"Sometimes they are not, sometimes they are: in politics too God's mills grind slowly, but they grind very fine. If I speak of morality in politics I am thinking in the first place of political tactics, and of administration as a whole; political practice itself must be moral—of course, the political programme also is subject to ethics. In the same way as the life of the individual and of society I cannot conceive of politics except sub specie aeternitatis."

"Of course, any one can write a political programme that is respectable enough, and even high principled. It is something different to know the administration, and to carry it out decently; and again it is something else to understand what, at some given time, is in the interest of the state and of the nation, in difficult and fateful moments to point the way, to decide upon suitable progress—and to lead. In this sense one speaks of higher politics, and one distinguishes between a statesman and a politician, or a party man;" . . . pp. 157-158.

The Muslim League and the Wardha Scheme

The Muslim League has totally rejected the Wardha scheme of education even though it was elaborated with great care by a competent Muslim educationalist, Dr. Zakir Hussain. The rejection is evidently due to its having been conceived by Mahatma Gandhi and supported by leading Congressmen. But it has its good features, which we pointed out in a previous issue while criticizing it. We want that the appliances, the devices, the small machines, to be used for the handicrafts chosen, should be quite up-to-date.

Dr. M. N. Saha Criticizes the Wardha Scheme

Dr. M. N. Saha has editorially criticized the Wardha scheme in *Science and Culture*. Says he:

The basic principles of education which the Congress follows has been formulated long ago by John Dewey, the educational philosopher of America, and applied with remarkable success in the remodelling of the American system of primary and secondary education. But while Dewey's system aims at creating a society in which the average individual will be enabled to be familiar with the technicalities of the present system of mechanical civilisation, and at adult life will find himself perfectly at home with its ways which appears so bewildering to Indian leaders, the Mahatmaji who inspires the new scheme will have nothing to do with the demon of Machine. After assuring the country of the emergence of a perfect society and everyone of a living wage and the right to freedom, the Mahatmaji expresses himself against the machine and the society produced by the machine in no uncertain language:

"And all this would be accomplished without the horrors of a bloody class war or a colossal capital expenditure such as would be involved in the mechanisation of a vast continent like India. Nor would it entail a helpless dependence on foreign imported machinery or technical skill. Lastly, by obviating the necessity for highly specialised talent, it would place the destiny of the masses, as it were, in their own hands."

Dr. Saha continues:

To us, scientists, it appears that the Mahatma's system lacks in progressive vision, i.e., it does not say how villages are to be linked to the cities, and how the industries which are indispensable for the Nation's life and for the body politic (those connected with transport, communication, power, essential chemicals, etc.) are ever to be managed by Indians for the benefit of the Indian population. Apart from adopting a policy of *laissez faire* to these urgent problems, his whole attitude towards the machine and the modern city-civilisation is one of *dejectionism*. He looks at its evils, but does not try to understand its mechanism of work and he starts with the inner conviction that the machine civilization must be intrinsically evil. But may we submit that it is a wrong reading of history to say that the mechanisation of a vast continent like India would necessarily entail a bloody class war, or colossal expenditure, foreign experts, or foreign machinery.

Dr. Saha admits the evils that at first resulted from the Industrial revolution in Europe and explains why they resulted:

It is true that the Industrial Revolution in Europe caused great social dislocation and political unrest, but this was due to the fact that the discoveries of science were first utilized by capitalists for the sake of private gain, and statesmen and leaders of thought were slow to realize their repercussion on society and at first adopted a policy of *laissez faire* towards them just as the Mahatmaji proposes to do now and expressed itself in class war and sometimes popular discontent. When the problems could no longer be avoided, they had to introduce beneficent but contentious legislation in order to achieve social welfare.

He concludes:

But it is the test of statesmanship to learn from lessons of history: there is the example of Europe's apt pupil, Japan, which has introduced the Industrial Revolution without the horrors of a class war* or

* Our appreciation of the achievements of Japan has nothing to do with her aggressive policy towards China which we unreservedly condemn.—Ed., *Science & Culture*.

without having to borrow foreign technicians or foreign capital. What has been achieved by Japan can also be achieved in India provided the Nation will so. It would be a happy day for India if the Mahatma can overcome his attitude of defeatism towards the Machine, devote a little time to the mastery of the technique of modern civilization, and then makes up his mind. We are quite sure that he will find that the machine, instead of being man's master can also be made his slave, and that it is possible to utilize the machine for promoting social welfare much more efficiently than with the system advocated by him. He can then lead the Nation to the right track with his usual energy of conviction and driving power. Otherwise we feel, that by diverting the attention of the Nation from the only path which holds out prospects of relief against the present problems of poverty, unemployment and defencelessness, he will be committing what we may describe by the oft-quoted phrase as a "Himalayan Blunder."

A Leading Congressman's Appreciative Criticism of the Wardha Scheme

Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji was Vice-Principal of a Government College in Bengal when the call of Non-co-operation came. He responded, gave up his job, and joined the ranks of active Congressmen. Consequently he had to suffer imprisonment. Coming out of jail he has been both an active political worker and a teacher. He has contributed to the October number of *Science and Culture* an appreciative review of the Wardha scheme of primary education. He has given a short summary of the theory and practice of the scheme, "mostly in the words of the originators and of the fountain-source, Mahatma Gandhi." His general observations are:

Now the sociological idea of a state based on absolute non-violence where there is no need for even a defensive national army, navy and air-force, where internal order and international order will be kept by loving persuasion and kindly compromise, by the sanctions of moral force and the leverage of a cultured intelligence only is an entrancing idea; it is Gandhism at its apex. Intellectual India admires the Ideal but with very great mental reservations.

Also the economic idea of socialization by tacking India to a handicraft civilization and keeping industrialization at arm's length to be shunned as something essentially unholy and ravenous is another of those ideas which is being increasingly rejected by Indian intellectuals, savants and scientists.

We hold to non-violence as a beautifully romantic and essentially practical technique of political struggle by an unarmed nation of slaves against a fully armed police state; we do not consider it as a feasible and practical basis for a full-grown, independent state.

We believe in the necessity, nay the urgency, of reviving and revitalizing, our old village industries, by new modes of harnessing of power and electricity in an increasing measure and wherever necessary. We have,

however, no dread of the modern machine when it is used for social and constructive ends of production and distribution. The machine is a human product and a human product becomes evil only when it is evilly used. We do not believe India can ever become a first-class state without planned and speedy creation and socialization of key industries.

His appreciative criticism of the Wardha scheme itself is quoted below:

In spite of these beliefs, we are definitely of opinion that the Wardha scheme of education is a very useful, interesting and efficient scheme, which if properly launched, after a proper training of a large body of intelligent, selfless and patriotic teachers, with proper funds supplied by the state as well as by private agencies, will after a decade or two, give us an entirely novel country-side, buzzing with hope, blazing with social service, lit up by co-operative constructive organizations. It will make the young children virile, alert and active; it will rebuild a new rural India. The education will be an education for a modest living, for citizen service, for moral and physical uplift. All honour to those who rally to this new revolutionary banner (it is revolutionary in the best sense of the term—for the idea and the method are strikingly new and adapted to the betterment of our sleepy, inert, starved villages, which are 7 lacs in number).

But at the same time, the needs of pure culture and training in the arts and sciences and industries must not be forgotten: there must be another scheme equally revolutionary to link up the village life with the city life, to link up handicrafts with key industries, to connect the thought, the research, the poetry, the philosophy, the science of India with the world as a whole—a scheme which will provide for skilled technicians, first-class scientists and thinkers and poets, able to pull their weight in the arts of offence and defence, in the spheres of Economics, Science and Letters. For it is a utopian dream to think of shunting India away from the highways of modern endeavour back to the ruts of the peaceful, contented village commune, producing its food and clothing and other simple needs and falling eventually a prey (as of old) to ravening Powers armed to the teeth with the death-dealing weapons of war, and equipped with the modern industrial and economic organizations helped by money-power and propaganda. With these reservations, we commend the Wardha scheme of education to the general public.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Presidential Address at Indian History Congress

The Indian History Congress which began its sittings in the Allahabad University Senate Hall on the 8th October last was attended by nearly 200 delegates from all over the country. Sir Digby Drake Brockmann, chairman, U. P. Public Services Commission, who had been elected chairman of the reception committee of the Congress, welcomed the delegates in an appropriate speech. His Highness the Maharaja of Benares then delivered his inaugural address.

Thereafter Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who was the first Carmichael Professor of History in the Calcutta University, delivered his presidential address, in which, among other things, he traced the origin and growth of the science of history in ancient India. He expressed the view that:

The historic sense had always been germane to the Indian mind. And if it did not manifest itself at any particular period by all sections of the people, it was not on account of the extinction of that faculty in them. It always remained dormant in them and exhibited itself when there was a suitable opportunity. The case is not unlike the womanhood in India. Women of South India always and actively participated in the politics of their province in the ancient period. Somehow the women of North India did not cut a prominent figure in the political sphere. Things were, however, different in Kashmir. The Queens of Kashmir, Kahlana tells us, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation side by side with their consorts. They had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of the feudatory chiefs when they held open court. Things, however, changed completely, when the indigenous rule disappeared and the natives of Kashmir emigrated in all directions. Now with the reforms conferred upon India, we suddenly find a Kashmiri lady not only being returned to the Assembly in spite of a formidable rival but actually holding the portfolio of a Minister in the U. P. Government. Similarly, why need we wonder if with the advent of the modern renaissance we find Indians from all parts of the country carrying on research work in the domain of History in all its branches which is in no way inferior to that done in Europe and America.

Indian Historical Exhibition

In connection with the Indian History Congress at Allahabad the Hon. Mr. Sampurnanand, Education Minister of the United Provinces, opened an Indian Historical Exhibition. In his opening speech he held up a high ideal of the true historian's work when he said:

We do not ask him (the historian) to falsify facts and torture records to yield evidence in support of untenable doctrines, although, unfortunately, examples are not lacking in this country and elsewhere, of scholars having prostituted their learning in the service of the wielder of temporal power. We do not want this but surely we have the right to expect that the historian will so present facts that the essential factors which bind man to man and endow him with a common culture and heritage shall be brought prominently into relief.

Re-writing the History of India

At the Indian History Congress at Allahabad the question of the re-writing of Indian history was considered. Of course, it requires to be re-written. The writers require to be equipped with a knowledge of the results of the latest researches. At the same time they must be able to write with sufficient detachment and

impartiality. In these days of communalism and anti-imperialism, these virtues are not very easy to find, nor does it pay to try to cultivate them. For one must not seek to please nor be afraid of giving offence if necessary.

Indian Delegation to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference

Properly speaking, the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, which was held at Sydney, Australia, recently, ought to have been confined to the members of the Commonwealth proper, namely, the Dominions. But India, which is not a Dominion, was 'represented' by some delegates chosen by the Government of India. It is some gain that the Indian delegates have been able to acquire some experience of Australia and have been able to give the Conference a bit of their mind. For instance, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation, said, in part:

My country is not a part of the British Commonwealth, yet; it is only a part of the British Empire. I am at present a serf on Lord Lothian's estate, but I hope that the spirit which animates the British Commonwealth Relations Conference will spread, and inspire those who guide the politicians of the Commonwealth. I hope that the British Empire will give way to the British Commonwealth and the British Commonwealth, may I modestly put it, to an Indo-British Commonwealth.

As a member of the Servants of India Society the Pandit favours the permanence of the Indo-British connection. Had he been a member of the Congress, he would not have looked forward to Dominion Status as either India's goal or as India's halfway house. But then in that case he would not have been in the delegation at all!

Dr. Kalidas Nag in Australia and New Zealand

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, who went to Australia as a member of the Indian delegation to the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, visited New Zealand also, and addressed the members of the Lyceum Club, Wellington, on problems of peace and war. He stressed the work which women were doing for peace, and said they could do more by the power of love and sympathy which they possessed.

The fatal "divorce" of individual and national ethics was the basis of world unrest today, the speaker affirmed, and he explained how Gandhi, the Indian leader, worked not only for India, but was always thinking how humanity could be saved from this fateful distortion of truth.

What was lacking in the mechanism of life today, Dr. Nag said, was that light which induced universal love and understanding. People had to identify themselves with the universal, and when the individual and the universal were in accord peace and harmony would come to the world.

Dr. Nag then spoke about the doctrines and aspirations of Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian poet, in whose opinion civilisation today knew only its own machines and what they achieved for nations.

Tagore said that it was aggressive nationalism which upset the world. At every step today war was in the air, and the message which this poet and philosopher gave to mankind was that warlike people should be segregated just as infectious diseases were, and by gentle nursing could then be brought back to health, sanity of outlook, equilibrium and peace. Women in this respect had endless power and sympathetic understanding and Tagore thought that they could do much to keep peace in the world.

Terrible poverty existed in India while the Europeans were making millions out of the jute the Indians were producing. That state of affairs could not go on; the women would not allow it to go on. They were not politicians, but they were economists. If woman was given the preference between war and peace she would vote for peace, and the time would come when women would demand peace and Nature would be able to readjust her balance.

Dr. Nag concluded his address by saying that the women of India were contributing to this idea of universal peace by working silently and in a spirit of sacrifice for their ideals. Schools and colleges of India were based on co-operation among different castes, where education worked as a great unifier.

The president of the Club, Mr. Johannes Andersen, welcomed the guest of honour and introduced him to the audience.

Dr. Nag spoke also at the P. E. N. Club, "the youngest branch of the P. E. N." and had a cordial reception there.

He spoke with much enthusiasm of the beautiful air, blue seas and sky, and natural attributes of New Zealand, which had impressed him most favourably. He felt that there must be much latent poetry in a country with so many advantages.

So much beauty in nature must surely produce a corresponding beauty of soul, and he had a great confidence in the generosity and kindness of the people. A great understanding came through art and literature, and one country would be brought much nearer to another by these beautiful means instead of by politics or talk of war. Dr. Nag spoke of the great Indian poet Tagore, and said that the actual feeling on the part of people who cared for literature that their country was not doing or producing its best was a sure sign that something better was sure to evolve. In stumbling, we gradually arrived at the beauty of rhythm, and perfect grace was bound to come in time. So long as people missed the best in literature so long would they make steps towards something finer and more worthy.

Another meeting which Dr. Nag addressed was at Auckland.

That India's goodwill should be cultivated as a means of strengthening the Empire was the opinion expressed this morning by Dr. Kalidas Nag, professor of ancient history at the University of Calcutta, on his arrival by the Monterey, after attending the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference as an Indian delegate.

The main problem in India at the present time was the establishment of self-government, he said.

If trouble came, India's goodwill would be of the greatest value, and it could only be developed through Dominion status.

In trade the interests of India differed greatly from those of the other parts of the Empire, continued Dr. Nag, and for this reason it had been necessary in 1936 to make a complete breakaway from the operation of the Ottawa agreements. India abolished the agreements because of the conditions governing her secondary industries and the tightness of the money market. The effect of the Ottawa policy had been to create stagnation in industry, with consequent harm to the nation's life.

Dr. Nag said the conference in Sydney had discussed many burning topics, and he was impressed by the fraternity of the gathering.

As the head of the Indian delegation and as admittedly the ablest and most experienced public man among its members, the Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru must have made a striking contribution to the discussion of these topics. But we are not in possession of any report of these discussions. We have only two of his speeches before us; namely, the speech delivered by him at the Conference as leader of the Indian delegation, from which a short extract has already been made, and the speech broadcast by him from Sydney.

Pandit Kunzru's Speech at British Commonwealth Relations Conference

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru began his speech at the British Commonwealth Relations Conference by acknowledging the warmth of reception given to the Indian delegates and the splendid hospitality extended to them and the other representatives. "No body," said he, "is more grateful to you for your cordiality than the prohibited immigrants from India."

Apart from this, since we touched the shores of Australia we have acquired knowledge and experience, the memory of which will never be effaced from our minds. We have seen here a degree of happiness and prosperity which has not met our eyes in any of the countries which it has been our good fortune to visit so far. It is a matter of great inspiration to us to realise that this happiness and prosperity are based on a more even distribution of the fruits of human industry, on greater social justice and on a larger measure of human freedom than are to be found in most of the older countries. We naturally believe that as the British Commonwealth of Nations meets in this atmosphere of justice and freedom, the deliberations of the Conference will lead to the creation of that spirit which will

harmonise the internal and external differences to which Lord Lothian gave such eloquent expression.

Continuing, the Pandit observed:

To me the great value of the Conference lies in the fact that it represents not merely the people of one race or culture, but people who are representatives of different races, languages, cultures and economic interests. And if their interests are to be harmonised, and the conflicts we see between them are to be adjusted, we must find some means more potent and more lasting than force, which, unhappily, western nations regard as a sign of greatness and glory. How is the spirit, which will make the solution of our difficulties possible, to be cultivated? The sages of my country long ago said that the basis of right action is the recognition of the great truth "Thy neighbour is thyself." We must cultivate universal ideals. National ideals are insufficient to bring peace to the world. We have to recognise that the interests of the peoples around us are quite as important as those of our own nation. Is not this only an extension of the fundamental principles of democracy which require that we should identify our interests with those of others? And it is for the fundamental principles of democracy that we all stand. Democracy has received rude shocks all over the world, but it fortunately still flourishes in a few countries, among which are the countries included in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These countries, therefore, have an important part to play in convincing the world of the value of democratic ideals. They must by their relations towards other members prove the value of the principles which they proclaim, and demonstrate by their actions and by the unity which they are able to achieve among themselves, that peace and goodwill are within the reach of the world at large, provided it chooses the same path which they have followed.

Pandit Kunzru's Broadcast Speech

The three main topics with which Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru dealt in his broadcast speech in Australia were the Congress and non-Congress provincial governments functioning in India, the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act, and the restrictions on the entry of Indians into certain parts of the British Empire and their disabilities in certain other parts. By mentioning some of the lines of work initiated and carried out by our provincial governments he was able to assert that "this should provide good proof of Indian capacity in the provincial sphere." The Federal provisions which he criticized have been criticized and condemned so often that it is not necessary to repeat them, but as most of his hearers were not aware of them, he did well to bring them to their notice, proving that the "measure of constitutional reform" passed three years ago was not of "a generous character." We do not know why he did not refer to the fact that the Government of India Act does not give the Federal Legislature any control over Defence. He spoke strongly and convincingly on the last topic that he dealt

with, *viz.*, discrimination against Indians in various parts of the British Empire.

Yone Noguchi Criticizes "The Modern Review"

In the course of his letter to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, dated October 2nd, 1938, sent to some papers for publication, Mr. Yone Noguchi writes:

Admitting that China completely defeated Japan in foreign publicity, it is sad that she often goes too far, and plays trickery. For one instance I will call your attention to the reproduced pictures from a Chinese paper on page 247 of *The Modern Review* for last August, as a living specimen of "Japanese Atrocities in China: Execution of Chinese Civilians." So awful pictures they are,—awful enough to make ten thousand enemies of Japan in a foreign country. But the pictures are nothing but a Chinese invention, simple and plain, because the people in the scenes are all Chinese, slaughterers and all. Besides any one with commonsense would know, if he stops for a moment, that it is impossible to take such a picture as these at the front. Really I cannot understand how your friend-editor of *The Modern Review* happened to publish them.

Mr. Noguchi says,

"it is impossible to take such pictures as these at the front."

But who said they were taken *at the front*? They might have been taken at places already under Japanese occupation for some time.

The pictures referred to were reproduced from photographs sent to us by a trustworthy friend who has been in China for months and who is neither Chinese nor Japanese. There were other photographs sent to us which were still more revolting. Two were indecent, not meant for publication but for the information of the Congress President and ourselves as to how some Chinese women were treated. These, along with others, we sent to him. The bombing of open towns and villages, killing countless civilians—men, women and children, and other Japanese barbarities on a colossal scale which have been reported in the papers and brought to the notice of the League of Nations, have not been contradicted. The atrocities of which we published pictures are mere peccadilloes in comparison. We have found these pictures in some Chinese pamphlets also. Mr. Noguchi says the men in the pictures, slaughterers and all, are Chinese. But how can one distinguish Chinese from Japanese in these photographs?

We have no feelings of hostility against the people of Japan, and never intended to make enemies of them. But it is our unpleasant duty to record facts. Our pictures cannot make more

enemies of Japan than the atrocities ascribed to her in numerous newspapers.

Incidentally we may observe that Mr. Yone Noguchi makes an important admission in his letter, namely, that "nobody in Japan ever dreams that we can conquer China." "What Japan is doing in China, it is only, as I already said, is to correct the mistaken idea of Chiang Kai-shek; on this object Japan is staking her all." A rather expensive and diabolical method of correcting the mistake of an individual!

Congress National Industrial Planning

BOMBAY, Oct. 24.

A complete map of the industrial possibilities in India is to be prepared by the National Planning Committee which will meet in Bombay in December next. It is believed that the Committee will have the co-operation of the non-Congress provinces, and some of the major Indian States. The personnel of the Committee, which was recently announced by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, will also be strengthened.

The National Planning Commission, it is learnt, will be constituted by the middle of 1939, when the labours of the Committee are expected to be completed. The Commission will consist of the Ministers for Industries in the provinces and States co-operating for the execution of the plan, four representatives of commercial bodies and one representing the All-India Village Industries Association. The members of the Planning Committee will be ex-officio members on the Planning Commission.

It is expected that by the time the Planning Committee starts its inquiry, the reports of the Industrial Survey Committees appointed in various provinces and Indian States will be ready. The Committee may attempt to undertake a systematic survey on the natural resources.

Immediate attention, it is said, will be paid by the Committee to the establishment of factories intending to produce machinery and supplies for railway, the army and air services. This will include the examination of the scheme for starting an automobile industry in Bombay.

Next in importance will be the question of starting heavy chemical industries, such as the manufacture of sulphuric acid, caustic soda and bleaching powder, factories for manufacturing agricultural tools and machinery, an hydro-electrical appliances.

The Committee, while taking decisions on starting particular industries, will have regard to the consideration, as to whether the products made from indigenous raw material can be consumed within the country. The second choice will be in favour of those industries whose products find large-scale consumption in the country, though raw materials required are not available locally.

The question of starting large-scale industries will be the first to be tackled on a national basis, because they include basic and key-industries and at present a high form of industrial enterprise. The co-operation of the foreign manufacturers, it is stated, will be secured for the purpose of starting the industries in case it is found that the local talent and technique available at the moment is not up to the mark.—A. P.

It will be all to the good if the non-Congress provinces co-operate. Their co-operation would have been more certain if their Indus-

tries Ministers had been invited to the Congress Industries Ministers' Conference.

Indian Postal Rates Not Cheapest

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, is reported to have said in the course of an informal talk with members of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce on the 22nd October that "India has the cheapest postal rate in the world." This is not true. Japan's rates are cheaper, and there may be cheaper rates elsewhere, too.

Industrial Survey of Bengal

DARJEELING, Oct. 24.

The *Associated Press* understands that the Government of Bengal have appointed a committee for the purpose of carrying on an extensive industrial survey of the province.

The committee will consist of the following:

Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University; Dr. J. Ghose, Professor of Chemistry, Dacca University; Prof. S. K. Mitra of the College of Science, Calcutta University; Dr. N. N. Law, Mr. M. A. Ispahani, Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, Mr. B. M. Birla, Mr. S. C. Mitter, Director of Industries, Bengal (ex-officio member), and Mr. J. N. Sen-Gupta, Secretary of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce as secretary.

The Chairman of the committee has not yet been selected, but it is probable that the services of Dr. John Mathai, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, will be requisitioned for the purpose.

Though the personnel of the Congress Committee appointed for the purpose of national industrial planning shows that President Bose has wisely selected the members irrespective of their political affiliations, if any (or none at all), it is not impossible that political caste conventions stood in the way of the non-Congress Industries Ministers being invited to the Delhi Conference. But non-Congress provinces cannot afford to and must not lag behind the Congress provinces in the development of industries—particularly Bengal, which, so far at least as the sons of the soil are concerned, is backward in industrial enterprise. Hence, the industrial survey of Bengal to be undertaken by the Committee appointed for the purpose is a welcome and urgently needed move. The personnel has been well chosen.

Sj. N. R. Sarker's Address on Industrialization

Political caste conventions may stand in the way of Congressmen casting even a glance at the address on the prospects of industrialization of India which Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker delivered at Gwalior on the 2nd September

last. But the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee are not bound by any such convention. They will find in Mr. Sarker's address the need of industrialization and mechanization discussed. He also discusses whether the evils of industrialization are inevitable. It is shown in the address that some industries must be on a large scale and centralized; that there should not be a slavish adoption of foreign methods and theories; that a sudden break with the past should be avoided; that cottage industries, middle-sized industries, and large-scale industries must all find a place in a national scheme; that the balance of national life as between agriculture and industry must be maintained; and that rural sites should be chosen for some centralized industries. Mr. Sarker surveys India's industrial progress and past achievements, and industrial development in different directions. New possibilities are dwelt upon. The need and scope for state assistance are also treated of. It is pointed out that there is need for caution: *e.g.*, "For a long time to come the extent of the market available within our own country should be the limit of our industrial development." Mr. Sarker refers in this connection to the recent industrial experience of Ireland. The penultimate section of the address is devoted to considering how far industrialization can solve our unemployment problem. The concluding passage, relating to industrial co-operation between British India and the Indian States, has been quoted in a previous note.

Pandit Kunzru in Fiji

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23.

The Indian Association, Fiji, cabling to the *Associated Press*, says that Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru arrived there on October 20 and is studying the conditions of Indians in the Island.

At a public reception given to him he expressed appreciation of the qualities of honesty and industry with which the Indian residents had overcome serious disadvantages and had established themselves in the Island.

The Indians in Fiji have expressed their sense of gratitude to him for his visit.—*A. P. I.*

"Absolute Acceptance" (?) of British Rule Before 1914 or 1917 !

In September last at Simla under the presidency of Sir M. N. Mukherji, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai delivered a lucid address on the basic principles of modern states. In the course of that address he said:

"After the year 1857 and up to the year 1914 or perhaps even 1917, if you examine your poetry or litera-

ture, your history and the minds of Indians at large at the time, you will see that there was an absolute acceptance without question of what was called Pax Britannica. They did not question how it came, why it arose and when it arose; they just accepted it as a blessing. I think the learned President from his own experience in his own language, which is much richer than mine, and many others present here, will be able to recite poems which were composed in 1860s., 1870s., composed by a large number of poets of the time about the beneficence of the British rule and praising that rule. There is a poem which says that the greatest thing that was done by the British rule was that it enabled a tiger and a goat to drink in the same stream. Whether the tiger became a goat or a goat the tiger I need not examine here, but the fact remains that that was how we were brought up to accept that rule. Therefore the condition of the human mind is such that mere acceptance makes even a wrong thing right."

As Mr. Bhulabhai Desai referred to poetry or other literature and history in proof of his statement that up to 1914 or 1917 there was absolute acceptance of British rule in India, as he referred to the poetry in Sir M. N. Mukherji's mother tongue, and as we have more knowledge of Bengali literature and of Bengal's modern history than of the literature and history of any other province, we examined Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's statements in some detail in the *Kārtic* number of *Prabāsi*, citing many passages in verse and prose from Bengali writers of eminence, to show that so far at least as Bengal is concerned Mr. Desai was wrong. There has been all along *conditional* acceptance of British rule; there is *conditional* acceptance still. Neither before nor after the year 1857 was there ever *absolute* acceptance of British rule in India by the political and intellectual leaders of the country. As for *conditional* acceptance, until 1929 even the Congress did not definitely declare its goal to be independence, and even after that declaration Congress has been working the British constitution—no doubt, it is said, in order to gain sufficient strength to overthrow British power afterwards. In spite of their conditional acceptance of British rule, the Congress Ministers are undoubtedly all for independence.

When Rammohun Roy constituted himself "His Majesty's Opposition", his acceptance of British rule was similarly conditional. He wanted his countrymen to gain strength enough during the period of such conditional acceptance to win freedom afterwards. If at any particular period any Indian or Indians did not rise in armed or non-violent rebellion against British rule, that cannot be interpreted as *absolute* acceptance of it on his or their part, any more than Mahatma Gandhi could be rightly called an absolute acceptor of British

rule when he turned honorary recruiting officer for the British Government when the World War broke out. If any individual or collection of individuals do not feel and express any dissatisfaction, do not protest, do not disobey unjust official orders, do not look forward to the time when India would be free, then alone can it be said that he or they have absolutely accepted British rule.

As we have already quoted passages from Mr. C. F. Andrews' Bangalore address on Rammohun Roy showing how freedom-loving he was, we need not say more on the subject here. We will only refer to the fact that he anticipated India's intransigence and looked forward to Indian independence. On a new Jury Act coming into operation in 1827, Rammohun Roy petitioned against the Act in 1828 to both Houses of Parliament, because the Act discriminated against Hindus and Muslims racially and on the ground of their religion. In one passage of his representation he asked: "Supposing that 100 years hence the native character becomes elevated", "is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society?" He went on to add:

"It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit.

Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy."

Rammohun Roy's *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans* holds up to the people of India the prospect of "India possibly independent and India the Enlightener of Asia."

Though Rammohun Roy belonged to a period anterior to the period referred to by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, we have referred to his political attitude because that was the attitude of many leaders of society in Bengal before and after 1857. "Prinee" Dwarkanath Tagore and Maharshi Debendranath Tagore were unwilling to accept any titles from the British Government. Raj Narain Bose, grandfather of Sri Aurobindo, declared himself in favour of the independence of India.

Coming to the 20th century, but to a period before Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's *annus mirabilis* 1914, we note that during the Bengal anti-Partition and Swadeshi movements Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Syam Sundar Chakravarti and others held aloft the banner of independence both in speech and writing. It was then that Bepin Chandra Pal delivered his famous addresses on full freedom and independence for India on the Madras beach. Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Upādhyāy Brahmabāndhab, etc., were known as "Extremists." The "Moderates" were Surendranath Banerjea, Krishna Kumar Mitra, etc. But they, too, disobeyed the Government order not to shout "Bande Mataram," vigorously carried on the work of the Anti-circular Society against some circulars of the Government, and boycotted British goods. In consequence, the "Moderate" Krishna Kumar Mitra was deported along with some others. The Government did not believe that they were guilty of "absolute acceptance" of British rule! All this took place before 1914.

That "absolute acceptance" of British rule was not a matter of course in pre-1914 Bengal is proved by another hard fact. And that fact is the terrorist movement, which originated before 1914. We are not here concerned with the wisdom or unwisdom or the ethical character of that movement. What we are concerned with is the fact that it was a movement of violent revolt and that the object of the rebels was to free India by overthrowing British rule. This is not the place to discuss the strength or importance of the movement. Suffice it to say that Government considered it so strong and important that it deprived thousands of Bengal's youth (of both sexes) of their liberty—some after trial, more without any and for indefinite periods. The many repressive "lawless laws" which have adorned the statute book in Bengal are due to this movement. The fact that the Communal Decision and the Government of India Act of 1935 have hit the Bengali Hindus hardest are due to the fact that Government most probably believed (and most probably still believe) that the Bengali Hindus (and Bengali Congressites) were in active or passive sympathy with the terrorist movement. We are not in a position to judge of the correctness or otherwise of this probable belief of the Government.

But it is beyond the shadow of a doubt that in Bengal before 1914 there was no absolute

acceptance of British rule,—and, of course, there has not been any since then.

And we have given proofs of what we say. We do not know why Mr. Bhulabhai Desai ignored these well-known facts. mentioned.

We will now consider the evidence of Bengali literature bearing on the alleged absolute acceptance of British rule or its opposite.

We have spoken and shall speak only of Bengal because we cannot speak of any other province with any degree of knowledge.

Bengali Literature and "Absolute Acceptance" of British Rule

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said in his lecture that the learned President, Sir M. N. Mukherji, "will be able to recite poems", "composed by a large number of poets of the time about the beneficence of the British rule and praising that rule. There is a poem which says that the greatest thing that was done by the British rule was that it enabled a tiger and a goat to drink in the same stream." We do not remember to have read Bengali poems of this description composed by "a large number" of Bengali poets. In fact we do not remember even a single such poem composed by any notable poet. There may be such verses in school text-books at present in use, approved and prescribed by the Director of Public Instruction, which we have not read. When we were school boys in vernacular schools—that was more than sixty years ago—there were no such verses even in our text-books. So far as our knowledge goes there is no such Bengali poem relating to a tiger and a goat as has been mentioned by Mr. Desai. We have consulted several gentlemen who have a more extensive knowledge of Bengali literature than ourselves. None of them could give us any clue to the large (or even small) number of poems laudatory of British rule or to the co-drinking tiger and goat poem.

In *The Modern Review* we shall not quote from all the poems from which we have quoted in Prabāsi, as it would take up too much space to print the original lines with their translations. We shall quote only a few lines. Before doing so, we have to remind our readers that as incitement to rebellion, rousing feeling of hatred against the Government, and bringing it into contempt are penal offences, such lines are not to be expected. If there be poems in praise of independence and poems expressing profound dissatisfaction with the political

condition of India and strong desire for freedom, that should be taken as sufficient disproof of "absolute acceptance" of British rule. It is also to be borne in mind that politicians who may consider it expedient to be content with compromises, such as local self-government, colonial self-government, or Dominion Status, are not true exponents of the deep-seated longings of the people, but that poets who are under no necessity to worship at the shrine of expediency and compromise correctly represent the yearnings of the nation.

The following lines are from "Padminir Upakhyaṇ," by Rangalal Bandyopādhyāy, published in 1858:

"Swādhinatā-hinatāy ké banchitē chay hé,
ké banchitē chay ?

Dāsattwa-shrinkhal bala ké paribé pāy hé,
ké paribé pāy ?

Koti kalpa dās thākā narakér prāy hé,
narakér prāy ;

Dinékér swādhinatā swarga-sukha tāy hé,
swarga-sukha tāy."

"Who desires to live deprived of liberty,
so to live who desires?

Who will wear chains on his legs,

who will wear ?

To remain slaves for aëons is like hell,
like hell it is ;

There is heavenly bliss in a single day's
freedom,

in it there is heavenly bliss."

Hem Chandra Bandyopādhyāy wrote in his famous "Bhārat-Sangit", published in 1870:

Bāj ré shingā, bāj éi rabé,
Shuniyā Bhāraté jāguk sabé:

'Sabāi swādhin é bipul bhabé,
Sabāi jāgrata mānér gaurabé

Bhārat shudhu ki ghumāyé rabé."

"Blow, my horn, blow with this cry,
That, listening, all in Bhārat may awake:

'All in this wide world are free,

All awake in honour's glory,

Will Bhārat alone remain asleep?"

And more in the same and still more stirring strains.

Years afterwards Rabindranath Tagore sang in the same strain: "Dina āgata oi, Bhārat tabu koi?" "Yonder is the day come; but where is Bhārata?"

In 1867 Naba Gopal Mitra founded the Hindu Melā or the Hindu Fair, encouraged by and with the help of the Tagores and Raj Narain Bose. In the first year's Melā was sung Dwijendranath Tagore's song,

"Malinā mukha-chandramā, Bhārata,
tomāri,
Rātri-din jharitēchhē lochana-bāri.
"Gloomy is thy face, O Bhārata,
Day and night are tears flowing from
thine eyes."

In "Prabāsi" we have quoted lines from patriotic poems read at subsequent years of this Melā by Sivanath Sastri (when he was 19) and by Rabindranath Tagore (when about 14 or 15). Similarly, we have referred to the stirring poems and songs of Gobinda Chandra Ray, D. L. Roy, Rabindranath Tagore and others in the days of the Swadeshi Movement. Nabin Chandra Sen in his poetical work, "Palāshir Yuddha", mourns the defeat at the battle of Plassey as India's loss of independence. All these were composed before 1914. In "Prabāsi" we have also given some apposite extracts from the prose writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

What we have written in relation to the modern and recent history of Bengal and with reference to Bengali literature, publicists in other provinces may write in relation to their provinces and literatures, so that the correctness of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's observations may be tested with reference to the whole of India.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Bengalis in Bihar

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was requested by the Congress Working Committee to finally settle the problem of Bengalis in the province of Bihar. It is stated in some papers that he has sent his report to the Committee, leaving it to the Committee to solve the problem. Not having his report before us, we cannot discuss it in any detail. But from the summary which has been published in some papers it appears that his report leaves the situation entirely unaltered in every respect. According to the summary he supports the Bihar Government in all respects. He does indeed express the opinion that the practice of issuing domicile certificates should be discontinued. But the procedure which he suggests or recommends in lieu of it, is no better—it may be quite easily made worse in practice.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad laboured under two difficulties in performing the duty of a judge, arbitrator, or adjudicator: he is himself a Bihari, and he is really, though not in name, the Congress dictator in Bihar; no policy could

or can be followed there by the Congress Government which was or is not really his policy. Therefore, in asking him to pronounce judgment and give an award the Congress Working Committee practically asked him to sit in judgment upon himself. Too much should not be expected from a man labouring under such difficulties, unless one took him to be a superman.

He appears to have been guided by the memorandum of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha and that of the Bihar Government, which are essentially identical. In this connection the following passage from the *Behar Herald* (October 11) will be found edifying:

If we remember the above criticisms it is easy to dispose of in a very few words the last line of defence taken in the memorandum. The defence amounts simply to this: right or wrong, the policy has been going on for so many years in Bihar and Orissa and has been adopted more or less strictly in other provinces as well. "Not only in India," says the memorandum, "but in other countries also, enquiries are made when the privileges of being the inhabitant of a certain province are claimed." The memorandum has left us guessing as to the countries other than India where, and the circumstances, in which, such enquiries are made. No example of such procedure from any country outside India has been cited in appendix I, which gives certain rules said to be in force in other provinces of India. In one of these, *viz.*, the Punjab, admittedly there are no such rules. The so-called Bombay rules, on which stress has been laid in the memorandum, have not been given in the appendix. The memorandum shows a lack of candour when in reproducing these rules it does not mention when and by what government these rules were brought into existence. As we have already said, existence of any discrimination contrary to the spirit of section 298 of the Government of India Act is no proof of the validity of such discrimination. Most of the rules as they exist may be said to have grown up as the result of the emergence of group-consciousness with which the awakening of a united national consciousness was sought to be counteracted . . . Not one instance has been cited in the memorandum in which a Congress government in a province has formulated a policy of discrimination against a section of its citizens.

From the summary, it does not appear that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has tried to explain or explain away the fact that all along only Bengali-speaking persons have been asked to prove their domicile or have been discriminated against as regards appointment in the public services, admission to educational institutions and award of scholarships, facilities for trade and industries, etc.

Nor does the statesmanlike desire of Mr. P. R. Das to build up an undivided Indian nation appear to have troubled Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Mr. Das quoted and laid stress upon the provisions in the constitutions of the United States of America and the Australian

Commonwealth to prevent any one of their state from discriminating against persons belonging to their other states. Without such non-discrimination there can be no nation-building.

Release of Bengal Political Prisoners

Several hundred political prisoners in Bengal still remain to be released. The gradual and grudging release of the thousands who had been deprived of their liberty without or after trial, has not in the least disturbed the peace of Bengal. That should have been a ground for the release of those still behind the prison bars. But all the arguments and pleadings of Mahatma Gandhi and latterly of President Subhas Chandra Bose have not availed to open the prison gates for these unhappy persons. The public must continue to demand their liberation.

The Wretched Plight of Many Released Politicals

Many politicals, interned for years without trial, find themselves entirely without means of subsistence after release. Government have not done their duty by them. Nor is the public sufficiently alive to their wretched plight. Some have in utter despondency committed suicide. Others are physical wrecks and suffering from fatal maladies. . . .

Sufferers from Flood

The waters are slowly receding from the flooded areas in half the districts of Bengal. But the sufferers from the floods are still without adequate relief. Food and clothing and, in some cases, repairs or reconstruction of huts, are urgently required. In the wake of the receding waters many diseases have made their appearance in many areas—some in epidemic form.

China and Japan

Canton and Hankow have fallen. The Japanese are jubilant. The hearts of the Chinese must be heavy, and there is sadness in India.

But the end is not yet.

LONDON, Oct. 24.

Mr. Quo Tai-Chi, Chinese Ambassador in London told *Reuter*, "there is no foundation for the rumours that Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek will resign. He certainly will not. It is equally untrue that Mr. Wang Chungshi, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Wang Ching-Wei, former Premier, have gone to see the Foreign Ambassadors and to discuss mediation. The loss of Canton and Hankow, which I fear we must expect, does not affect our

strategy, which is always based on a clear recognition of Japan's undeniable military advantages in the coastal regions, but so far from being a decisive factor, Japan's captures merely increase her difficulties by compelling her to scatter her forces. We have still plenty of ammunition for months to come.—*Reuter*.

The Chinese have not disclosed their plans. Nor the Japanese. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek has gone to an unknown destination. The retreat of the Chinese from Hankow was orderly.

Japanese Diplomat Declares End of British Dominance In Far East

BERLIN, Oct. 27.

"Britain's predominance in the Far East has come to an end for ever," declares the new Japanese ambassador in Italy, Mr. Shiratori, in an interview in Tokio published in the "Neuest Nachrichten."

After forecasting a speedy cessation of hostilities, Mr. Shiratori continues, "The reorganization of China will take ten years. Several independent individual Governments will be established, according to the example of the United States of America. They will all be under a common President. An alliance with Japan to govern China's military, foreign and political relations and customs union are also contemplated."

Japan did not think of sharing the fruits of her victory with the Western powers but their rights would remain unimpaired. Financial co-operation will be welcome, German technicians and industries will be given preferential treatment." The new China was to become a second Manchukuo.—*Reuter*.

The Japanese diplomat may have counted the chickens before they have been hatched.

Chiang Kai-Shek's Confident Message

CHUNGKING, Oct. 28.

A confident message was received from Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek when the People's Political Council, which is China's Parliament, met at Chungking today.

The message declares the hope that an eventual victory is nearer realization as hostilities extend to the west of the Railways. Thanks to the heroic resistance of troops in the past six months, time has been gained to lay firm foundations for the next phase of the conflict. Preparations for a prolonged resistance are being strengthened and political and military centres are being built behind the Japanese lines.

The message adds, "The situation as it exists today approximates more closely than ever to China's plan of obtaining an ultimate victory."

A determination to continue resistance is reiterated by the Deputy Leader, Wangchingwei, whose statement was greeted with thunderous applause.—*Reuter*.

No Peace Prospect in China

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.

"All rumours of peace talks in the Sino-Japanese conflict can easily be discounted, simply because a just peace is impossible at the present moment," said the new Chinese Ambassador in the United States at a Press Conference after presenting his credentials to President Roosevelt.—*Reuter*.

*Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Report "re"
Bengalis in Bihar Not To Be
Discussed ?*

It is said that Mr. P. R. Das has expressed the opinion that the alleged report of Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the problem of Bengalis in Bihar should not be discussed until the Congress Working Committee has disposed of the matter and that Mr. Das says that the summary of the report which has appeared in some papers is wholly unauthorized and may bear no resemblance to the report actually made.

We think the report actually made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Congress Working Committee need not and should not be treated by the Committee as a state secret and should be published. Public discussion of the report may help the Committee to arrive at a correct decision. Discussion of the report after the Committee has pronounced its opinion will be of little use, for all authorities have a natural tendency to stick to "the settled fact" which they consider their decisions to be.

The Palestine Situation

The situation in Palestine remains practically unchanged—perhaps it has worsened and become more serious.

Though Britain may not tri-sect that country into three states—all under British suzerainty, and may keep it undivided, she will not agree to give up her paramountcy over it, unless compelled to. She cannot, in fact, renounce supreme power over it without jeopardizing her empire in Asia and her sea and air routes to Australia and New Zealand.

We sympathize with both the Arabs and the Jews, and do not desire that either or both should be under the thumb of British imperialism. But it is difficult to envisage any definite settled future. Suppose Britain retired from the field and left the Arabs and the Jews to settle their disputes themselves. What would be the chances of the Jews getting a fair deal? The Arabs are more numerous, have Arabia proper, Iraq, Syria, etc., behind their backs. Moreover, Germany and Italy would for their own selfish ends back the Arabs and would throw their weight against the Jews because of their anti-Semitism. Feeling safe in this way the Arabs are not likely to be reasonable in their negotiations with the Jews. The retirement of Britain from Palestine would leave the door open for the pursuit of German, Italian and Arab imperialistic ends; for it must not be

forgotten that the Arabs have imperialistic traditions, and even at present there are reports of an elaborate pan-Arab organization with members throughout Europe and the Near East and centre at Berlin.

So while there may be whole-hearted condemnation of British imperialism and demand for its withdrawal, it is not clear what good would result if the demand were met.

President Roosevelt has promised to do his best to safeguard the Jews' right to their national home. But perhaps in "real politics" such promises have little value. In the United States itself Jew-baiting has not disappeared for ever and anti-Jewish riots are not impossible. The future which any plan for helping either the Arabs or the Jews may lead up to is not clear to us.

The Sad Plight of the Jews in Europe

The deportation of Polish Jews in Germany, numbering 100,000, appeared to be certain if Poland did not accede to the terms dictated by Germany. But the Polish Jews have been allowed to remain in Germany, to lead a dog's life there deprived of human rights. The treatment of Jews in Italy is cruel, and Czechoslovakia has been making it very hot for them after surrendering to Nazi hectoring. What a mournful lot!

Bihar to Employ Four Jewish Experts

In response to a request made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Saiyid Mahmud, Education and Development Minister in Bihar, has agreed to employ four Jewish experts. India should certainly help as many Jews as possible, without, of course, aggravating our own unemployment problem as it affects our intelligentsia.

As regards Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's pleading with the Bihar Cabinet for the Jews, the Pandit may be requested to use his influence to see that pro-Semitism in Bihar does not grow *pari passu* with Bengali-phobia. Perhaps an expert like Captain P. B. Mukherji, the distinguished radiologist, who has recently received fresh recognition from abroad, would not have had to leave Bihar if instead of being a Bengali he had been a Jew recommended by Pandit-ji.

Oppression in Indian States

Recently there had been shooting and other essential elements of "strong rule" in some of

the bigger states like Mysore and Travancore. But suddenly some small and obscure states in Orissa have leaped into fame, as perhaps they think, or notoriety, as others think. The small state of Dhenkanal has created a record in this respect. But for British paramountcy these small princes would have been swept away any day. If they are wise they should agree without delay to give their people at least as much civic and political freedom as the people of British India enjoy. There is no other way out of the difficulty. It is noteworthy that Mayurbhanj, the premier state in Orissa, is unaffected by the mania for strong rule.

Hyderabad is under a Muslim prince the vast majority of whose subjects are Hindus. But they are discriminated against in all directions—in the public services, in the matter of educational facilities, and in the enjoyment of religious liberty. No wonder Satyagraha has been started there. Many have been arrested and thrown into jail. But repression will not, cannot end the trouble. Whatever His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his advisers may think, Their Humblenesses the Common Folk are destined to triumph in the long run. It would be wise, therefore, for His Exalted Highness to gracefully yield while there is still time.

Travancore Maharaja's Wise Act

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has acted wisely and gracefully in releasing all political prisoners. His state gave the lead in throwing open the temple-doors to the so-called untouchables. Let it create a record in conferring on the people a charter of adequate civic and political liberties.

Mahatma Gandhi in N.-W. F. P.

Mahatma Gandhi's tour in the North-West Frontier Province ought to produce beneficial results. In the course of one of his speeches there he has observed that, so far as the kidnapping and plundering of Hindus in that province are concerned, the situation has grown worse since the acceptance of office by the Congress ministry there. He has advised that ministry to retire if they cannot prevent these crimes. He thinks that Non-violence may be able to produce the desirable atmosphere. If Mahatmaji himself remains in the province for an appreciable length of time and is allowed to mix with the transfrontier people freely, some good result may be expected.

There is one respect in which provincial autonomy has borne similar fruit in Bengal and the N.-W. F. Province. In Bengal the Muslim masses appear to have got it into their head that Muslim rule has been established in the province and *therefore* they may do what they like to the Hindus with impunity. In consequence, the number of cases of breaking the images in Hindu temples and of defiling the temples, of not allowing Hindu processions with images to pass along certain roads even outside the periods of Muslim worship, of abduction of Hindu women, and the like, has increased. The Frontier and Transfrontier Pathans also may have understood the implications of self-government in a similar way.

The Meaning of "Defence" in India

All our Indian contemporaries appear to have found fault with both the personnel and the terms of reference of the Committee on Indian Defence, known as the Chatfield Committee. This Committee, like the Simon Commission, is an all-white committee, with no dusky member in it.

Along with our contemporaries we may derive some consolation from the meaning which "Defence" bears in India. In free and independent countries, Defence means maintaining the independence of the country and keeping it safe for its own people. In India Defence means maintaining the dependent condition of the country and keeping it safe for the British people. Such being the case, who but Britishers and Britishers alone are fit to be members of the Committee on Indian Defence?

The Next Congress President

Some of our contemporaries have begun to discuss the question of who ought to be the Congress president next year. Some socialists and others have been suggesting that S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose should be the president for another term. Some "nationalist" Bengali Muslims have issued a statement supporting Mr. Bose's claims. The statement is ably drafted, though there is no novelty in the arguments. They think that Mr. Bose will be better able to solve the communal problem than anybody else. Perhaps they think that the practical acceptance of the Communal Decision, with 60 per cent. of the Bengal jobs for Muslims thrown in, means a good solution. We do not know what Mr. Bose thinks

of such a solution. But we are definitely of the opinion that that would be no solution at all. It would rather make the communal problem worse than it is. For there are some people called the Hindus, and there are some of them in Bengal, too, who will not agree to be practically wiped out of the civic and political life and the administration of the country. The Muslim "nationalists" also support Mr. Bose because he is a strong denouncer of the Government scheme of federation. We have no love for that scheme. But we know why Muslims do not like it. They would like it if in the Indian States section of the Federal Assembly, one-third of the seats (preferably more) were ear-marked for the Muslims, as has been done in the British Provinces section. We have strongly criticized and condemned the Government scheme of federation both in our Bengali and English magazine and in the *Asia* magazine of America. But our grounds for such condemnation being different from those of the Muslims, we do not want to play into their hands by shouting with them or even with Congressmen.

As for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's claims we may discuss them when other names, too, have been definitely suggested. Our support of anybody's claims may mean little, as we are not Congressites. But whatever it may be worth, we certainly are not for supporting anybody who will not stand up for the just claims of Bengal, not merely because we are Bengalis, but because it has been wronged more grievously by the Government of India Act of 1935 than any other province, and because the all-India body politic cannot be sound and strong with a seriously wounded member. We would much rather remain silent.

Ethiopia Not Yet Conquered

The telegrams relating to Ethiopia which appear now and then in the papers lead the reader to suspect that Ethiopia has not yet been conquered by Italy. That suspicion is confirmed by reading *The Voice of Ethiopia* which comes from America regularly.

Proposed Vivisection of India by the Muslim League

The Muslim League has very patriotically proposed that there should be two federations

in India, a federation of Muslim provinces and states and a federation of Hindu provinces and states! The Muslim League is so generous as to declare that it will allow Muslim countries outside India to join the Muslim federation!

The Muslim League naively fancies or pretends to fancy, that independent Muslim countries would join its Indian Muslim federation under the thumb of an imperialist Britain!

The Muslim federation is to consist of provinces and states on the 'principle' of "heads we win, tails you lose"! Provinces and States of which most of the inhabitants are Muslim are to be included in the federation. Again, a state having a majority of Hindu inhabitants, as Hyderabad, but having a Muslim ruler, is also to be included in it; but on a similar principle, Kashmir with a Hindu ruler but a majority of Muslim inhabitants is not to be included in the Hindu federation: it must be included in the Muslim federation.

As the Muslim League and its leaders like Mr. Jinnah, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, *et hoc genus omne*, are really henchmen of British imperialists, they cannot understand or believe that,

"If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities (in U. S. S. R.)—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political, and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, if *capitalist exploitation of class by class* and *nation by nation* were eliminated."—From *Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, pp. 262-263.

India's population is far less diversified than Soviet Russia's, and hence the establishment of peace and amity between communities should be far easier here than in U. S. S. R.

Congress Ministry in Assam

It is with great pleasure that we note that a stable Congress ministry has been formed in Assam and that the ministers there will accept a salary of only Rs. 500 per mensem.

De Valera's Strategy

Step by step, taking advantage of Britain's weaknesses and difficulties, Mr. De Valera has been forging ahead towards the goal of Eire's complete independence. He has recently given Britain to understand that in case of war breaking out between the latter and any other power, Eire will stand by her if she agreed to

the unification of the whole of that island, but not otherwise. It is said Premier Chamberlain is agreeable to the proposal. In that case Ulster must give up its separatism and agree to form one state with the rest of Eire.

Mania For Separation in Central Europe

The mania for forming separate racial and linguistic states is being carried too far in Central Europe. By 'be-smallling' and weakening Czechoslovakia some of the other small states are increasing Germany's power to swallow them up; whereas, if they could enter into a kind of confederation without weakening Czechoslovakia, they could have remained strong enough to stand up to Germany. Small racial and linguistic groups can maintain their political and cultural freedom and individuality only by combining among themselves against the dictators.

A Question to Bikaner

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner placed his army and the entire resources of his State at the disposal of Britain when recently there was a probability of the latter being involved in war. A gentleman has sent us a contribution asking in effect why the Maharaja is not placing his resources at the disposal of his famine-stricken subjects, seeing that just now Britain does not stand in need of them.

Germany's Unbounded Ambition

Nazi Germany is looking in all directions for expansion—Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, . . . She wants colonies, too. Why not, if other Powers have them? But the autochthons of the Colonies? Have they no rights? Weak peoples have none in the opinion of the mighty ones of Christendom.

Wanted a Bengali Linguistic Province

As Congress has declared itself in favour of linguistic provinces and as the British

Government has also, previously, created the linguistic provinces of Orissa and Sindh, there should be other such provinces also, whether any linguistic group be discriminated against and unjustly treated anywhere or not. But such discrimination and unjust treatment strengthen the case for linguistic provinces. The case for a Bengali linguistic province has thus become stronger. Of course, even if the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar Province be given back to Bengal, there will be thousands of Bengalis in Bihar proper, for whom just treatment must be ensured.

"Sudeten Area Never Part of Germany"

World Youth for September 24 last writes:

It should be pointed out that the Sudeten territory of Czechoslovakia, in the whole of its history, has never belonged to Germany. Its inhabitants speak German because they are descendants of 12th century German colonists in the Slavic Kingdom of Bohemia. Early in the 17th century Bohemia became part of Austria, and under the Hapsburgs German was the official language. There is no historical ground for claiming the area as German.

But what chance has authentic history against the mailed fist? or ever had?

The American paper adds:

The real reasons for Hitler's demand, though intentionally obscured, are three:

The Skoda munition works, the Sudeten mountain barrier and its fortifications which bar the German march eastward, and the Nazi hatred of democratic government represented in Central Europe almost solely by the Czech republic.

Jute Ordinance Injurious to Jute-Growers and Mill-Workers

The predominantly Muslim Bengal ministry's Jute Ordinance has not benefited the cultivators who grow jute, most of whom are Muslim, but has gone against their interests by lowering the price of jute. It has injured the mill workers also and has thrown thousands of them out of employ. Hence, there is widespread and strong agitation against it in Bengal. The ordinance must go.

PEACE—WITH DISHONOUR

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE Prime Minister has purchased peace for Great Britain. But at what price? And for how long? For six weeks, six months, or six years? He would be a bold man who would believe that the word of a Dictator could be relied on for even one year after the examples we have had of its being broken time and again as circumstances seemed to show it to be a safe gamble.

It is easy for a householder to purchase peace from a burglar by handing over to him such of his possessions as the burglar covets. The morality of his purchasing his own peace by handing over to the burglar the possessions of some one else is more open to question. Yet that is what our Prime Minister has done to secure for us what can only be a very temporary peace.

The appetite of the bully and dictator grows with what it feeds on. Hitler speaks no English. He reads the press as supplied to him by his Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels. Goebbels and von Ribbentrop assured Hitler that Great Britain would not go to war on account of Czecho-Slovakia, and—with Chamberlain at the head of the Government—they were right.

Hitler's extravagant and increased demands shocked the Prime Minister as did his insistence on practically immediate action and occupation of the Sudeten territory with its eighty million pounds' worth of fortifications, but when Hitler "declared categorically that rather than wait he would be prepared to risk a world war" he used exactly the bluff to which Chamberlain could not stand up.

"Might is Right," the doctrine that millions died and millions more of us fought and suffered to dethrone in the "war to end war" is again enthroned. Can anyone imagine that this megalomaniac Hitler will stop there, or could if he wished to?

The Prime Minister told the House that Hitler had assured him that he had no further territorial ambitions in Europe. He believed that the German Chancellor really meant this statement. Perhaps he did—but for how long? On 17th May 1933 Hitler said that

"The German people have no thought of invading any country."

On 13th March 1934 he said:

"The German Government have never questioned the validity of the Treaty of Locarno."

On 21st May 1935, after again reiterating that the German Government would scrupulously observe "every Treaty voluntarily concluded" Hitler went on:

"Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal administration of Austria, to annex Austria, or to conclude the *anschluss*."

Yet, in spite of these solemn declarations, on 7th March 1936 Hitler denounced the Treaty of Locarno and reoccupied the Rhineland. His words on this occasion may show how much reliance can be put on the document he and the British Prime Minister have signed. These are his words, on 7th March 1936:

"Germany will never break the peace of Europe . . . I regard the struggle for German equality as concluded to-day. *We have no territorial demands to make in Europe.*"

At the beginning of the Great War the Germans were held up to scorn in this country because of the Kaiser's reference to their Treaty with Belgium as "a scrap of paper". We are bound, as members of the League of Nations, to uphold the integrity of Czecho-Slovakia against aggression. France is bound not only under the Covenant of the League but by a direct Treaty with Czecho-Slovakia. Both of these solemn obligations have been ignored. Indeed we went so far as to tell the Government of Czecho-Slovakia that neither we nor France would abide by our solemn undertakings if they offered any resistance to Hitler's bullying terms and the British Prime Minister further undertook to use the might of Great Britain to see that the Government of Czecho-Slovakia carried them out.

In 1914 we heard a great deal about the small country Belgium being attacked and how we must go to its assistance against the Kaiser and his armies. This was in the minds of many in the House of Commons last week when the Prime Minister, referring to the present situation, said:

"However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in a war simply on her account."

We do seem to have travelled a long way since 1914 and the pledge of the British Government to small nations means now something very different from what it meant then. The law of the jungle, the doctrine that Might is Right, the barbarism that we fought to destroy in the Great War, has now become established in Europe and the head of the British Government is now doing all he can to get on the most friendly relations with the two Dictators who have done so much to dethrone the law of brotherhood and justice. Hitler has abolished law and substituted for it his own decisions—and Britain and France have meekly acquiesced.

It is not without interest too that Russia, who alone undertook to stand by all her obligations to Czecho-Slovakia and fight the German menace, was not invited to Munich and is ignored by the Prime Minister as if she did not exist. It is indeed the case that rather than be beholden to or work with Russia, Mr. Chamberlain would work on terms of good fellowship with the two most ruthless and bullying dictators in the world today.

Mr. Baldwin said in the House of Commons "our frontier is on the Rhine." It would have been truer to say that our frontier was in the Sudeten mountains, where were some of the strongest fortifications in Europe against German aggression. We have now let Germany inside these fortifications without a shot being fired. It may not be long before France bitterly regrets that she did not make a stand against Germany before she gave away what is such a vital part of her own defence system. We have also given over the main sources of raw materials in Czecho-Slovakia and some of her main industries to Germany, along with three-quarters of her lignite coal output, which comes from one of the areas now occupied by Germany. Czecho-Slovakia exports about £50,000,000 a year of textiles, porcelain, glassware, etc. and most of the factories for their manufacture are in the Sudeten areas. Czecho-Slovakia's transport system has been strangled as it now runs through what is German territory. She is indeed in a worse state than was Austria after the War.

Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia are now compelled to come under Germany's sphere of influence and will have to rely more and more on her goodwill. The price they have got to pay for that will be their subservience to Germany's economic and military interests. That is another fruit of our betrayal.

In spite of what the German Chancellor has agreed to with Mr. Chamberlain, can anyone venture a guess as to how long it will be before he brings Memel, Danzig, and the Polish Corridor within the German Reich?

In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's belief in Hitler it is not without significance that all the air raid precautions in this country have to go on, and the trenches dug in the public parks in London and elsewhere have not to be filled in. The rearmament programme of the Navy, Army and especially of the Air Force, is to proceed with increased vigour, while the only one possible enemy is the German Chancellor, whose word Mr. Chamberlain accepts that never again will there be war between Germany and Great Britain, but that all disputes will be settled by negotiation. It would be almost laughable, if it were not so tragic, that the reason of this is that the Prime Minister agrees with the German Chancellor that the recent crisis *has* been settled by negotiation. It is the kind of negotiation that the armed burglar uses to have everything handed over to him without the necessity of his shooting.

And it is also worth noting that the *Times* newspaper, which was the first in this country to suggest that the Sudetenland should be handed over to Germany, is now suggesting that Mr. Chamberlain should introduce universal service "as soon as the growing strength of the Dictators has created the necessary mentality in the country."

This Government was of course elected on a pledge to support collective security as the only means of avoiding war. One of Mr. Chamberlain's first appointments after he became Prime Minister was that of Mr. Lennox Boyd as a junior Minister. Mr. Lennox Boyd until then had been one of the most fervent of Franco's supporters in this country. On 18th March last Mr. Lennox Boyd made a speech, and for his indiscretion he afterwards apologised in the House of Commons. In this speech he said that he did not think Mr. Chamberlain would make a move to guarantee the frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia. "Germany could absorb Czecho-Slovakia and Britain would remain safe and secure." No sooner had that "indiscretion" blown over than Mr. Chamberlain, at Lady Astor's house at Cliveden, talked to American and Canadian journalists in a much more frank way than he would ever have done to journalists of this country. The *Montreal Star*, referring to the Prime Minister's statements said:

"Nothing seems clearer than that the British do not expect to fight for Czecho-Slovakia and do not anticipate that France or Russia will either. That being so, the Czechs must accede to the German demands, if reasonable."

As Sir Archibald Sinclair, the leader of the Liberal Opposition, pointed out in the House of Commons with reference to this statement, as far as the Czechs were concerned it would not matter whether the demands were reasonable or not. "The Czechs would have to submit anyway."

But the *Montreal Star* went further in its disclosures of what the Prime Minister told them at Cliveden and said:

"That brings us to the question of the Four Power Pact. The British prefer to label it something else because a Four Power Pact might signify to some a Dictators' Committee to dictate to the rest of Europe."

And this journalist went on to tell us that "Soviet Russia is excluded on the grounds that it does not work well in harness."

On 11th March last both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary warned the German Ambassador (at that time von Ribbentrop) that German intervention in Austria would destroy any hope of an Anglo-Italian Agreement. Next day Austria was annexed.

Now it is understood that the Prime Minister proposes to have further negotiations with Mussolini. No wonder that von Ribbentrop was able to advise his Leader that he had only to make enough show of force to ensure the retreat of the British Prime Minister. There was a time, not so long ago, when small nations realised that when Great Britain had given its word they could depend on her upholding and protecting them. Now honour, pledges, everything gives way before merely temporary expediency. To such a depth is this once great nation fallen that tens of thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land (instead of lauding the Prime Minister for keeping the peace after the policy of his Government had brought us to the brink of war) feel nothing but shame and humiliation.

But, as I began, is it peace? War preparations are to go on as never before and sooner or later the issue between the aggression and bullying of the Dictators and the position taken up by the democratic Powers will have to be fought out unless by some chance the Dictators disappear. Every concession to their bullying tactics makes their position stronger and the stand against them more difficult. The betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia has enormously strengthened the German Reich. If and when Germany does

go to war the defences of France, and therefore of England, are much less strong than they were a week ago.

There is talk of some signal honour being bestowed on Mr. Chamberlain, like the Garter with which his brother was honoured after Locarno. The Locarno Treaty is now in tatters—torn to shreds by Hitler. If the Prime Minister is to get some honour for his work for peace he had better take it quickly. For peace at present is established on a very tottering and unsafe foundation.

There is of course the possibility, which would be welcomed by some of the Cliveden circle, that Britain might go Fascist and go hand in hand with Germany and Italy. But the British are built of sterner stuff than the Italians and are not ready to be regimented like the Germans. Any attempt to run this country on Fascist lines would be more likely to cause such an upheaval as would throw her more into line with Russia.

When future historians look back they will probably realise that this is one of the most interesting times in the world's history because of the tremendous changes that are going on around us. It may be a hard and in many ways a disagreeable time for those of us who have to live through it, but I am convinced that the outcome is bound to be sooner or later a realisation of the brotherhood of man and I believe the ultimate result will be not merely a United States of Europe but a United States of the world with justice and opportunities for all and a realisation that we are—individuals and nations alike—our brothers' keepers. Aggression by one country against another would then be a thing of the past because of the super-national authority that, with collective security, would ensure that all were treated fairly and without respect of principalities and powers. It is an aim worth working for, and those of us who believe in it must go on through these dark days striving towards the light which is in man and will shine out ever more and more clearly.

"I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God.

"I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope."

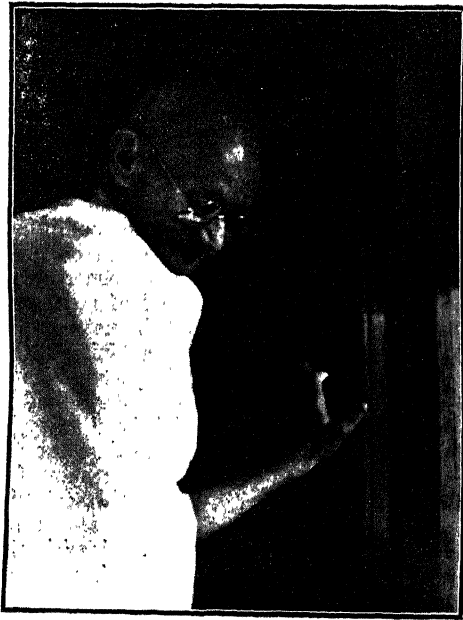
Westminster, London.
October 4, 1938.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATEST WEAPON

By C. F. ANDREWS

THIS year, on October the 2nd, Mahatma Gandhi will have reached the threshold of 70. We may well thank God for the wonderful gift that He has given to India in preserving his life for us so long!

When I last saw him, a few months ago, he was lying down on his bed at Juhu by doctor's orders, recovering from the very severe and sudden collapse and high blood pressure which had attacked him in Calcutta, only a short time before. Since then, his health has



Mahatma Gandhi

been very precarious indeed and the blood pressure has been unstable. Nevertheless, God has spared his life for our sakes and for the sake of humanity: and we pray that it may be still longer preserved. For there is no single man in the whole world today who is so deeply and universally beloved as Mahatma Gandhi. Even those who condemned him during the non-cooperation movement have recently changed their minds; and the most conservative people in India and Great Britain have now one thing

in common; they deeply long that Mahatma Gandhi's life may be continued for the sake of the peace of the world.

When I first met him in the year 1913, he was still in South Africa, struggling against almost insuperable odds in order to obtain justice for the poor labourers who had emigrated to that distant country from India. They had come chiefly from Tamil Nadu and had gone out to South Africa as indentured labourers. They were being cruelly driven back to India after the indenture was over, by means of an unjust Poll-tax, and Mahatmaji had determined by passive resistance to get that tax removed. He made, what has been called by one writer, "the most remarkable march with a peaceful army which history has ever recorded." This "army" was composed of indentured labourers,—men, women and children. They had no weapons of war. Their one weapon was Non-violence. They started from one of the central districts of Natal, and marched over the high Darkenberg mountains until they came to the borders of Transvaal. I have been along that very road, by which they came over those high mountains. When they crossed these mountains it was so bitterly cold at night time that two little children perished on the way.

The Indian merchants, who met this "ragged army," (as it was called) at different towns on the route, brought them loaves of bread and other provisions; but it was very difficult indeed to feed so large a multitude and many had to go hungry. When they reached the borders of Transvaal, they all knew that if they crossed the border they would be put in prison: for that was the law of South Africa. Nevertheless, with extraordinary enthusiasm and joy in their faces, the whole army rushed across the frontier. They were then confronted at once by the mounted police and officers of military rank, who called upon them to surrender. Since they were passive resisters, they gave themselves up to the police without a struggle, and were all of them imprisoned along with their great leader Mahatma Gandhi and his wife Kasturbai and their children.

When I reached South Africa three months later, Mahatma Gandhi had been released, along with other leaders, named Mr. Polak and Mr.

Kallenbach, because General Smuts, who was in command of the administration, had already determined to make peace and not to carry on

and we were thus quite isolated from the rest of the world for there was no 'wireless' in those days.

The European strike leaders sent out tentative requests to Mr. Gandhi that he should join them in their own strike, and thus make certain of victory. But he entirely refused to do so, because his own passive resistance struggle was altogether on a non-violent basis, while the European strike on the railway and in the Mines was on a violent basis.



Mahatmaji speaking

the struggle any further. He therefore had summoned Mahatmaji to come to see him at Pretoria, which was the capital of the Transvaal. I was asked to accompany him and we travelled together by the train just before a very violent Railway strike broke out both on the Railway and in the Gold Mines. The mail train, by which we were to reach Pretoria, was the very last that was allowed to make its journey for many days, while the strike continued. I remember very well how at midnight, when the train stopped at one of the stations on the mountain side, where a second engine had to be attached, we both of us thought that the strike had actually begun, and that we should be left stranded in the middle of our journey. But, after what seemed an almost interminable time, the train moved on again. The guard of the train came and told us that although the strike had been announced to begin at mid-night, our train would be allowed to complete its journey to Pretoria.

When we reached the capital, then, once again, there were almost insuperable difficulties. The telegraph lines were cut by the strikers,



Among village-folks

This fact, that Mahatmaji had refused to join in a violent strike, even when it seemed to be for his own interest to do so, made a great impression everywhere. It led on to General Smuts' offer of peace. Thus when he called Mahatmaji to see him at his office in Pretoria, he said with great deal of bluntness: "Now Gandhi, put all your cards on the table! Let me know exactly what you want, and I will try to get it for you."

Any one else, who had received such a favourable offer, would have at once demanded the very maximum, but Mr. Gandhi, who is the soul of truth and uprightness in everything he does, asked instead only for the minimum. His one final demand was this, that the £3/- Poll-tax (which was the sign of slavery) should be

entirely abolished. General Smuts agreed to this and signed a draft agreement.

This was the beginning of the last act in that great drama, whereby Mahatma Gandhi won his passive resistance struggle against overwhelming odds in South Africa. In the history of India and the world it marks a turning point, which future historians will record, from violence to non-violence. I have told this amazing story rapidly, in order to show how Mahatmaji has remained absolutely true to his great principle of non-violence during all these intervening years. He has never turned either to the right hand or to the left, but has marched straight forward all the while along the same path of non-violence.

Before me on the table there lies open a tiny booklet which he wrote in 1908, while he was on a sea voyage coming back from England. In this little book, he has described his own belief in Non-violence as follows:

"To use brute-force, to use gun-powder, is contrary to passive resistance; for it means that we want our opponent to do by our use of force that which we desire, but he does not. And, if such a use of force is justifiable, surely he is entitled to do the same by us. And

blame them. They can say nothing else. When they succeed in driving out the English, and they themselves become governors, they will want you and me to obey *their* laws. And that is a fitting thing for their constitution. But a passive resister will say he will not obey a law that is against his conscience, even though he may be blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon.

"What do you think? Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon, or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown



Mahatmaji's cottage at Wardha

to pieces? Who is the true warrior,—he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

"This, however, I will admit: that even a man, weak in body, is capable of offering this passive resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it. It does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-jitsu. Control over the minds alone necessary, and when that is attained, man is free, like the king of the forest, and his very glance withers the enemy.

"Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results."

Now, in these declining years of his life, Mahatma Gandhi has laid even *more* emphasis than ever on this great method of fighting against evil which has always been his principal weapon. Very few as yet understand its full implications as he does. But those who have seen its wonderful effects in action (as I was greatly privileged to do in South Africa) have come to the conclusion, that it is the strongest force in all the world, and further that it is the *only* force that can overcome the hideous brutalities of modern War. If an army could be trained for this *moral* resistance of Peace, just as armies are being trained for the *immoral* resistance of War, then the devilish violence of modern warfare might soon be ended. But have we the moral courage to offer such resistance?



Cowshed

so we should never come to an agreement. We may simply fancy, like the blind horse, moving in a circle round a mill, that we are making progress. Those who believe that they are not bound to obey laws which are repugnant to their conscience, have only the remedy of passive resistance open to them. Any other must lead to disaster.

"Passive resistance, that is, Soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms. How, then, can it be considered merely a weapon of the weak? Men who use physical force are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe that a *coward* can ever disobey a law that he dislikes? Extremists are considered to be advocates of brute force. Why do they, then, talk about obeying laws? I do not

THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE United States Ambassador Dodd, thus wrote to the *Nation* on his retirement to New York from Berlin:

"The black tide of anti-Semitism sweeps east and south; Nazi Vienna now vies with Berlin in terrorizing its native citizens who happen to be Jews. According to Vincent Sheean, not less than 20,000 Jews have been thrown into concentration camps since the Nazis vaulted into the Austrian saddle. Their property has been confiscated, their persons subjected to the grossest physical indignities.

"Unless one has been an eye-witness, it is almost impossible to realize the horrors of this persecution. *Never in modern times has a sovereign power bent itself so savagely upon the extinction of its own inhabitants, or so deliberately transgressed every tradition of culture and humanity.*"

If this had been written by any one else, whose responsibility was less great for every word he uttered, it might have been discounted as the exaggeration of a scare-monger. But these are the solemn words of the late U. S. A. Ambassador,—one of the most judicial and impartial eye-witnesses who have watched the rapid growth of this monstrous tyranny. What follows, in Ambassador Dodd's article, gives full details of the ruthlessness of Nazi rule, which seems now likely to extirpate root and branch this persecuted Jewish race.

Here is another quotation from the same article:

"The persecutions are not confined to powerful leaders of Jewry, or to persons who might be dangerous to the Hitler regime. No child, no aged or infirm person, is spared. On April 22, 1937, the Gestapo (Nazi secret police) evicted hundreds of inmates from 33 Jewish orphanages, sanitariums, and homes for the aged. Several hundred children were turned into the streets utterly homeless. Two hundred aged Jews, who had contracted with a fraternal order for support during the rest of their lives, were reduced to wandering beggary. At the same time, 250 Jewish working girls were ousted from the Krugerheim Home, taken over as sleeping quarters for Storm Troopers; no provision was made for the evicted young women.

"Ghetto benches, painted yellow, are placed in parks all over Germany 'for the use of Jews only.' Only the Children of Jewish war veterans are allowed to attend the public schools; these also sit on Ghetto benches and are shamefully addressed as "Du, Jude" ("You, Jew!"). Today, by law, all the learned professions are closed to Jews. Musical compositions by Mendelssohn and others of Jewish blood may not be played anywhere in Germany; books of Jewish writers are burned in public bonfires.

"In provincial towns of Germany and Poland the shops and homes of Jews are stoned, robbed, and burned. Their children are numbed with cold and emaciated by hunger. These persons are wholly dependent upon money received from relatives or friends in America; yet unless rigid technicalities are observed in transmitting such funds, the amount actually obtained by the recipient is greatly reduced."

Already one-fifth of the whole Jewish population in Germany have either died or left the country.

Ambassador Dodd had studied at the University of Leipzig, and, after a distinguished career at Chicago University, had been appointed head of the U. S. Embassy in Germany in 1933. He was greeted on his appointment by the German newspapers with satisfaction as a great scholar and historian, who had studied, during his long residence in Germany, the German mind. Yet this wholly friendly and impartial Ambassador, unable at last to endure, without an open public protest, the things which he saw happening before his eyes and the misery which came almost daily before his notice, resigned his post as Ambassador in December, 1937, and thus obtained the right to tell the world what he had recently heard and seen.

The German people, from a very early date, have won my own affection and this regard for them as individuals is as strong today as it was long before the miserable world war of 1914-18. When the brutal peace of Versailles was concluded, I protested openly in the columns of *The Modern Review* against its scandalous betrayal of the armistice terms. In the year 1932, I stayed for a long time in Germany, helping to nurse in his last illness the grandson of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and it is impossible for me ever to forget the generous kindness of the German people in that hour of human sorrow. They became loved by me more than ever because of their own humiliations, which had been brought upon them in the hour of victory by my own people among others. Therefore, my whole heart has gone out to them again and again, and I have taken every opportunity of making public my esteem and respect for their bravery in time of trouble and their high intellectual qualities.

But when I was in Germany a little more than a year ago, a subtle change had taken place. In other ways, the people of Southern Germany, where I was staying, were the same friendly people who were ready to meet me with kindness whenever I needed their aid. But side by side with this, the persecution of the Jews was brought home to me in a peculiarly revolting manner, and I protested against it. In the centre of the small town, where I was staying, was a notice-board. It was crowded every day, chiefly by young people, and my curiosity made me go up to see what were the pictures and the printed matter that caused such daily excitement. I found that it was a public copy of Julius Streicher's notorious newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, which exhibited horrible pictures with big head lines, whose one object was to publish grossly lying statements which were deliberately intended to create a hatred of the Jewish race. I could not help contrasting the gentle kindness and courtesy on the one hand, which was evident all round, with this hideous form of torture which goes by the name of *Judenhass* (Jew-hatred). It was no use arguing against this; for it was a case of mass hysteria. The answer would be "Oh, you do not *know* the Jews," and then would follow a torrent of violent abuse. But I *did* know the Jews. I had lived with the Jews in their homes in Germany and shared their hospitality. I could tell my German friends about German Jews of my own acquaintance, who were among the noblest of mankind. One of these was Albert Einstein, whose heart was as wide as the whole world. He was my friend and had been my host.

Now the last thing in the world I should wish to do would be to stir up anger or hatred against Germans in return. That is not my object at all. Rather I would express my own sense of alarm, mingled with compassion, on account of things done in the past which have led on these nerve-racked German people to such a mass hysteria of late. At the same time, it would be difficult to condemn too severely the propaganda of those designing leaders who have produced these symptoms of morbid passion against the Jews.

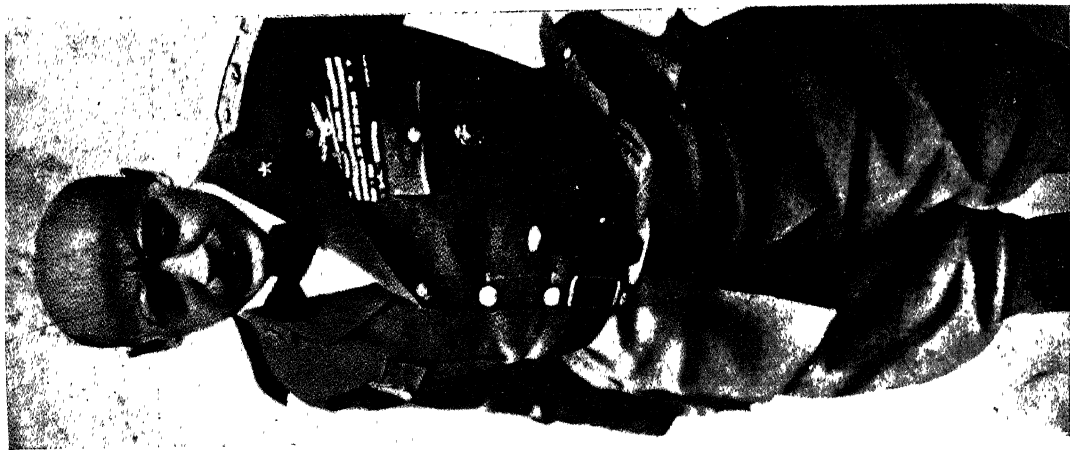
Some of the dearest friends I have ever had have been Jews and I am proud of the fact. When the Indian settlers in Natal were most oppressed and down-trodden by the Europeans, owing to racial and colour prejudice, certain noble and resolute Jews such as Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach, had not only taken up openly the Indian cause, but actually gone to prison for it. Therefore I am never likely to forget those who thus became after that struggle my life-long friends.

In the Life of Christ which I am now writing, Claude Montefiore and Dr. Klausner, two Jewish writers, have helped me more, perhaps, than any others to gain a true picture of Jesus as He lived in Galilee among His own countrymen. The whole world of art and music and literature owes more to this gifted and cultured race than it can ever repay. Therefore I would ask that in this their hour of persecution, when every country appears to be shutting its doors and refusing to allow them to enter, no word should come from India except that of pity and love and compassion.

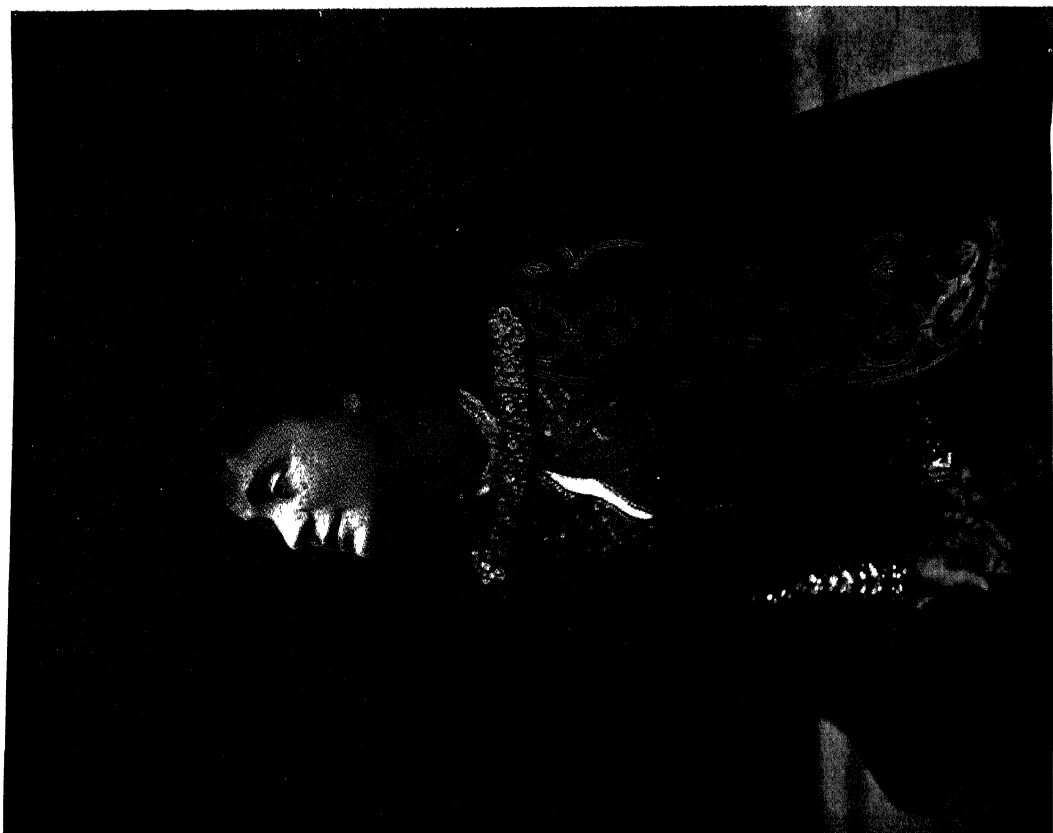
The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, at Santiniketan, has led the way in opening his heart wide to embrace this afflicted race. We have had among us one whom we all loved, Dr. Winternitz, from Prague. His enthusiasm for Sanskrit was so great, that it had become the one passion of his life. His love also for India was so true and deep, that in spite of failing health and the death of his dear wife which shattered his own health, he continued working for India in the centre of Europe at Prague, the capital of Czecho-Slovakia, right up to the very end. Others, almost equally noble, have been living with us; and it is through them that the Oriental Institute at Prague has been established by Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, after he had found a warm-hearted love for India in that city. Today they are still trying to keep alight, in the midst of inexpressible anxieties and fears, of war the flame of Indian culture. Among those who have helped to do this both in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland are the Jews.



Types of Dannunzian scenography.
The three scenes for the three Acts of *La Figlia di Iorio*



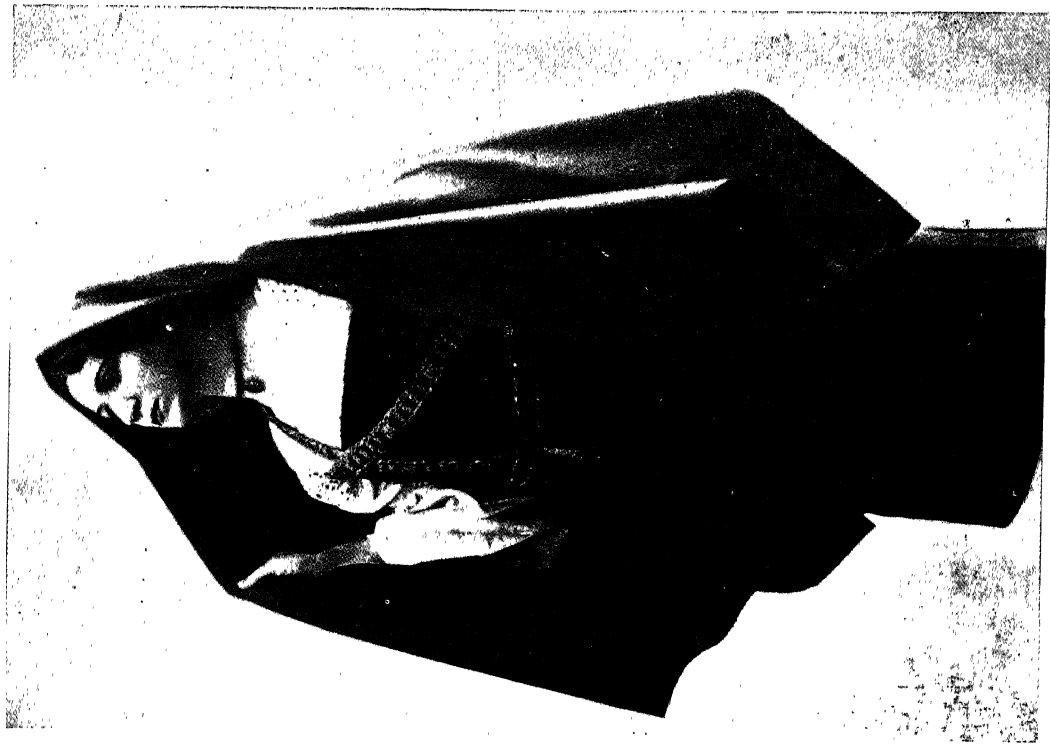
Gabriele D'Annunzio



Eleonora Duse in the role of "Francesca"



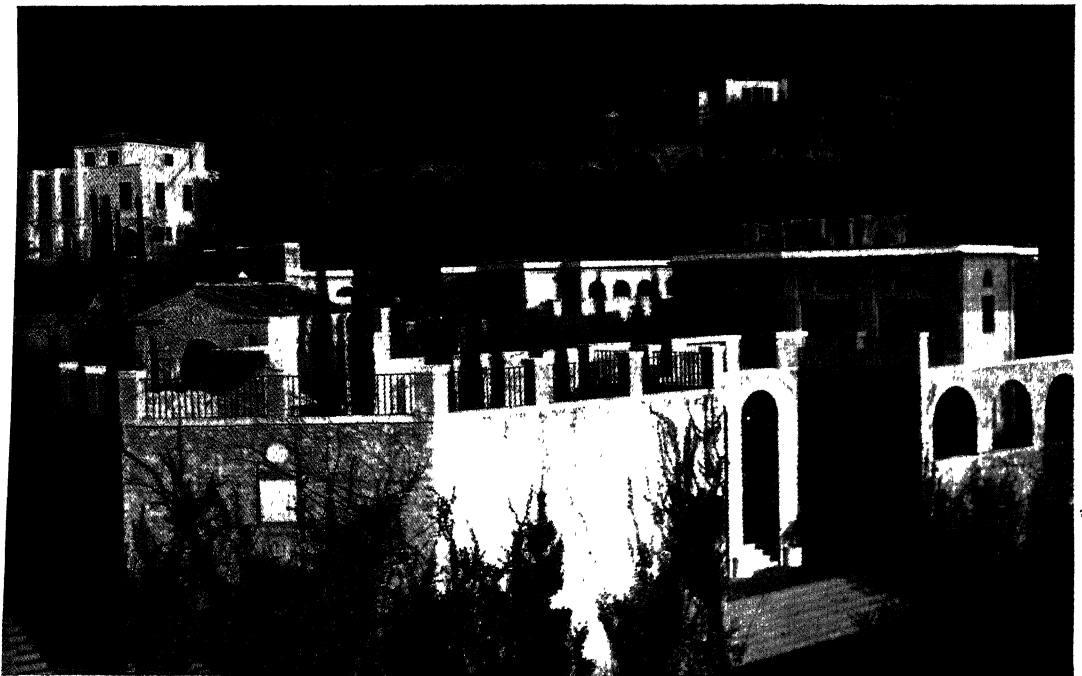
Ida Rubinstein in the leading role of *Pisanella*



Irma Gramatica in the role of "Mila di Codra" in *La Figlia di Iorio*



and Renaissance symbols together with martial and religious motifs in the
 "Vittoriale," D'Annunzio's villa on Lake Garda



A panoramic view of the "Vittoriale" on Lake Garda, where the poet-soldier
 lived the last years of his retired life

D'ANNUNZIO AND THE ITALIAN THEATRE

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc., POL. (Rome)

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO was a greater artist in life than in poetry. Critics have pointed out that his poetry does not bear the stamp of immortality, but it is universally acknowledged that he is the creator of modern Italian theatre. It was in drama that he excelled more, for it was truer to his life. Before D'Annunzio the Italian theatre was in the grip of a stagnant decadence; he redeemed it with his dramatic passion and scenographic imagery, brought the Italian stage to the forefront of contemporary European theatrical art and gave it a long lease of life.

In order to appreciate the true spirit of D'Annunzio's dramas it is essential to have at least a broad idea of his philosophy of life and the fundamental inspiration of his poetry. Before I proceed to discuss his dramas, therefore, I propose to mention here just a few landmarks of his life and poetry. D'Annunzio's life is a wonderful synthesis of poetry and war, of contemplation and action, of passionate extravagance and blissful tranquillity. He has lived his life most intensively and has seen it from all angles of vision. He was not only a great poet or a great soldier, but was an institution in himself. He was a hero, lover and prophet blended together. He belongs to the history of Italy as much as to the history of Europe. To the world his name is associated with the military adventure he organized and conducted for the liberation of Italians in Dalmatia and Trento, and his most spectacular seizure of Fiume in defiance of Giolitti, President Wilson, the League of Nations and the whole world, which although it ended in failure at the first instance, prepared the ground for the victory of Mussolini and Fascism. He has often been compared with Byron for his poetry, full of sensuous inspiration which reveals the author as an aesthete, creating art for art's sake, and also for his passionate temperament and innumerable love episodes. But Byron's literary background did not include Nietzsche whose cult of the "super-man" and that of "living dangerously" attracted D'Annunzio and established through his odes and ballads that ideal of ruthless nationalism and pride in a glorious past that have laid the spiritual foundations of Fascism. Unlike his

British prototype, he showed himself as a fighter of dauntless courage and as a politician who swayed the fortunes of Europe.

On the outbreak of the War when he was living as an exile in Paris, where his dramas were being staged and admired, he returned to Italy and conducted that violent agitation in collaboration with the nationalists in Italy,—



Gabriellino D'Annunzio in *La Nave*

Rocco, Corradini and Coppola,—which drove Italy into the War on the side of the Allies. His speeches brought Giolitti down; he fought on the land in the Carso trenches, at sea on the famous torpedo boat raid on Buccari, in air under many skies and bore his wounds, the loss of his left eye among them, with stoic fortitude. His life and temperament bore a strong affinity to the romanticism of late renaissance;

even in the wilderness of the twentieth century materialism and spiritual desperation, D'Annunzio was able to revive the cult of beauty which singled him out as an outstanding figure of his age. *The Times* of London, in its obituary note on D'Annunzio, wrote:

"Cruel and lavishly generous, wildly boastful and desperately brave, ugly but fortunate in his loves, he stepped out of the fifteenth century into the nineteenth and *felix opportunitate vitae* lived to become the most romantic figure that the twentieth century has yet seen."

D'Annunzio made a name in his earlier years for his voluptuous sense of beauty and his mastery of language, but his wonderful instinct for beauty and his inexhaustible resources of style were not employed for anything else than creating a Pan-like communion with



C. Debussy, the famous French composer

Nature from which he seems hardly distinguishable. Croce describes him as the "dilettante of sensations." In form his poetry owes much to Carducci's classicism, and resembles that of Swinburne in respect of music and rhythm. Like this English poet D'Annunzio did not hesitate sometimes to sacrifice the meaning of his verses

for the sake of their music. Two and a half years ago Pirandello told me, during an interview, almost the same thing when on being asked, he said, that D'Annunzio had a 'style of words' much more than a 'style of things.' He felt himself almost like a pagan when he sang about the glories of the Abruzzi hills, whence he came, in his *Canto Novo*. Although he was indebted to the French and Russian authors to a certain extent, his greatest inspiration from outside was that of Nietzsche, the apostle of the Superman, and it is for this reason that his works which consist of 64 volumes have all been proscribed by the Vatican. Although his works reveal many ideals, they lack a consistent morality. "Gloire o morire" (To enjoy or to die) is the philosophy of life that he elaborated in his *Larus Vitae*, and reveals the epicurean that he was. The only unaccomplished desire of his life was to ascend the stratosphere with Prof. Picard and to descend by parachute.

D'Annunzio's dramas must necessarily be seen through this elaborate background of his life—heroism and aestheticism, sensuality and romanticism, moral incongruity and self-effacing patriotism. Attiglio Momigliano, the celebrated Italian critic, rightly observes that in D'Annunzio the virtues of renaissance and the vices of the eighteenth century decadentism are inseparably mixed together.¹ This dualism in D'Annunzio's life and philosophy between heroism and decadentism, between audacity and sadness, between robust self-confidence and undefined lightheartedness, was never removed from his poetry and drama. Yet he had a personality rising above the apparent contradictions of his character and the dualism of his art ideals. For, unlike Carducci who poetized as a hero, D'Annunzio acted and lived as a hero.

It has to be admitted that D'Annunzio's sensuality had a tendency towards the morbid, towards the perverse. He was not born for proclaiming the *gioia di vivere* (joy of living), but for tasting the psychological reactions of satiety and disillusionment, sensual occultism, so to say, and a magical and primitive form of religiosity. His *Piacere* (1889) which is an account of the poet's mundane experiences in the morbid environments of the Roman aristocracy of his time, is the first announcement of his exquisitely corrupt conception of art that characterizes the new European romanticism born of a disgust for the ugliness of realism.

(1) A. Momigliano: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Milan, 1936). Page 648.

While Verga may be said to represent the morality of realism, D'Annunzio represents the decadence of romanticism. Reflections of the *Piacere* (pleasure) may be found in his *Poema*

Paradisiaco (Paradisaical Poem), *Elegie Romane* (Roman Elegies), and *Il Trionfo della Morte* (The Triumph of Death), as well as in all his subsequent dramas. But in his dramas we find an additional but common type which we miss in his poems, that is, not only the Superman but also the Superwoman who is painted as an extravagantly lustful woman. D'Annunzio tries in vain to impart a spiritual undertone to the vulgarities of dramatic situations he creates, by introducing the Superman who has to conquer his temptations offered by his "enemy," the lustful woman. *Il Sogno di un Tramonto di Autunno* (The Dream of an Autumn Sunset), one of his earliest dramas, reveals for the first time that type of Superwoman whom D'Annunzio has never again been able to discard later on, and shows the influence of Maeterlinck, Rossetti and Swinburne on the dramatist. Herein for the first time we find an attempt to conceal the emptiness of virtue behind the nobility of expression. Here again we find the attempt to create new forms of beauty against the stagnant and petrifying rules of morality, to formulate the right of will to acquire power, to exalt the romance of risk that appeals enormously to the heroic Italian temperament.

La Città Morta (The Dead City) is the first drama of D'Annunzio which brought him

to the forefront of literary criticism, aroused as much admiration as scandal, and announced the advent as much of a dramatic genius as of an aesthetic pervert. The scene is in Greece where



D'Annunzio's funeral procession coming out of the "Vittoriale."
Just behind the widow may be seen Signor Mussolini,
Duca di Bergamo, Ministers Ciano, Bottai, Alfieri,
Starace and His Excellency Carlo Formichi,
Vice-President of the Royal Italian Academy

the dramatist made a sojourn and re-read the classical tragedies. Near the ruins of Micene, Leonardo, the hero, who searches in its soil the surviving relics of myth and feels within himself the tremendous passions of the classical

heroes, falls in love with his own sister, Maria. He gets out of this evil passion by killing Maria whom death preserves pure and smiling even after the end. Leonardo thus punishes his guilt with the death of a person who has made him guilty without knowing it. The tragedy, therefore, should demonstrate the horror of justifying the right to kill in order to regain one's spiritual liberty, but in fact, this horror is more apparent than real in D'Annunzio's treatment of the personages. For example, Leonardo's wife Anna would even like to sacrifice her life for not having to stand between her husband and Maria. In *Citta Morta* D'Annunzio only exaggerates the evil charms of that ancient land where the most monstrous human passions played with and fought against one another for the fulfilment of inevitable fate.

La Citta Morta, which was first staged in 1898, when the Italian stage was characterized by a stale dilettantism and was devoid of modern art ideals, came as a revelation to the Italian public who saw in D'Annunzio, in spite of the controversies, a redeemer of the Italian theatre. At this time one could find on the Italian stage only historical figures of antiquity dressed in the costumes of their respective centuries and speaking in the accents of their times. The comedian became the photographer or the archæologist, and the dramatists vied with one another for exciting in the audience a sense of bitterness against human society or the will to emulate the examples of great men. The dramatists tried to formulate a thesis, vindicate an idea through their works, and the cultivation of art came next in importance. Such were the "bourgeois" plays of Praga, Giacosa and Robetta, the "moral" plays of Butti, and the "psychological" ones of Bracco, for example. It was their mission to dramatise the ideals of Risorgimento according to the testimony of the archives. It will thus be realized what tremendous impression D'Annunzian dramas had created on such a static and colourless background. The immense possibilities of the Italian stage, remodelled on the modern requirements, were for the first time realized through the dramas of D'Annunzio.

In the same year (1898) was written and staged *La Gioconda* (The Merry Woman) which enunciated not only another kind of

gradually a fastly increasing importance in D'Annunzio's dramas until in *San Sebastiano* scenography yields place to choreography. The personages of *La Gioconda* recite their parts amidst ancient sculptures in a house where the worship of beauty is a daily routine. The artificiality of the scene is still evident, but it was already a considerable departure from the usual settings of the pre-Dannunzian Italian stage. Lucio Settala is a sculptor who tries to convince his wife as to his natural right to love another woman who has inspired his art, and proclaims the necessity of sacrificing at the altar of art the sanctity of all human relations and all social duties. The theme is not completely new, for in this may be noticed D'Annunzio's indebtedness to Ibsen. But the moral contradiction fails in its dramatic effect on account of the author's inability to create living personages endowed with their respective souls distinguished and apart from the soul of the dramatist. Moreover, the scene where Silvia gets herself mutilated in the hand, in an attempt to save her husband's statue from the other woman who tries to break it, does not offer any solution to the moral problem enunciated by the dramatist. Only one scene is full of poetic freshness where the old minstrel sings 'the story of the seven sisters' in order to console Silvia in her sadness.

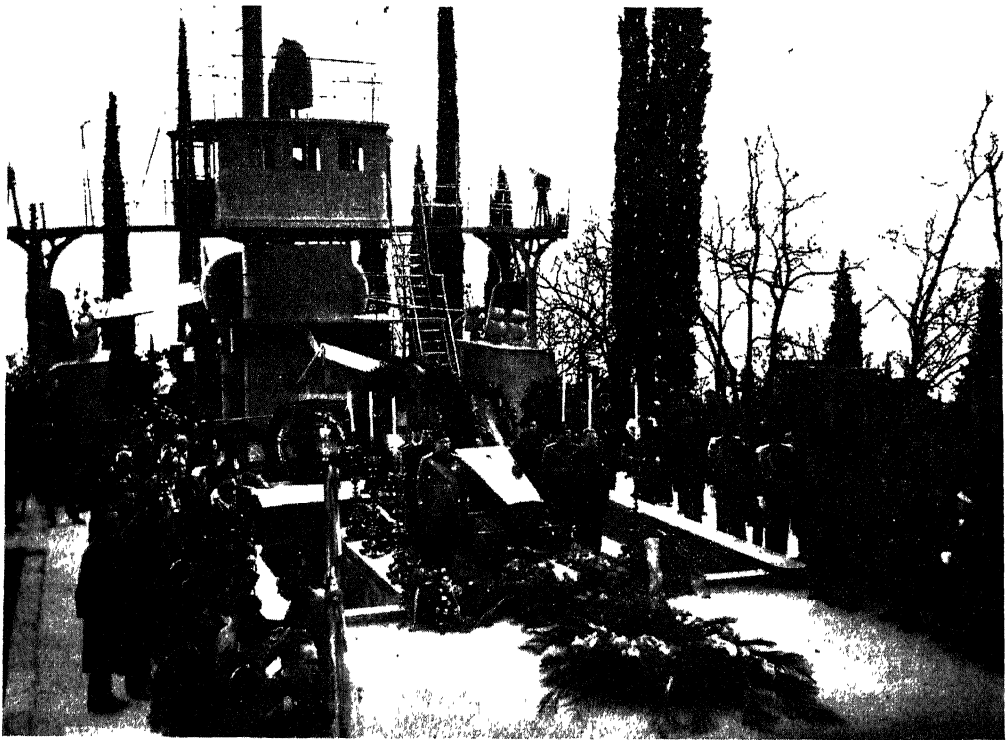
In the interval between the appearance of *La Gioconda* and that of *Francesca da Rimini* where the dramatist returns to his old theme of the superwoman, D'Annunzio wrote a few heroic dramas of which the most celebrated are *La Gloria* (Glory) and *La Nave* (The Ship). The former is a dramatic representation of the liberation of Rome from the oppression of the "new Byzantines who had contaminated the country with the poverty of their art and the filth of their politics". The latter represents the tragedy of the hero who must conserve all his energies for the accomplishment of his historic mission, but who is led astray and dissipated by the tempting woman. But this tragedy remains in the background before the scene of the play, Venice, the symbol of Italian maritime greatness. D'Annunzio sees with a prophetic vision the rebirth of the Italian Mediterranean, and launches on the stage, in the last scene of the play, the ship which "must make *mare nostrum* of all oceans". It is for the patriotic and heroic appeal of this drama that the representations of *La Nave* at the Argentina in Rome were always crowded and were hailed enthusiastically in Milan.

to each one of his dramas a different atmosphere, literary intonation and enographic effect, which latter acquires

D'Annunzio wrote *Francesca da Rimini* (Francesca of Rimini) in an epoch when he composed the best of his lyrics, *Le Laudi*. The theme of this play is well known, as it also finds a place in Dante's *Inferno*—the passionate Francesca's illicit love for her husband's brother, Paolo. Here again D'Annunzio returns to his favourite theme, the love of the senses which asserts itself in the invincible and fatal power of the instinct against all sanctions of morality even at the cost of life. The scenes of this play are studied with the assiduity of the scholar and with the zeal of the archaeologist, and succeed in reconstructing the glamorous life of a vanished

In a dim past in pagan Greece the superwoman asserts here the right of satisfying her passion, and betrays its tragic force.

Only after all these experiments, D'Annunzio succeeds in writing his dramatic masterpiece, *La Figlia di Iorio* (The Daughter of Iorio). D'Annunzio had already taken a considerably heroic part in politics, had written the book of *Alegone*, the best volume of his lyrics in the *Laudi* series, and was in search of new myths. The woman whom he had treated so long as a lump of flesh and blood becomes the nymph of the sea and of the woods, and personifies the different seasons and other beautiful phenomena



The coffin of the poet lying in state on the prow of "Puglia," the ship which took part in his Fiume expedition

age. The costumes of medieval Romagna and the dances of Bologna have their particular appeal, and make the Dannunzian theatre already a herald of modern scenography. But the sensual undertone of *Francesca da Rimini* does not arrive at its inherent tragedy through the artistic process, and not until 1909, when D'Annunzio wrote *Fedra*, the dramatist succeeds in his portrayal of the luxurious superwoman.

of nature. In this play, the Abruzzi legends of Nino and Finamore are reduced to a type of drama oscillating between the pastoral and the sacred. The peculiar fourteenth century language with its dialectal cadence, the scenes which owe their origin to folk literature, medieval mystical plays, pastoral dramas, and to some French comedians, and example, Bataille and Claudel, place the tragedy under

the fire of legend, in a situation which, although it appears distant from our times, is perfect in the treatment of details. Here, again, the dramatist presents the lustful woman who arms man against man, but this time the son against the father. But here for the first time the dramatist introduces the contrast between pure love, sanctioned by the laws of heart and society, and sensual love; and the triumph of the former redeems the drama which becomes at once classical and religious. Only here D'Annunzio's own personality and sentiments do not participate in the glorification of the superman and the superwoman irrespective of their virtue and vice, but the drama is left to its spontaneous and harmonious development towards a synthesis of the legendary and the eternal.

Between 1911 and 1914, D'Annunzio wrote, while living in France, four dramas in the French language. They are *Pisanella*, *Parisina*, *Ferro*, and *Il Martirio di San Sebastiano* (The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian). The first three have hardly any new contribution to Dannunzian drama and owe much of their inspiration to previous plays, particularly, *La Figlia di Iorio*, *Francesca da Rimini* and *La Nave*. But *San Sebastiano* is a departure from the previous plays in regard to scenography. Here the scenes are choreographic and almost cinematographic. The ambiguous figure of the Saint in the body of Ida Rubinstein, the touch of luxury and lust even to sacred objects, oriental decoration, and the rendering of sensuality into mysticism by the Russian dances, all contribute to make the "catholic play" a sacrilege for the conventional mind. Still, these new dramatic forms were largely imitated in Paris and had a tremendous influence on fashion, for good or for evil.

The theatre of D'Annunzio, therefore, has adopted all the themes of the romantic theatre—those naturalistic, psychological, historical and choreographic, and has tried to make of every work of art a stimulus to action but these themes are treated with a refreshing wealth of literary forms. The tragedy of the instinct was attempted even before D'Annunzio, by Hebbel for example; but in the former it became almost a kind of classical drama, the Greek tragedy of inevitable Fate. The heroic drama, as well, which represents the fight for power and the glorification of the will, was attempted by Ibsen, but in the Italian dramatist we find the hero in the garb of a pioneer, orator, and dictator who prepares for the national

renaissance. History was faithfully represented by the comedians before D'Annunzio for more than a century all over the world, but it was left to D'Annunzio to interpret history from the artist's point of view, as he did with such passion, scrutiny and patience in *Francesca da Rimini*. The prevalence of the mimic spirit during the closing years of the last century, as represented in the popularity of the Russian ballet, could hardly push to the background the art of *San Sebastiano*. In D'Annunzio, the dramatist only is the protagonist of his plays, who combines in himself the aesthete and the hero that finds lustfulness as his enemy and personifies it in a superwoman, imaginary or historical. Most of his plays are, therefore, monologues in spirit, although he treats history and legend with a new and vigorous poetic faculty.

The name of Eleonora Duse, the greatest Italian actress of her time, deserves more than a passing reference in connection with the Dannunzian theatre. Even if we may dismiss the gossips of romance between the dramatist and the actress, there is no denying the fact that they were attracted to each other by the common ideals of dramatic art. Duse had a presentiment of the great transformation which the Italian stage had to undergo within a short time and realized that the theatre was moving towards poetry with remarkable swiftness. Duse is the symbol of the new Italian stage, and what greater genius could D'Annunzio find for the interpretation of his dramas? In 1896 D'Annunzio and Duse met at Venice, and in 1897, on the 16th of June, Duse appeared on the stage at Paris with *Il Sogno di un Mattino di Primavera* (The Dream of a Spring Morning). In 1898, D'Annunzio wrote *La Gioconda* and dedicated it to "Eleonora Duse of the pretty hands". Duse's interpretation of the *Gioconda* has remained unsurpassed till now in beauty, grace and vigour. In 1901, Duse executed the part of *Francesca da Rimini* which, it is said, was inspired by her and her alone. That Eleonora Duse continued to inspire the poet and dramatist for a long time to come may be realized from the following passage:

"When she speaks, anemone bloom in her voice which is like a prairie in the morning. I do not hear what she says; I understand what she does not say . . . It is quite enough for my profound happiness just to hear the tune of her mystery preceded by the flash of her smile. There is a pain which brings joy and there is a joy which causes suffering. I knew it. I know it. But both joy and suffering have only one meaning for me; both have the same gesture, her gesture. Both have for me only one voice, just her voice . . ."

Duse did not participate in the interpretation of any other play subsequent to *Francesca da Rimini*, but her name will for ever be indissolubly connected with the Dannunzian theatre.

D'Annunzio was extremely lucky and happy in the selection of his collaborators. Next to Duse, mention may be made of Ida Rubinstein, Ruggero Ruggeri, Irma Grammatica, Emilia Varini, Ciro Galvani, and Sarah Bernhardt who interpreted D'Annunzio's characters with remarkable vigour and artistic skill. These immortal names of the European stage will for ever be associated with Dannunzian heroes and heroines. Two famous Frenchmen, Leon Bakst and Claude Debussy, made a substantial contribution to the Dannunzian theatre, the former in the design of scenes and the latter in composing the music for *San Sebastiano*. It was particularly fortunate that D'Annunzio had met Debussy during his sojourn in France, since Debussy's compositions for D'Annunzio's play are some of his sweetest and most melodious pieces. Besides Debussy, some of the most celebrated modern Italian musicians have composed for D'Annunzio's plays, for example, Pizzetti, Respighi and Montemezzi. Garbriellino, D'Annunzio's son, has also taken an active part in the representation of his

father's plays and has often interpreted some of the leading roles.

Since the triumph of the Fascist Party in 1922 and the accession of Mussolini, his friend and comrade-in-arms, to the leadership of the nation, D'Annunzio had been living a retired life in a villa on the Lake Garda until his death on the 1st of March, 1938. This villa, which he named the "Vittoriale", was donated to him by the nation, and has been bequeathed by him to the nation, which will contain a museum of the relics and souvenirs of Fiume, and of the poet's life and adventures. His villa contained a mingled atmosphere of heroism and mysticism, war relics, pictures of Saints, Franciscan *motifs*, pagan and renaissance symbols, and displayed with beautiful tapestries, the flag of the Regency of Quarnero at Fiume. During his retirement he had written profusely on art, literature, politics, and has left a number of dramas that have yet to be published. A fuller estimate of D'Annunzio's drama is not possible until his latest plays will have been published and studied. In 1935, three years before his death, the poet-soldier wrote his autobiography under the title *Hundred and Hundred and Hundred and Hundred Pages of Gabriele D'Annunzio Tempted to Die*.

MANIFESTO OF CZECHOSLOVAK AUTHORS

(Manifesto received by the P. E. N. India Centre from the Czechoslovak Authors Association, Prague, where the P. E. N. International Congress was in session only three months ago.)

To the Conscience of the World

In this fateful moment, when a decision between war and peace is being reached, we, the undersigned Czechoslovak authors, address this solemn appeal to all those who form the conscience of the world.

We have lived with our German fellow-countrymen for many centuries in fruitful co-operation, and we have vied with them in cultural efforts. When, upon the battlefields of France, Russia, Serbia and Italy, we achieved the renewal of our independence, we hoped, and also endeavoured, to make the native land which we share with each other one of the living centres of a new, a better and happier Europe. Taking our stand today upon the last bastion of democracy in Central Europe, we proclaim in full awareness of our responsibility towards historic truth, that our nation is guiltless in respect of the catastrophe looming before us. We are doing our utmost to preserve peace, but we shall likewise do our utmost, if need be, to defend the freedom of our country.

We therefore appeal to you, whose function it is, above all else, to keep watch over what hitherto was the most cherished possession of Europe and the whole civilized world: love of truth, freedom of the spirit and purity of conscience. We ask you to judge for yourselves where the genuine willingness for peace and justice is to be found, and where the aggressive spirit of despotism which utilizes every device of violence and untruth. We call upon you to make it clear to the public opinion of your respective countries that if a grievous contest is forced upon us, a small and peaceful nation living on the most endangered territory in Europe, we shall wage that contest, not only for our own sakes, but for the sake of you and of the moral and spiritual possessions common to all free and peace-loving nations throughout the world. Let nobody forget that, after us, the same fate would befall other nations and countries.

We appeal to all authors and to all others who create culture, to make this manifesto known, by every possible channel, to the nations of the world.

For the Czechoslovak Authors Association
(Signed by 29 leading Czechoslovak writers, including the world-famous Karel Capek.)

RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI

By S. R. TIKEKAR

ON THE 1st. of October, 1938, two Commemoration Volumes were publicly presented in Bombay to Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharan Sardesai, B.A. through Hon. Mr. Justice M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court. In doing so Sardesai's services to Indian History have been appreciated. But what exactly has he contributed to enrich our knowledge? To the general public he is a historian. Students of history alone realise his "tremendous" work.



G. S. Sardesai (Born May 17, 1865)

What that tremendous work has been or how Sardesai achieved it, is known only to those who are in close contact with him. A brief account of his early life will not be out of place here.

Born 73 years ago, in a small village in Konkan, in beautiful Maratha surroundings, young Sardesai had to struggle hard for his education. It is interesting to listen to Sardesai narrating events of his boyhood. He had to graze cattle and work in paddy fields. Turning the water-wheel, watching the crops and such other domestic duties he had to per-

form in his boyhood, apart from his attendance to an elementary school nearby. His first lesson in swimming he had with the help of a buffalo. For his English education he was sent to Ratnagiri, about 30 miles off from his home. Short and easy would seem this journey now, but in those days, young Sardesai, the poor student had to carry all the way his bag and baggage consisting of his books, a pair of coarse dhoties and a small mattress. That was all he possessed at Ratnagiri, where the students were housed at night in the class-rooms. The dormitory at night was classroom by day; and an open space outside served as the study-room. Hostal accommodation was not provided for by the school in those days. So Sardesai had to be content with two frugal meals a day at a neighbouring eating house, paying Re. 1-8 per month. No wonder if young Sardesai occasionally had to walk all the distance home from Ratnagiri or vice versa at the end of every term. The journey was mostly undertaken by night as bullock carts plied only after sunset. Through the jungles and the ghats a caravan of such small bullock carts was good company on a lonely road.

Matriculating from Ratnagiri High School in 1884, Sardesai joined the Fergusson College, Poona, for his further studies. He graduated, however, from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1888. Before he became a collegiate in Poona, like most of his fellow-students, Sardesai already had been married. He had married Gangubai Kirtane (Mrs. Laxmibai Sardesai) in February, 1884.

Immediately after graduating Sardesai was picked up by H. H. The Maharaja of Baroda as a "Reader". The "Royal" Reader later became a tutor to the young princes and princesses of Baroda and their companions. It is while teaching history to these pupils that Sardesai laid the foundation of the title worthily bestowed on him later by the public—*Riyasatkar*, the author of *Riyasats*. Methodical from the very beginning, he used to have notes prepared for the subjects to be taught. These notes, later amplified, form what is known as *Mussalmani Riyasat*, first published in 1899. It covers a long period and deals with all Muslim ruling dynasties in the North as well as in the South of India. Seeing in print one's own work—which was not intended for publication—naturally gives an impetus to

further work. In quick succession were published the *British* and the *Marathi Riyasats*. A need for a comprehensive history of India for school students was keenly felt. Sardesai was approached and he compiled the *Shalopyogi Bharatvarsh* (1900) which even to this day is the best book of its kind. It has run into 16 editions and every time its author has taken great pains to add new material to it, to make it up-to-date.

While at Baroda Sardesai translated some English books also. In fact his literary career began with the translation of Seely's *Expansion of England* (1893). Then followed Machiavelli's *Prince* in Marathi garb provided by Sardesai. Translations of small books on games and sports were also made and these will be found added to the list of Sardesai's literary productions in a *Who's Who*.

But his liking for history could not be suppressed. In 1902 appeared the first volume of *Marathi Riyasat* bringing the History of the Marathas upto 1707. Being the first attempt of its kind, it was well received and in 1915 a new revised and enlarged edition had to be published. In its turn, this also proved a great success and in 1933 appeared the third edition. All available researches had each time been taken into account which gave a freshness to every edition.

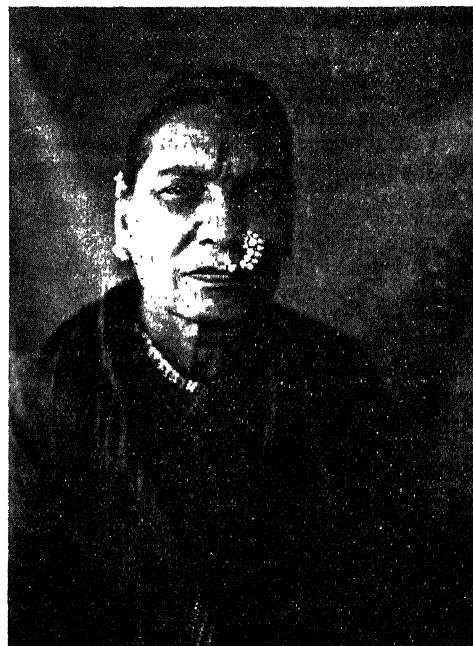
To complete the history of the Marathas Sardesai was striving hard. Students know that sources and material for the Peshwa period are vast and scattered. Of the pre-Peshwa period quite reverse is the case. So it took quite a long time to compile the next volumes of Maratha History and naturally they grew in bulk. Three volumes appeared in succession every year from 1920. First of them covered a period of 33 years up to the death of Peshwa Bajirao I, and the remaining two up to the tragic catastrophe at Panipat in 1761.

Volume after volume appeared to complete the first Maratha History written by an Indian. It consisted of eight large volumes, a little over 5000 pages in close print. Now Sardesai's name was a household word in Maharashtra.

As a tutor to the princes and princesses, Sardesai had to travel a lot in and outside India. He had been in almost all the hill stations and provincial capitals. Between 1892 and 1911 he had been five times to Europe. Because of his knack in teaching, "Sardesai Master" became very popular with his pupils. The Royal family knows him only as Sardesai Master.

Later on Sardesai was transferred to the Maharaja's Household department as Chief Accountant, which post he held till his day of retirement in 1924, after full 36 years of service with the Maharaja of Baroda.

Earlier in his life at Baroda Sardesai was domestically happy. He helped his brothers and theirs was a big family. Sardesai had two sons—who are, alas, no more. One of them, Shyamkant matriculated from Calcutta University as a student from Santiniketan with



Mrs. Laxmibai Sardesai

Bengali as one of his subjects and secured the highest number of marks amongst Santiniketan students. He was a favourite student of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Shyamkant completed his College education at the Fergusson College, Poona, from where he secured a double degree, B.A., and B. Sc. and then proceeded to Germany for further study. There too he earned the Doctorate degree but as fate would have it, he was not to return home. He breathed his last in a Sanatorium in Switzerland in November, 1925.

Srivatsalanchhan, the other son of Sardesai was also equally intelligent. Unfortunately, he

died in his schooldays when his elder brother was studying at Santiniketan (1915). Fifty-four years of married life have left the parents—as they were—alone by themselves. To an ordinary mind, the shock would have been stunning, but Sardesai by now had developed a philosophy of his own. He had his work of History to occupy himself with. That kept up his spirit. "I do not think" he writes, "that my sons are no more. They are with me—in the form of their books, their pictures, their clothes. Every one of us can be immortal."

Apart from this individual philosophy of life, Sardesai's work has been a great force in sustaining him. Extensive as well as intensive work such as Sardesai has done after retirement is really stupendous for a scholar of his age. Bidding farewell to Baroda and its ruler, this devoted student of history settled on the banks of the Indrayani at Kamshet near Poona to devote the rest of his life to the fulfilment of his mission. There he has his library—complete in itself with every book marked with references and cross references, corrections, additions, etc. The methodical way of study which is characteristic of Sardesai has been of immense use to himself and to others as well. Importance of such critical reading in so far as Marathi sources and materials are concerned will be realised only by those who know the difficulty in using papers published by Rajwade and others. They do not bear any reference to Christian Calendar. Before assessing the value of a paper, Christian dates from the Fasali or Hindu Calendar have to be ascertained. To such volumes no index was provided. Printing too in those early days was not so accurate. All those difficulties added to Sardesai's work. And it did not take long for students all over India to realise that the one person from whom they could get information about Maratha History was Sardesai. His promptness in attending to all correspondence has only served to multiply the number of enquiries being put to him.

But the greatest work that Sardesai has done was the publication of selected papers from the Peshwa Daftar at Poona, entrusted to him by the Government of Bombay. In this Daftar more than 25000 bundles, each containing hundreds of sheets written in *modi* script are kept and till Sardesai was asked to explore this uncharted sea, the whole of it was practically a closed preserve. True, Government had allowed two or three attempts to be made in this direction but the vastness of the work

involved, was perhaps responsible for such attempts to be abandoned soon after they were begun. Peshwa Daftar was the collection of all sorts of records and documents of the Marathas that the British could lay their hands on immediately after the Union Jack was unfurled on the Shaniwar Wada at Poona. Their historical value is immense. For over a hundred years they had not seen the light of the day. Students were eager—very eager indeed to have selections from Peshwa Daftar made available to them for study.

With the appointment of Sardesai for the Herculean task, a hue and cry was raised in Poona by a school of scholars who wanted the work to be entrusted to themselves. Government paid no heed to these cries and Sardesai remained calm. He devoted himself to the entrusted work and volume after volume of selections on a particular topic was issued to the public. Four years of continuous hard work, which even students in their prime of youth would shirk to do, brought forth 45 volumes of the selections and a hand-list of Records. It was a monumental work and was appreciated in every part of India. He had followed a system by which the Marathi selections could be used by those who had no knowledge of Marathi. At the beginning of every paper was the date in English according to Christian Calendar while at the bottom a short summary of the letter is given in English. There is also Index to all the volumes in English and for all these reasons, the reputation of the work has spread far and wide. Had Rajwade followed such a convenient method, he would have achieved much but because of his queer ideas and a systematic boycott of everything English—even the Christian Calendar—he has been known in a limited sphere only. Happily Sardesai was wiser and didn't repeat Rajwade's follies.

Difficulties that beset Sardesai while doing the work were of various kinds. First the government did not allow him to consult proper books, no paper was to be removed from the Daftar and in the Daftar itself books that a critical student would always require at hand were not available. Sardesai had his well equipped library at Kamshet, but that was of little use to him. Secondly, there was an official restriction to touch those papers which were very important from historical point of view. Thirdly, the editor was forced to print the papers as soon as they were sufficient for a book without waiting for any more. Working under these restrictions, the selections have suffered

to an extent, no doubt, but Sardesai cannot be blamed for that.

Even in his old age, Sardesai's energy for work is creditable. He is now busy with the editing of the English Records at Poona, pertaining to the Maratha period. Already five big volumes have been published and the sixth is in the press.

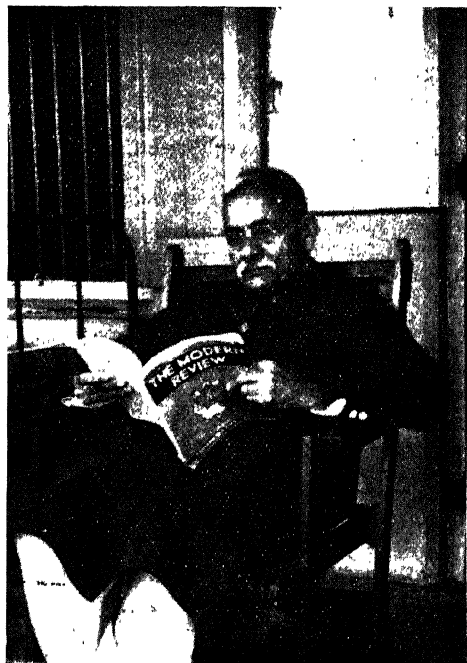
While doing all this, he has found it necessary to revise his *Riyasats*, his second part of the *British Riyasat* had to be completed to bring the narration up to the end of 1857. Surprisingly enough he found time for all that.

The lectures which he delivered at the Patna University were subsequently published in a book form, *Main Currents of Maratha History*. A revised edition of this book also has been issued. Nagpur University also invited him for delivering lectures. In addition to this vast amount of work Sardesai had to edit nearly 900 pages of Mahadji Scindia's letters which had been secretly printed by the late D. B. Parasnis in Gwalior. Thus Sardesai was in the main responsible for bringing the whole fraud to light and making available to students a copious volume of nearly 900 pages edited in the same methodical manner which is seen in the *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*.

We have so far seen Sardesai the historian only. But mention must be made of 30 years of his close association and co-operation with Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Both have shown by their example what co-operation can achieve. Differences of opinion are bound to be there but they should not hamper work. Correspondence between these two great historians, will make a most valuable contribution to historical literature and through them one sees how history comes to be written. Rarely do we come across such painstaking students in India working in close co-operation. Sarkar and Sardesai have visited places of historical importance together, have discussed threadbare many knotty problems in history. Their joint contribution to History is certainly great.

Sardesai works nearly 12-14 hours a day. Regular and rather ascetic in habits, he has preserved good health. He enjoys a dip in the cool stream of Indrayani nearby above everything. Wood-cutting is his hobby and in order to refresh himself from a continuous table-work he goes out for a few minutes to cut off a few chips. Short of stature, he is alert. Although wrinkles on his face and the grey hair show his age, jolly smile never betrays the shocks he received in the loss of

his two dear sons. Reading and writing keep him occupied and as a change he gathers round him village boys whom he teaches to read and write English very quickly. Newspapers do not attract him much; a glance at the *Times of India* every day is necessary. But *The Modern Review* he enjoys above everything else. In his Library are all the Volumes well bound, with a special index prepared by him of articles of



Sardesai is a regular reader of *The Modern Review* "He would miss a meal but not one issue of M. R."

historical importance that have appeared in the pages of that magazine from time to time. Beyond his field of history, he will not show any interest.

Such in brief is Sardesai, the veteran Maratha historian. His is the first attempt after Grant Duff to write a complete History of the Marathas. The gigantic work he has done will stagger new-comers. All the same, it will definitely serve to inspire the need of hard and persevering work on the part of students of history.

Sardesai's name will always be remembered with gratitude, with respect and with admiration.

"And the sari?"

"That was my Dalim's saheb. Since she's dead it's no use keeping it. I thought I might as well give it away." Rahim stopped. The light from the gas lamp shone upon his face. With astonishment and respect the young man watched him. Some strange magic had transformed his black evil face and wretched mean body; a deep glow suffused his lined and shame-stained features; suffering throbbed in his eyes. He was no longer the vile lecherous jail-bird, the pocket-slitting, mean-hearted atheist; he was a father. A bond of goodness and beauty united him also with the Loving Cosmic Father. The young man's hungry heart throbbed in unison with Rahim's deep paternal sorrow for his daughter.

He caught Rahim by the hand and pulled him out from behind the lamp post. Laying an arm about his shoulders, he gave the money and sari back to him. "At which house are you going to leave it?" he asked.

Rahim took the things rather shyly and answered quietly, "Down the lane beyond the next turning, over there."

"All right, come on. Let me see how you will manage it."

"There's a hole in one corner of the window, I'll push it in stealthily. I followed the old man home this morning to see the house."

The two proceeded slowly. Entering a narrow side-lane, Rahim stopped in front of a dilapidated building. There was no light, as the lane was blind and the gas light from the corner shone feebly into it. Standing in front of the house they could hear a little boy's sweet laughter and the low musical humming of a little girl.

The young man went up the broken steps and entered the dirty portico. Through an unshuttered window he peered into the room. The window was closed from the inside but several broken panes of glass had been covered by variously coloured scraps of paper. Through a tear in one of them the young man watched.

A lantern burned in a corner; its cracked chimney was held together by a strip of white paper. In the soft light he could see the figure of an old man, half-reclining on a torn mat. Beside him a little girl bent over a book. Her curly hair fell over the old man's chest.

She became excited as she read. When would her prince come? When would her princess awaken? She lifted her head and asked, "Grandfather, how far is Terpantor

Plain? Have you ever been there? What is it like?"

Her grandfather shook his head, picked up the nozzle of the hubble-bubble lying beside him and put it to his mouth.

Minu laughed, "There's nothing in it, grandfather. You're only sucking. Let me fix it". Jumping up she carried it over to where the tobacco was kept in another corner of the room and began to arrange it.

Through the doorway near her a beautiful woman entered; a sleepy little boy lay in her arms like a rose blooming in the dawn. The boy, however, seeing his sister preparing the tobacco, sprang down like a waterfall and ran towards her. And before Minu could defend herself he had rubbed his hand over the coals and smeared the black on her cheek.

"O how naughty you are!" his mother ran to catch him.

"Mummie, tan't tatch me," the boy took refuge behind his grandfather. "Tatch me, tatch me," he shouted and began to dance around and around the old man. Mother and son played a game of hide and seek. Their soft dancing feet and sweet laughter, the chirping song of the little girl, the gentle beaming of the old man in the gay quivering light of the lantern transformed the dark dilapidated room into a heaven.

The young man stared through the torn paper at the widowed mother with deep emotion. Her dress, as white as jasmine, was spotted in places with tamarind and flakes of mud. The dishevelled strands of her hair were like tongues of flame and her face was tender and pure, feminine, pale as the white lotus of dawn. She had not the high colour of a rose.

In her running back and forth she happened to be close to the window. Noticing that the little boy was tired she caught him and pressed him to her breast, laughingly forgetful of her own loneliness as she rocked and caressed him. The light fell upon her face and the young man saw it distinctly in all its gentle tenderness. His blood began to dance in his heart.

"Mukul, my own, my jewel," the mother rocked the baby and pressed him to her.

With an indistinct cry the watcher turned away from the window and dropping down on the dusty, rubbish-covered steps, leaned back against the damp wall. So she had given his name to her son—she had not forgotten him! The dark lane seemed a black river of tears. The pale light of a single star shone in the space between the roofs of two houses. On her lips how sweet was his own name! Mukul!

What illimitable happiness! What intolerable pain!

"Saheb!" Rahim was frightened and called.

Mukul made no reply. Surprised and alarmed Rahim made as if to peer through the window. Mukul pushed him away and again stared through the torn paper.

The room was now a picture of peace. The grandfather was leaning against a big bolster leisurely and smoking his hubble-bubble. In front of the lantern the little girl sat swinging her long hair over her book; her prince had reached the giant's castle and her heart was throbbing with terror. On the other side of the old man the little boy was lying on his mother's lap. He had finished his milk and was getting ready to go to sleep. One could see his mother's lovely back. Her head was lowered

"Mukul my own, sleep tonight,
Awake at dawn, golden, bright."

Their shadows on the wall were as motionless as in a picture.

Rahim slowly took Mukul's hand and shook it. Mukul started and stared into the darkness as though awakened from a dream. His gaze went back to the window; forcibly tearing himself away, he pulled Rahim down the lane like one possessed.

Coming out upon the thoroughfare he hailed a taxi, climbed in with Rahim and ordered it to drive to the Municipal Market.

Returning to his own home from the market, Mukul took a rocking-chair out upon the open roof and sat down in a corner. In a sky of luminous blue floated delicate dream-like clouds. Sitting in the enchanting moonlight he entered the fairy-land of remembered love, a strange, radiant bower belonging to the eternally yearning woman of the night.

He had been twenty-one then and studying for the M.A. degree. On bright mornings he used to close his books and go out into the Calcutta streets. He would call on friends and pass the time chatting with them. The light would beckon with its lovely hands; the sky would watch for him with its blue eye and some delicious scent would come on the breeze; it was the age for that sort of thing.

One golden autumn morning he had appeared at the house of an aunt. This aunt had been a favourite of his from childhood. With potatoes, potols, spinach and other vege-

tables round about her she was slicing brinjal on a *bonti** in the pantry. Mukul dashed in and sat down beside her. He picked up a small *bonti* and selected some potatoes. "You haven't peeled the potatoes yet, have you, Pishi-ma? Are they to be fried or put in 'dalna'?"

In his haste he had not noticed that a beautiful young girl was sitting near his aunt arranging *pan*.† A bit embarrassed now, he ignored her completely. His pride and modern opinions would not allow him to be shamed into leaving the room for one so young.

His aunt said in a tone of gentle rebuke, "Stop it and put the *bonti* away. Why should you cut your fingers?"

"All right, Pishi-ma, but look at that pumpkin. Who sliced it so badly?" the words embarrassed Mukul further. He had not realized that the vegetables on that side might easily have been cut by the unknown girl.

She had got into a difficulty. In front of her the lime-smeared betel leaves stretched in a line almost to the door. And Mukul was sitting on the other side of his aunt. The way out of the room was closed to her. Although she was not old enough to be shy, she blushed and quickly twisting her loose hair into a bun on her head like a bird's topknot, she began to heap the spices on the leaves and fold them up. The way she sat, her gestures as she folded the betel leaves, her flaming face and hesitant glance, all combined to dye Mukul's young heart with the tender colour of dawn.

Dangling the *bonti* he asked, "What can I do, Pishi-ma? Tell me."

"Don't be impudent, Mukul; and don't bother me. Get up and move over and don't touch me, because I've just bathed. Renu, have you finished your *pan*? Then get up. He has got to slice the potols."

"Bah! You don't believe I know how to do it." Mukul washed a few of the potols in a basin of water and began to cut them. He had always been his mother's pet and as a child had taken great delight in helping her with the preparation of the vegetables and in cooking.

As he sliced he looked up at his aunt laughingly. The lovely brilliant eyes of the young girl flamed on his face like morning stars.

* Bonti—a curved knife with one end flattened for holding down with the foot so as to leave both hands free. The vegetables are cut by pressing down upon the moon-shaped blade.

† Pan—spices and lime wrapped in fresh betel leaves are greatly liked for their rich pungent flavour.

It was that age when eyes speak the whole mind, when in a glance it is possible to discover a heaven brimming with immortalizing ambrosia. The girl had been watching his work; embarrassed by discovery she went back to arranging the *pan*. Her face flushed as red as her hands, which were stained by the water in which she washed the betel leaves.

When her work was almost done, Mukul said mischievously, "Pishi-ma, I'm very thirsty."

His aunt was busy with the vegetables and there was no one else nearby. So it was Renuka who had to be told, "Please give him a glass of water, dear. Why didn't you come yesterday, Mukul? I made so many kinds of sweet-meats."

Mukul smiled, "No, just a glass of water—"

"Hush, enough! Look into the meatsafe, Renu, please, and see what is there. Do you mind stale *luchi*?"

Renuka stepped over the crimson betel water on her pretty soft feet, wetting the edge of her pink sari, and left the room. She re-entered bringing a shining bell-metal plate. Slowly opening the meatsafe she took out *luchi*, *rashabara*, *pantua*, and *sandesh*, arranging them neatly. Setting the plate down in a clean corner of the room she spread an embroidered square carpet beside it and brought a glass of water. Then she sat down beside his aunt and undid her hair, shaking it loose. Her silent passing to and fro, the deftness of her young hand, her shy, happy face, as radiant as a full-blown lotus, the rhythm of her movements, the pink waves of her sari, the swaying of her hair, bewitched Mukul as he watched.

When he had begun to eat, Renuka asked slowly, "Is there anything else for me to do, Pishi-ma?"

Mukul had finished the *potols*. "No, there's nothing, dear." Her aunt looked at her affectionately.

When Renuka quietly stood up, Mukul remarked, "Your *pantuas* are excellent Pishi-ma."

His aunt was delighted. "Give him some more before you go, my dear."

Mukul made no objection. Renuka opened the meatsafe, took out several of the sweets, put them on his plate and went out a bit hurriedly.

He gulped down the last drop of the water in his glass and asked, "Who is she, Pishi-ma?"

"Oh, they live next door. How did you like her?"

Mukul got up hastily, "Good-bye, Pishi-ma."

"So soon? Sit down, I'll not ask any more questions."

"No Pishi-ma. I'll come tomorrow." He said and dashed out of the room.

After that he began to frequent his aunt's house more and more. Sometimes he would present himself at noon when his aunt was lying on the cement floor resting and Renu sat by her side reading aloud a story from some magazine. Renu's story-reading would come to an end and his aunt's scolding would avail nothing. Then Mukul would take up the book himself and begin to read.

One day during the conversation he suddenly said, "Pishi-ma, I lose so many handkerchiefs. Everyone takes them."

"Why don't you get them initialled?"

"Who would do it, Pishi-ma?"

"All right, I will. Give them to me."

"Take them then." Mukul took three handkerchiefs out of his three pockets.

"So this is how you lose them! Please initial them, Renu."

Renuka brought his aunt's sewing basket and began to embroider his name in red—"Mukul."

"Just an initial will be enough," his aunt said.

Renuka blushed. "No, auntie, that would be dreadful." She replied.

Sometimes of an evening his aunt would be sitting in the kitchen kneading dough. Beside her Renuka would be forming it into little balls. Suddenly Mukul would appear, pick up the rolling pin and board and seat himself on the other side of his aunt. "Let me roll out the '*luchi*,' Pishi-ma."

His aunt would be annoyed, "Oh leave it alone. Where have you sprung from?"

"Uh! I've been out since morning!"

"Then you've had nothing to eat, I suppose? Renu dear, fry some *luchis* for him."

Taking the rolling pin and board away from him his aunt would roll out the rounds, Renu would fry them, bring a bell-metal plate and arrange *luchis* and curries and sweets for him. Although she worked in silence, Mukul heard a sweet unsounded song in all she did—in her walk, in her gestures, the cheerfulness of her face and the sparkle of her face and the sparkle of her eyes.

And so, petal by petal, Mukul's heart

opened and was ready to bloom with love of Renuka. But the love-lotus was destined to be blighted in the bud.

His aunt made all the arrangements for his wedding with Renuka. His mother came to see the girl and liked her; but difficulties arose, his father refused his consent absolutely.

"You know how obstinate the boy is, my dear," his mother expostulated. "He has made up his mind and he will never marry anyone else."

His father replied harshly, "If he won't, he won't! Let him get out! Bhabesh Mitter's daughter will never enter my house as my son's wife!"

"Why not? What has he done?"

"Listen, you are women and know nothing of the world. I say no. Nabin Ghose is not the man to compromise a law-suit by marrying his son to the daughter of the man who started it!"

Even after this his mother entreated and quarrelled, but she could not win him. Later, when the law-suit had been decided in his favour and he agreed to the marriage with Renuka, her marriage to another had been settled. Bhabesh Mitter sent the reply, "I would die of starvation rather than wed my daughter to the son of Nabin Ghose."

Renuka was given in marriage elsewhere and Mukul's father, seeing that he stubbornly refused to consider any other as his bride, sent him to England.

Now his father was dead and his mother too. Staring up into a sky drenched with the light of the moon he kept recalling her face.

The church clock struck one. Re-entering the room he roused Rahim from the corner beside a bookcase of law books where he was lying asleep.

"Is it time, saheb?" Rahim rubbed his eyes.

"Yes, get up."

Together they came over to the table. A toy railway train, a toy dog, a big doll, a bottle of lozenges, a silk peacock-coloured sari, a frock, a little red *punjabi* and various other gifts for Minu and her little brother lay upon it. These they had bought together, staying at the market until ten o'clock.

"I'll find out how good a thief you are, Rahim," Mukul said with a tender, pale smile. "You've always broken into houses to take things away. This time try to put something in without getting caught."

"I can do it all right." Rahim tugged at his red beard, "You'll see."

Wrapping up the toys Mukul handed them to Rahim. "Now go," he said, "It's one-thirty. Tell me where you will leave it."

"At the head of the little girl's bed."

"No, at the head of the little boy's bed would be better."

"But—"

"All right, give them back. We must make up two bundles."

Undoing the toys, Mukul separated Minu's from her brother's. Then he opened his almirah and took out a handkerchief. It was as white as a white lotus and in one corner was his name—Mukul—embroidered in thread as red as 'blood'-sandal. Rahim did up the toys for the little boy in it and Minu's things he wrapped in his own little daughter's sari. Then he left.

Putting out the electric light Mukul stretched himself on an easy-chair and mused. Why should it have been like this? The strings of his life had snapped as they were being fixed upon the instrument. The song could not be sung. Could the broken wires not be pieced together somehow?

He decided that he must expiate his father's pride and greed of property. If he offered to return all that his father had taken from Bhabesh Mitter by winning that law-suit, would not the old man accept it? Ought he not to take it for the sake of Minu and her little brother? But Mukul knew for certain that the old man would beg in the streets before he would accept a gift from Nabin Ghose's son.

He did not need to accept it. Mukul could no longer regard that property as his own; he dedicated it to Minu and the baby Mukul. He would manage it in their interest, accumulate the income from it in bank accounts under their names and give it to them when they came of

Tired with thinking Mukul shut his eyes and lay back in the chair. He thought of his mother. Amidst the saddening welter of worldly affairs there come into every young man's life times so devoid of all peace that he longs to rest his hot, distraught, and pain-racked head upon the soft tender breast of some good, loving woman. Mukul's drooping body and mind were hungry for the gentle touch of a woman's hand and the peaceful nest of a breast. With an aching heart he fell asleep.

Mukul's sleep was broken by a dream. The dream itself was gone but the magic of it

remained. The music of tiny pattering feet played over the floor of a room; the wall trembled like the string of a vina. On some strange instrument strung with threads of moonlight sounded the laughter of a child.

Slowly he came out on to the open roof. There was a faint flush of light in the east. Slowly a flood of gold began to tumble out through the eastern portal. Heaven's goddess of beauty, out of an uncovered ewer, was spilling nectar everywhere. Mukul gazed at the golden sky and mused. Perhaps Minu and her

little brother were awaking now. The house would fill with a joyous tumult as they discovered their toys and new clothes. More beautiful and far more charming than this exquisite sky must those little laughing faces be!

Mukul had been gazing long and was now calm. It seemed to him as though someone who loved him had sent this beautiful dawn even as he had sent gifts to Minu and her little brother.

(Translated from 'Mayapuri' by Srimati Lila Ray)

WHY BRITAIN SURRENDERED TO HITLER

Truth Behind "Chamberlain the Peace-Maker"

Story of Britain's Poor Defences and Dominion's Failure to Help

By CHAMAN LAL

BRITISH Propaganda is the mightiest weapon being used to conceal facts. Chamberlain is being immortalised as a great God of Peace. I am not his rival, nor his enemy, but I wish the truth should be told to millions of our countrymen who think Britain is an invincible power. Hitler has defeated the combined power of British and French Empire without firing a shot. The reader will think that I am a rebel and my statement can be full of prejudice. Hence I will quote the greatest imperialist paper, the *Daily Express*, which is a great supporter of Chamberlain's policy and a friend of Germany. This is what the newspaper says:—

WE WERE NOT PREPARED

Were we prepared? No.

In the dark days which are gone the citizens of Britain formed the view that this country is not in the position adequately to resist attacks from our enemies.

First of all, our anti-aircraft guns. Walk where you like, go when you choose, and see for yourself that almost all the guns set up to defend London are pre-war or early war types. There are very few modern anti-aircraft guns among them. The modern anti-aircraft gun is a weapon of accuracy and power. During the trouble an incident, which passed almost unnoticed, occurred over Vienna. There a German airplane was brought down by a single shot from an anti-aircraft gun. We want a multitude of guns like that to defend our citadel.

Next, our airplanes. Unquestionably our need is for the fighter plane, and our necessity is for the type of airplane that can overtake and destroy the enemy bomber.

It is believed that our system of air defence depends on an unending patrol of the skies, day and night continuously discovering and warding off the attacking airplane. For this patrol system we need a host of fighter planes far greater in number than those which we have built already.

As for our Army, during the trouble reports were circulated damaging to the prestige of the War Office and its organisation. There was an alarming shortage of A. R. P. material such as sandbags, shovels, pickaxes and stuff to curtain windows. Profiteering of a most vicious kind took place in the sale of these commodities.

FOOD SHORTAGE

Then there was difficulty about food. The public began to hoard it. Why? Because the belief existed that supplies would run out. Mr. W. S. Morrison told us not so long ago that it would be foolish to grow food in Britain in preparation for a war which might never happen. We are entitled now to make our preparations for the next alarm by getting rid of Mr. W. S. Morrison and securing a Minister who will produce a programme of growing foodstuffs for emergency.

DEFECTIVE GAS MASKS

Rightly or wrongly, the citizens take the view that the gas masks they have been given are of doubtful value. It was disconcerting to the general public to see the supply of these gas masks failing in very many places, and also to learn that in most areas no form of anti-gas protection was ready for infant children up to four years of age.

DOMINIONS FAILED TO HELP

The Dominions which form the proud Empire failed to do anything practical except lip sympathy. Only Sir Sikandar and a few

Indian Rajas gave assurances of help. The paper laments:—

"But the most serious part of our unpreparedness was shown in our relations with the Dominions. It is well known that people were disappointed. They expected more encouragement and more support from the Dominions. They did not get it."

The *Express* concludes very honestly:

NO LONGER INVINCIBLE

No. We were not prepared. But if we learn the lesson; if we are resolute in repairing the gaps in our defences; if we labour to multiply the fruits of our soil; if we now and here decide to undertake no commitments and to make no pledges without the approval of the Dominions, then it can be said that out of evil will come good.

The same paper only a week ago had announced that Britain was invincible. It had never lost a battle except in America. And yet after 6 days the same paper confesses the truth.

AND YET ANOTHER VIEW— EVERYTHING WAS PRE-ARRANGED!

Many intelligent observers believe that everything was pre-arranged between Hitler and Chamberlain and that Chamberlain had long since decided to sell Czecho-Slovakia and . . . ?

Bewildered citizens are asking whether all the official war preparations of the last few days are not an elaborate "spoof" calculated to panic them into an acceptance of what are, after all, Herr Hitler's Godesberg demands.

It seems clear now that knowledge of what was going on was purposely withheld and the emotional tension skilfully increased from hour to hour while behind the closed doors of the conference rooms the poor remains of Britain's honour, prestige and future security were bargained for and sold.

On the eve of his flight to Munich, Mr. Chamberlain himself told the crowd: "Everything will be alright this time".

As I foretold, he had decided to "do a Hoare" on Czechoslovakia, to sell out to the Dictators; and, having arranged that potential critics would not prolong the debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday, he took the lack of challenge to his recent activities as *carte blanche* to proceed with his betrayal.

TO COVER RETREAT

Many rumours seeking to explain the almost complete capitulation to Hitler after having worked up the nation to war frenzy are current. The most interesting is that the

Russian air-fleet was written down as unreliable on the authority of Colonel Lindbergh, who has visited Russia recently.

The plain fact is that stories of the alleged inefficiency of the French defences and the Russian attack were accepted without any real attempt at confirmation and were circulated in case they would be needed to cover Mr. Chamberlain's intended retreat.

TERROR-STRICKEN PEOPLE

The truth is the people of England have become ease-loving. They are afraid of war and not ready for any sacrifice except shouting at Trafalgar Square. This is proved by the way the civil population of Britain react to the threat of war during the crisis.

THEY FLED

Wealthy people fled into remote parts of the country, paying fantastic prices for houses and cottages.

In the West Country, regarded as one of the best "safety zones" country houses worth from £750 to £1,000 were being sold for over £3,000.

In other cases large sums were offered for cottages which will probably have to be demolished under slum clearance schemes.

In this area there is no unemployment in the building trade, every available man being engaged on altering and reconditioning property and constructing shelters.

Sudden boom has also saved many hotel proprietors from a lean season.

Graver side of activities has been the wholesale purchase of stocks of food by moneyed people.

Huge supplies of tea, sugar, coal and canned foods have been bought for hoarding.

Reports tell of van loads of food being ordered from London for small families who have moved to the country.

Another order was for £200 worth of groceries and one for six hundredweight of biscuits for pet dogs.

THOUSANDS GO TO WALES & IRELAND

Another interesting sidelight of the great exodus was the amazing rise in the population of Glamorgan. In one week it rose by over 193,000. Thousands of rich people rushed to Ireland and even to America. Everywhere the people were panic-stricken and except the poor working classes, everyone showed signs of cowardice.

HEIL HITLER

So the army being unprepared, planes being hopeless, Anti-Aircraft guns being old and Dominions refusing to help, Hitler commanded Chamberlain "Obey or die" and Chamberlain bowed and said: "At Thy Command" and shouted Heil Hitler.

The future historians will give Chamberlain his due reward. He saved his country. What if he sold England's honour. He believes in "Safety First".

London,

October, 3, 1938.

FEDERAL RAILWAY AUTHORITY

Imperium in Imperio

By D. V. DIVEKAR

ONE OF the many objectionable features of the Government of India Act of 1935 is the Federal Railway Authority proposed to be established according to the Act. Systematic attempts seem to have been made in the Act to curtail the powers of the Federal Ministry and the Federal Legislature. Not to speak of the Reserved Departments and the Special Responsibilities of the Governor-General, there is the Reserved Bank Act that restricts the liberty of action of the federal Finance Member. There is also the Federal Railway Authority that is cleverly designed to withdraw Railway Administration and Railway finance from the hands of the Federal Railway to Communication Member whatever may be his designation. The Federal Railway Authority is to possess wide powers and will practically be a Government within a Government. Efforts were made to see that a condition was laid down to the effect that Indian federation should not come into existence unless the Federal Railway Authority was duly brought into shape. At any rate this express condition does not appear to have been accepted. Nevertheless the device of the new Federal Railway Authority stands revealed.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of railways to a nation from the economic and political point of view. What arteries are to the body, railways are to the nation. Railways in India bulk enormously in India's economy. According to the recent report of the Railway Board, the total mileage in India is 43,128, the total capital at charge in all Railways is Rs. 880·13 crores. The whole staff runs up to 7,10,880 and the total income is Rs. 95·48 crores. These figures indicate the

extent of the control over Railways to be vested in the Federal Railway Authority alone to all intents and purposes. Railways do not form a static factor in the nation's life. Railways are bound to develop as economic condition permits. In 1908 the Mackay Committee had visualized extension of railway mileage in India to the figure of one lakh. Railways are therefore sure to be an increasingly important and vital function in the Indian Administration.

BRIEF HISTORY

The history of the Federal Railway Authority can be easily told. There is no mention of it in the Simon Commission Report. The question was not referred to in the Round Table Conferences. Almost all of a sudden, the Federal Structure Committee remarked in January of 1931 that they are of opinion that the Federal Railway Authority should be formed! if after expert examinations that course seemed desirable. In the discussion on this proposal Mr. Jayakar recorded his dissent. Mr. Jayakar admitted his failure to understand what the Federal Railway Authority was to be like. He laid stress on the fact that whatever that be, perfect freedom must be left to the Minister to control that Board and to make arrangements with regard to its constitution, functions and powers. Mr. Jinnah too agreed to the Expert Committee and not the Board. But any how the question was not thoroughly threshed out in the R. T. Conferences and its Committees. The Indian Consultative Committee met in India in 1932. In it there was general agreement that Railways should be run on commercial lines and that without depriving the Indian Legislature

of their legitimate powers of control over policy and general administration, the actual day-to-day administration should be in the hands of an independent authority. The Indian Constitution should contain a clause that a Statutory Railway Board should be appointed and its powers, functions and composition should be entirely determined by an Act of the future Indian Legislature. In the White Paper, paragraph 74 of the Introduction, there is a brief reference to the Statutory Board now yeleft the Federal Railway Authority.

In June of 1933 the Secretary of State appointed a Committee of over twenty members and that Committee formulated its sketch proposals regarding the future administration of Indian Railways. Whether this was the Expert Committee contemplated by Federal Structure Sub-Committee was not known. Anyhow it submitted its report containing in great detail the constitution, functions, etc. of the Federal Railway Authority. The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform accepted the sketch proposals with two modifications, *viz.*, that not less than three of the seven members of the proposed Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, and that the Authority should not be constituted on a communal basis. This latter modification is all to the good of the Authority itself and the nation. Excepting this fact the whole constitution of the Authority is deserving of condemnation.

INDIAN DEMAND

The unanimous demand of the entire British-Indian Delegation was that only a clause should be inserted in the Government of India Act that a Federal Railway Authority should be constituted and the constitution, functions etc. should be left to be settled by means of federal legislation in India. This demand has been completely flouted. Almost every detail about the Federal Railway Authority has been fixed up in the Act and in the 8th Schedule to the Act. Clauses 181 to 199, both inclusive, deal with the Authority and the 8th Schedule too covers with its sixteen clauses all the points that can be raised respecting the Authority. The distinction between a clause of the Act proper and a clause in the Schedule is a distinction between Tweedledum and Tweedledee; for like the Act itself the Schedule also cannot be modified but by the Parliament. All along, the popular Indian demand had been that a bare clause should be incorporated in the Act.

But obviously the British Government did not want anything to be decided either by the present Legislative Assembly or by the Federal Assembly. Now practically nothing is to be done by the Indian Legislature and thus that Indian "Parliament" has been balked of its right. The Government of India in its despatch recommended that rules under the Act about the Federal Railway Authority should be made subject to modification after a prescribed period by the Indian Legislature. Even this minor right has not been left in the hands of the Indian Legislature.

CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS

According to the Act and the Schedule, the Federal Railway Authority is to consist of seven members, three of whom are to be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion. The Governor-General is also to appoint in his discretion a member of the Authority to be the President thereof. The appropriations of money will be made by the Federal Railway Authority and not by the Federal Assembly. The accounts and expenditure of the Federal Railway Authority will come up before the Assembly only if the Authority stand in need of financial help from the Federal Treasury. This means that in ordinary circumstances the Assembly will have no control over the Authority. The 'policy' is to be determined by the Federal Railway Member or the Assembly; but 'the executive authority of the federation in respect of the regulation and the construction, maintenance and operation of Railways shall be exercised' by the Federal Railway Authority. If there is any dispute as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy, the decision of the Governor-General in his discretion is to be final.

RAILWAY RATES

The question of rates and fares is exceedingly important. The industrial and commercial development of India depends to a large extent on Railway rates on goods. So far the policy of the Railways has not been favourable to India. In broad terms the policy may be described as favourable to imports of manufactured articles and export of raw materials. In the new dispensation, the Governor-General may appoint a Railway Rates Committee to settle disputes about rates and traffic facilities. A Bill regulating the rates to fares to be charged on any railway cannot be introduced in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature.

except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Thus it will be easily seen that the Governor-General and the Federal Railway Authority share between themselves most of the control over Indian Railways and the Federal Railway Member and the Legislature hardly come into the picture.

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAY BOARD

Let me briefly point out the methods of Railway administration in other countries. There are Boards of Commissioners in Canada and Victoria, Queensland and other Australian States. But they are under the control of the Ministers in charge of Railways or communications and are not in possession of independent autocratic powers as is to be the case with the Federal Railway Authority in India. The South African Act is the most pertinent and apt. By the 1909 Act the control and management of railways, ports and harbours of the Union is exercised through a Board of three Commissioners who are appointed by the Governor-General in Council and the Minister of the State is the Chairman of that Board. In 1916 an amendment to the Act was adopted saying that the General Manager of Railways is to be governed by such regulations as the Minister may from time to time frame after consultation with the Board. As regards Railway Rates, the British method is the best from the nationalist point of view. The fixation of

Railway rates is assigned to the Railway Rates Tribunal of three experts. One is appointed by the Lord Chancellor, one by the Board of Trade and one by the Ministry of Transport.

VITAL MODIFICATIONS

These facts will reveal how defective and reactionary the proposed Federal Railway Authority in India is designed to be. If the Federal Railway Authority is to be generally acceptable to Indian nationalist public opinion, it must be under the control of the Federal Railway Member; all its members must be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Ministers; the Minister in charge of Railways should be the ex-officio President; all its funds must be appropriated by the Federal Legislature; and Railway rates etc. should be determined on the advice of a Railway Rates Tribunal formed on the lines of the British Tribunal, including representatives of the industrial and commercial communities. Unless these reforms are effected, the Federal Railway Authority will not be able to fulfil its professed purpose, *viz.*, that of acting on business principles, due regard being had by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public. As it is, the Federal Railway Authority is bound to be condemned by all people and parties in India.

Old dated manuscripts in the collection of the Dacca University

Dr. Kalidas Nag, in the course of his review of the Virataparvan of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, deservedly congratulates the Institute on the acquisition of a manuscript (which parvan?) of the Mahabharata dated 1437 A.D. I send this note for the information of Dr. Nag, as well as of the public, that equally old MSS of the Bengal recension of the great epic are extant. A MS of the Adi-parvan dated 1390 Saka=1468 A.D. was

exhibited in the last Session of the Bengal Literary Conference at Krishnanagar. The Dacca University possesses the following early dated MSS in its collection: Padmapurana—1311 Saka. Sarada-tilaka Tantra—1361 Saka. Visnu Purana—1388 Saka. Mahabharata—Aranya Parva—1393 Saka. Harivamsa—1425 Saka. Saradatilaka—1430 Saka.

N. K. BHATTASALI

THE NEED OF ORGANIZING THE JUVENILE AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN BENGAL

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.F.

If the love of reading for reading's sake is to be inculcated among our children, the juvenile and school libraries must needs be organized on proper lines. These should be far better equipped and should be much more adequately utilized than they are at present. The problem as to how to afford the juvenile readers ampler and more suitable library facilities should therefore seriously engage the attention of all the eminent educationists of the day. Dominated as the present-day educational system is by the bugbear of too many examinations, the preparation of the school lessons takes up most of the time of the pupils. To achieve success in the examinations they have to do a good deal of cramming, which proves too great a drudgery for them to beget a real love of learning. At the present time, the sole end of the schooling they receive seems to consist in preparing for the examinations. As a result of this, very few of them turn out to be great lovers of books in later life. Besides, as they have to finish the syllabus within a limited time, they are generally so much overburdened with their school studies that they have hardly enough time to read books other than their prescribed text-books. All this serves to stifle the individuality of the children, who are thus reduced to so many machines for reproducing the information imparted in the class room at the examination hall. This constitutes one of the most serious defects of school education at the present moment. The school children are, as a rule, lacking in general knowledge, as they have a tendency to confine themselves almost entirely to their text-books.

We must not also lose sight of the fact that the work of a librarian requires a good deal of expert and technical knowledge. In our country a librarian is generally looked upon as a mere "caretaker" of books, who does not need to have special educational qualifications or any professional training. If good libraries are considered to be so many assets of considerable value, the status of the librarians must also be raised. They should be recruited from the real lovers of books—from well-read and well-informed persons, possessing high educa-

tional qualifications. They need to be trained in the library technique too. It is quite gratifying to note that the initiative has already been taken by the Imperial Library of Calcutta in this direction by opening a training centre for the purpose of training some candidates in the librarian's work. But, to my mind, special training courses should also be provided for the prospective librarians of the juvenile and school libraries. It is a pity that at the average school in Bengal the work is ordinarily entrusted to inexperienced teachers, who are hardly well-equipped for the task and who hardly take it seriously enough. The attention of the heads of all the secondary schools of the Province should be called to the imperative need of trained and qualified librarians. If the juvenile and school libraries are to be properly organized in Bengal, first and foremost, an adequate number of qualified men and women should be trained in the librarian's work. In case no provision for their training can be made at the Imperial Library, special training courses may well be instituted by the Dacca and Calcutta Universities for the purpose. The minimum educational qualifications of the candidates eligible for such training should be fixed, and the standard of training as well as the length of the course is to be determined by a body of experts. Diplomas should also be granted at the end of these training courses, so as to enable the trained librarians to secure decent situations. Such a scheme is likely to prove practicable, and will not perhaps entail too much recurring expenditure.

In Bengal there are very few public libraries, which are specially intended to meet the needs of the juvenile readers. Sporadic efforts are, however, being made at the present time to supply this long-felt want by opening juvenile sections in one or two public libraries in Calcutta. But perhaps these juvenile sections contain only a number of books suitable for children, and are hardly what a model juvenile library should be like. Juvenile libraries need to be organized on far sounder lines. If possible, trained and qualified women librarians should be appointed for the purpose.

of supervising the juvenile libraries, as women are expected to be able to appreciate the needs of small children better than men. Provision should also be made for suitable reading rooms in these juvenile libraries, where children can be provided with comfortable sitting accommodation. Care should be taken that the juvenile readers are afforded all other facilities for reading. The possibilities of opening a sufficient number of good public juvenile libraries in the rural and mofussil areas of the Province should be carefully investigated, as in these areas well-equipped school libraries are seldom available. Even in the urban areas of the Province all the schools cannot be expected to afford well-equipped libraries, the financial resources of some of them being quite meagre and insufficient. A good deal of economy can be effected by the interborrowing of books among the schools, if such a practice can, at all, be introduced. Such schools as have no well-equipped libraries of their own can, however, be benefited by public juvenile libraries also, as these latter institutions can perhaps be organized on a much bigger scale than what the limited funds of the schools permit of. If an adequate number of well-organized public juvenile libraries can be started throughout the Province, school children may well be taken round these institutions, now and again. Occasional visits to these places may help to engender a love of reading among the youthful visitors, even if these visits do not serve any other useful purpose. The pupils must needs be impressed with the value and importance of such institutions. The outward appearances of these juvenile libraries should also be imposing and attractive. "A direct appeal to the eye" being the most effective means of securing children's interest. The very atmosphere of these places should be conducive to the sacredness of feelings, with which the juvenile visitors ought to be inspired, when visiting these institutions. Much more systematic methods of lending out books should be devised, and the rates of subscriptions to be realized from the juvenile readers should be as small as possible, as otherwise these institutions will fail to be popularized. School children should be allowed special concessions.

In Bengal, perhaps only a small number of schools can boast of possessing well-equipped libraries. In each school, there should be a separate library for the use of the teachers. In addition to the common and general library (including the reference library), each class should have a library of its own, which should

contain a choice collection of books, suited to the varying needs of children of different tastes. A good deal of discretion is to be exercised in the matter of selection. The books should be very carefully graded according to the ages of the children, and should be well adapted to the needs of each class. The subject-matter should be both instructive and interesting. It should also be of varied interest, so as to suit the different tastes of individual children. Attempts should therefore be made to cover the various branches of knowledge, such as fiction, science, travels, biographies, mythology, history, geography, stories of adventures and hunting expeditions and the like, and thus to enlarge the range of the pupils' reading. The bindings and the get-up of the books meant for the smaller children need to be pretty and attractive. These books should also be profusely illustrated with nicely coloured pictures. As children are apt to take a fancy to coloured things, they will naturally be attracted by the pretty colours and feel tempted to go through the contents of the books. Efforts should also be made to create the right type of tastes. The librarians in charge of the school and juvenile libraries should therefore be good psychologists too, as one of their main duties should consist in forming healthy tastes and developing the habit of reading. They must be keenly alive to the needs of the growing minds of the youthful readers and must be conversant with child-psychology. These librarians should also be well-acquainted with juvenile literature, as they are supposed to guide and help the children in the matter of selection. They should try to keep in touch with all the important up-to-date publications in the domain of juvenile literature and all the modern developments in the library technique. The stock of books should be added to from year to year. Some funds are to be annually ear-marked for the purpose. The children should be encouraged to borrow books regularly from the school libraries. Provisions should therefore be made for the regular and systematic lending out of books to the pupils.

The books should be nicely and properly arranged in the cupboards, and should be within easy reach of the pupils, so that they may not experience any difficulty, whatever, in choosing and securing the books of their choice. The children must have free access to the school libraries, which should form an important instrument of their education. It is a treat to see the juvenile scholars rummaging these storehouses of learning in quest of the

ORGANIZING OF JUVENILE & SCHOOL LIBRARIES

invaluable treasure hidden in the books. The pupils must be afforded the opportunity of slaking their thirst for knowledge as much as possible. So it will not do to restrict the use of the school libraries, the object of which should be to whet the children's desire for learning and not to abate it. Their intellectual curiosity should therefore be stimulated, and their spirit of inquiry is to be roused. They should not be allowed to take things for granted and should always be encouraged to find them out for themselves. Books should be the main sources of their information. The teachers are only to help and guide them in the acquisition of knowledge. Some of the school authorities may object to letting the children have free access to the libraries on the ground that a good many books are thus likely to get lost and damaged. Such apprehensions may not be absolutely groundless. But, to my mind, much depends on the training. If the pupils find that the teachers are relying on them and trusting them absolutely, they will perhaps try to prove worthy of their trust, and may not feel inclined to abuse it. Their sense of responsibility, too, will thus be appealed to. The teachers in charge should see that the books taken out are put back in their proper places by the children themselves after they have done with those. The necessity and importance of neatness and tidiness should also be impressed on the pupils, who should be taught how to take proper care of the books borrowed by them. The monitors and monitresses of the classes will be directly responsible to the teachers for any loss or damage of the books taken out by their fellow pupils.

There should be regular periods for study during the school hours. Suitable reading rooms should also be provided for the purpose. These must have a bright and cheerful aspect, and should be well-ventilated and well-lighted. The teachers in charge should see that strict silence is observed by the pupils during the reading hours as the seriousness of the purpose needs to be brought home to the latter. The children should never be allowed to indulge in idle talk, so that they may not thus disturb their fellow pupils in their reading. They will thus be trained in the powers of concentration as well as self-control. The school library can thus be

the indirect means of developing the pupils' moral character too. If education is to act as a dynamic force in life, the training of character should go, hand in hand, with the development of the intellect.

It is no good collecting and preserving books only, unless these are well utilized. To test as to whether the children have actually gone through the books borrowed by them should be one of the important duties of the class teachers. Regular questions are to be set on the contents of the books, and marks are to be given on the merits of the answers. Provision should also be made for some special prizes for those who will be able to secure the highest marks in these tests at the end of the year. The general tendency of the juvenile readers is to borrow books on fiction only, which are ordinarily in great demand in the schools. But the children's education will turn out to be defective, if they fail to gain an all-round knowledge. So a versatile taste needs to be cultivated. Specialization is to begin at a much later stage.

The library movement, which is comparatively a recent development in Bengal, needs to be popularized throughout the Province. It is high time that organized efforts should be launched to give an impetus to the movement. Annual conferences of the librarians may be of great help in popularizing the movement and disseminating information regarding the scientific organization of libraries. In the future sessions of these conferences the juvenile and school libraries of the Province should be adequately represented, so as to enable these librarians to discuss their common problems, to evolve useful schemes and to profit by mutual exchange of experience and ideas. In connection with these conferences, book fairs and exhibitions of libraries may well be organized. In these the valuable collections of the juvenile and school libraries may also be exhibited. A special section may be assigned to the juvenile and school libraries. Such functions are likely to give rise to a healthy spirit of competition among the schools, and to focus the attention of the educated public upon the juvenile and school libraries, the practical utility of which can thus be borne in upon them.

THE LOGIC OF KARNATAKA'S DEMAND

By V. B. KULKARNI

TO THOSE who have doubted the wisdom of creating linguistic provinces, the recent unedifying episode in the Central Provinces should serve as an eye-opener. Whether the C. P. wrangle was the outcome of personal rivalries among its Cabinet Ministers, or was a sequel to the inevitable conflict that arises out of a promiscuous grouping together of distinct and highly evolved linguistic units, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the existing structure of the Central Provinces does not conduce to a smooth and orderly evolution of its administration. Small wonder, therefore, that a movement has been set on foot for detaching the Marathi area from the Hindi portion and linking it to Maharashtra. The Khare episode has been of especial significance to us of Karnataka, for, our erstwhile opponents have, by a strange fatality, suddenly turned themselves into staunch supporters of the principle of linguistic provinces.

Scenes such as those enacted in the C. P. are not peculiar to that Province alone. Madras and Bombay are faced with a similar problem, perhaps in all its worst aspects. Public life in the Southern Presidency is often vitiated by a perpetual quadrangular fight between four divergent linguistic units, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada, although the sanity of the contending parties has so far prevented their rivalries from assuming the blatancy of the C. P. imbroglio.

In Bombay the friction between Gujerat and Maharashtra is wellknown. Although Karnataka has always wisely kept itself aloof from these bickerings, the very fact of its presence in full force as a distinct unit has added to the complexity of the problem. An example of the deep-seated linguistic rivalries that exist in this Province is provided by the Khare episode, which has been utilized as a welcome opportunity by a certain section of the vernacular press to indulge in unbridled vituperation against some of India's most respected leaders. It is suicidal to ignore developments such as these, for, they constitute a grave danger to our national solidarity.

But we cannot remove this canker from our body-politic by merely tinkering with the

problem. With the best of intentions, the government of a composite province can bring justice to none. Take, for example, the Southern Presidency. The Tamilians preponderate. As a majority community, their interests and stake in the Presidency are, naturally enough, greater than those of the other three linguistic units. The Government of Madras, which has the the responsibility of ministering to a variety of interests, cannot, theoretically at least, give that exclusive attention to the majority community which it could undoubtedly secure in a province of its own. But its numerical superiority and the consciousness of its importance ensure its being accorded preferential treatment which is, however, not half so advantageous as having a separate province. Favoured treatment must always be at the cost of others, resulting in an unequal distribution of governmental amenities and patronage. Thus none of the communities get that full measure of justice which they have a right to expect at the hands of their Government. Speaking for Madras Karnataka, it has scarcely received any attention at the hands of its Government.

In the Bombay Presidency the situation is equally unsatisfactory. Despite their long-standing rivalries, Gujerat and Maharashtra have taken good care to see that the strings of political power do not slip off their hands. Karnataka is nowhere in the picture, except that our pliant legislators are often made convenient pawns in the game of political ascendancy. It might be an exciting game for those who stand to gain by it, but we of Karnataka who are 35 lakhs in number and constitute 25% of the Presidency's population, cannot share their edification. The consequences of such an arrangement are obvious. Heart-burning, friction, jealousy and covert antagonism have become a chronic feature of the administrative and public life of the Presidency.

The only panacea to these provincial ills is, therefore, to accord the right of self-determination to each linguistic area, provided it satisfies certain fundamental criteria. Below are given the opinions of some of the competent

authorities on the subject to reinforce my argument in favour of creating linguistic provinces.

Sir Bamfylde Fuller wrote thus:

"It would have been well for the country (India) had its divisions into provinces for purposes of government followed the lines marked by race and language, so as to reinforce the sympathy which arises by similarity, by feelings of pride in local government. The existing administrative divisions are heterogeneous, so as to have a directly contrary effect."

Mr. Lionel Curtis in his famous *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government* says:

"To a detached observer one of the most pathetic features in the Indian situation is the tenacity with which certain elements of its people, and those the most vocal, cling to features in the system organised by us foreigners, which are in fact the greatest obstacles to popular government. One is our educational system, another is the Permanent Settlement, a third the vast satrapies into which our system has divided India. . . . The defect of the present areas (of administration) is that they are too mechanical. . . ."

The observations of the Montford Report, which was written after a personal study of India's problems by the late Mr. Montagu, are equally trenchant. Says the Report:

"We are impressed with the artificial and often inconvenient character of existing administrative units. . . . We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous. . . . It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English. . . ."

An outcome of these recommendations was that a specific provision under Sec 52-A of the Government of India Act, 1919, was made for creating new provinces whenever it was found possible and desirable. The Simon Report supported the Montford recommendations. What is more important, Sec. 290 of the present Government of India Act has provisions essentially similar to Sec. 52-A of the Act of 1919.

I have before me quite a sheaf of authorities urging the wisdom of reshuffling our provincial boundaries on rational grounds, but I have quoted enough to prove my point. However, before I pass on to the next topic, let me set down here what the Nehru Report has to say on the subject. The observations of this Report are of especial significance to us for, the Congress, which is now in power, stands committed not merely to honour but to implement the recommendations made therein.

After making a powerful indictment upon

the present provincial distribution, the learned authors of the Report came to the weighty conclusion that

"There must be a redistribution of provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, other prefer large provinces. But small or large, the question of redistribution has to be tackled."

Referring to Karnataka's demand the Report contains these observations:

"The case for the Karnataka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong *prima facie* case for unification was made."

The readers of *The Modern Review* are not unaware of the disabilities from which Karnataka suffers under the present arrangement.¹ I shall, therefore, spare them the boredom of wading once more through a catalogue of our grievances. But one point deserves particular emphasis. In the recent exchange of memorandum and counter-memorandum over what is popularly known as the Bengali-Bihari controversy, the chief grouse of Bihar against its incorporation with Bengal was that

"As the Government installed in Calcutta was popularly known as the 'Government of Bengal,' the joint provinces came to be known as 'Bengal,' in common parlance, and the very name of the historic province of Bihar gradually came to disappear, even from the text-books on geography."

But, Bihar was saved from such a catastrophe by a timely recognition of its right to self-determination.

The Powers-that-be that undertook the dismemberment of Karnataka, at a time when its people were scarcely aware of the magnitude of the injustice done to them, were untrammelled by any considerations of maintaining the racial, linguistic and political integrity of a historic and cultured community. The dissection of our vast and compact territory was accomplished with ruthless thoroughness nearly two centuries ago, and about twenty ravenous powers of varying bulk and ferocity were unleashed to bite off as much area as they could. So successful were they in their work of destruction that the name of Karnataka does not occur in any map of India, whether political or geographical. The Congress alone is responsible for saving it from being consigned to the limbo of oblivion.²

1. I have dealt with this in sufficient detail in my articles in *The Modern Review* of November 1937 and July 1938 and in the *Triveni* of August 1938.

2. The four districts of Bombay Karnataka are

That Karnataka does not deserve this treatment can be easily proved. I am aware that it is not a healthy sign in a community to glue itself irrevocably to the pages of past achievements, but I do submit that an occasional peep into the past is necessary, if only to prove that we are not a superficial and inconsequential people, over whose extinction not a tear need be shed.

At the end of the 13th century A.D. the Deccan was threatened with a danger, the manner and magnitude of which was totally alien to the experience of the people. The Muslim conquerors, having consolidated their power in the north, began to press southwards carrying everything before them and dealing ruthless blows to all that the Hindus held dear and sacred. The Hindu States were too dis-united and feeble to organize a successful resistance to the menace. It was given to the rulers and people of Karnataka to rescue Hinduism and all that it stands for from certain extinction, by building up a powerful Empire with Vijayanagar, the City of Victory, as its proud capital. For two centuries and a half this Empire of Karnataka lived in unsurpassed splendour, serving as a citadel of Hindu Dharma and a terror to its enemies. Hostile historians like Ferishtah, foreign ambassadors like Abdur Razaak, European visitors like Paes, Nuniz and Barbosa, Court historians, and the numerous contemporaneous and subsequent epigraphical records and literary works unanimously testify to the greatness of Vijayanagar, which may be summed up in the following description of the capital by the Persian ambassador:

"The city of Bidjanagar (Vijayanagar) is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world."

This seemingly exaggerated description is corroborated by the accounts of the chroniclers mentioned above. It is indeed a sad irony of fate that the very champions of the civilization of the South are today faced with a threat to their distinctive existence.

Doubts have been expressed in certain quarters about the benefits which might accrue by bringing together only the eight districts and

five talukas of British Karnataka, and whether it would not be more advantageous to wait till political circumstances in the country would favour the amalgamation of all the now widely scattered Kannada areas in the Deccan. While we have nothing but admiration for the grandness of this ideological conception, I am afraid we cannot postpone our demand to Greek Calends by placing reliance upon some fortuitous development. The sponsors of the unification movement, whose demand is and must necessarily be confined for the present to British Karnataka, will certainly welcome to their fold their brethren in the Karnataka States, if the latter develop sufficient strength to transcend the existing political barriers. The move must essentially come from themselves.

A certain amount of perturbation was recently caused in Karnataka by a persistent rumour that the Government of Madras had already submitted proposals, with the full support of H. E. the Governor, for the separation of Andhra and that no steps were taken for supporting our case. With a view to obtain an authoritative expression of opinion about the latest attitude of the Congress on the separation of Karnataka, the Chairman of our Unification League wrote to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, apprising him of the profound dissatisfaction that prevailed in Karnataka over the reported partial attitude of the Madras Government. In the course of his reply Sardar Patel observes thus:

"If the question of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis is to be tackled hereafter, as it some day will have to be, I have no doubt that it will be done uniformly without any regard to the strength of agitation or the volume of noise that can be made by any particular province. If, however, your apprehensions about the Andhra province being separated turn out to be true, your path of separation of Karnataka would certainly be very easy. I do not know if Madras Government has done anything recently, but you may be assured that on this question no discriminatory policy will be adopted. It would be unwise to rely too much upon rumours, press reports and representations from provinces. The policy on that question has been fully defined by the Working Committee and you need have no apprehensions on that question."

It is but fair that the attitude of the Congress should be as set out in the Sardar's letter, for nothing would be more harmful to the cause of that organization in Karnataka, than the adoption of a policy of discrimination. Karnataka's case is as strong as that of Andhra and her necessity for separation is perhaps greater than that of the latter. To ignore this is to commit a great political blunder.

designated as "Southern Division" although it is not evident what enormity the Government of Bombay would have been guilty of, if they were styled as "Karnataka Districts." The States in Karnataka are called "Southern Mahratta Country States" with what justice it is difficult to say. Even the railway that runs across our country is known as the "Madras and Southern Mahratta" Railway.

SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

By SATYA N. MUKERJI, M.A. (Columbia University),
Member of the Indian Delegation

WHILE war was raging in Europe and Asia every moment threatening to embroil the whole world, the youth of the world took the helm of international affairs at the second World Youth Congress, which was held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, from August 16th to August 24th. In the sylvan surroundings of the Vassar campus far from the atmosphere of gloom and despondency of the foreign offices of the world powers, five hundred delegates and observers assembled representing forty million peoples of various organizations from fifty-three countries of the world. It was a replica of the League of Nations.

The first opening reception was held at Randall's Island Municipal stadium in New York City. It was a great spectacle: twenty-two thousand people watched and cheered lustily as each delegation walked in formation behind the national flag. A colourful program of music, songs and folk dances was presented by talented artists of various nationalities. Coro d'Italia supplied Italian songs and Inter-Club Chinese youth gave a program of songs of China. An expression of youthful frolic was offered in the form of folk dances by America, Russia and Czechoslovakia. The American Negro Choir sang spiritual songs of their race, which stirred the emotions of the audience to the highest pitch.

The Mayor of New York City, Fiorello H. La Guardia, said in the course of his address of welcome:

"If the youth of the world does not want war, there won't be war. Let your slogan be, 'Let there be peace'."

He urged the American and the foreign delegates, "to hand the world over to the next generation in a better and more happy state than we handed it over to you."

Mr. Adolph A. Berle, U. S. Department of State, in extending the official welcome of the Federal Government, emphasised collaboration between nations as the key to his government's policy.

"It is the conviction of this government that so, and not otherwise, can nations meet, can misunderstanding be

avoided, can difficulties be resolved, and can people find the way of peace."

Towards the end of his address, Mr. Berle said:

"You must be ever on guard and capable in your watch against the many groups who seek to use you, not to forward the ideals of youth, but to forward some unspoken aim of power, ambition or conquest."

After the meeting at Randall's Island, the delegates returned to the International House, the temporary headquarters of the second World Youth Congress. Here, a secretariat had been busy looking after the registration of the delegates, observers and visitors, and their various needs.

The following day, Tuesday August 16th, all the delegates and observers except the American delegation left for Poughkeepsie on the 'Robert Fulton' of the Hudson River Day Line. The American Delegation took the train so that they would be at Vassar to welcome the foreign delegates. The boat trip to Poughkeepsie afforded an opportunity to see some of the beauty spots of the New York State. On the trip all the delegates were full of mirth and joy, especially the Czechoslovakian group and the Latin Americans, who sang native songs all the way to Vassar College.

The city of Poughkeepsie did not extend any official welcome to the delegates. The Congress was branded as Communistic. However when we landed, we were welcomed by a band which played various national anthems, the members of the board of trustees of Vassar College, professors and local citizenry. The delegates got into the 'buses which were waiting there to take us to Vassar College. When we arrived at the campus, we all walked in groups behind our national flags. Press and movietone took our pictures. Finally, we were escorted by volunteers—Vassar girls—to our rooms.

It was planned to have the opening meeting and reception at the Outdoor Theatre, but due to rain the plan was changed at the last minute. It was held at the College Chapel. The President's wife, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, addressed the delegates, citing the success of the "good neighbour policy."

"I think the good neighbour policy of the United States with its Central and South American neighbours is something of which we can be justly proud."

"For some time it had been apparent that the United States with its neighbours to the South was a rather bullying big brother who was not always tactful," she said. The "good neighbour" policy, she said, was brought about through the wishes of the people.

"No government or leaders can successfully carry out a policy when the people are not at the back of it." "It is the people of a country who really have the deciding voice in whatever policies the leaders of the country may wish to carry out."

After the address of Mrs. Roosevelt, the President of Vassar College, Dr. Henry N. McCracken, addressed the audience. He sounded a note of optimism:

"Isolation is fatal. The idea of peace can be destroyed by distortion. Organized society can talk people out of the idea of peace and turn them to war. War is not only a trade and art,—it is a profession."

According to him, the greatest dangers to peace are the idea of justice and the various types of honour. He pointed out the attempt made at Vassar College in teaching history to correct the mistakes of past wars. He emphasized "common sense" as the basis of peace.

"It is reassuring to learn that youth is wishing to hear of peace," he said. "The reform of freedom is our call tonight."

Mrs. Roosevelt is a prolific writer and a very good speaker. I have heard her speak over the radio, I have read her speeches in the papers, but this is the first time I have heard her in person. She is sincere in what she says and leaves an abiding impression upon the listener. She has a column in a daily paper. She holds a union card of the Newspaper Guild. She is one of the outstanding women of our time, and probably the greatest living woman in America. She not only writes for American journals and papers but takes great interest in youth and education. She has addressed hundreds of meetings all over the United States embracing practically every subject under the sun. After the meeting was over, the delegates were invited to an ice-cream party at Ely Hall. Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. McCracken were present. Mrs. Roosevelt shook hands with each delegate as they were introduced one after another by Joseph Cadden, Chairman of the United States committee of the World Youth Congress. President McCracken was occupied with ice-cream and at the same time, talking to various delegates. He is considered to be a truly liberal American. In his opening address to the delegates he said, "The

college is yours while you are here."

The Main Building of the College was the centre of activity. The Congress Office was in this building, where practically all the foreign men delegates lived. Breakfast, lunch and dinner were served here. Dr. McCracken said, the only complaint he had was from the cook: the delegates ate twice as much as he thought they would! Many small committee meetings were also held here.

On the morning of August 17th, the first session of the Congress opened at the Student Building. It was called "the mutual information session". Three languages were used throughout the sessions of the Congress: English, French and Spanish. In the Student Building where the "mutual information sessions", "plenary sessions," and all the other meetings of the Commission A were held, every seat on the main floor was equipped with a pair of earphones which had five pegs. No matter what language the speaker used, it was immediately translated, and relayed over the earphone so that every delegate could understand the speaker at the same time. In other meetings, the interpreters had to explain every word that was uttered at the Commission. The entire procedure of the Congress was carried out on the basis of the League of Nations Assembly.

The international secretary, Elizabeth Shield-Collins of Great Britain, submitted her report. In the course of her report, she said that the gathering was a much more truly representative one than the first World Youth Congress at Geneva two years ago, when eighty per cent of the delegates were from Europe. She noted that this time fifty-six nations were represented.

She appealed to the delegates to join hands and work together for world peace.

As soon as the election of the presiding committee was over, the main business of the session began. The head of the delegation from every country read a report dealing with the conditions influencing youth in the country he represented. The time of each paper was limited to ten minutes.

It would not be an exaggeration to mention here that over five hundred speeches were made by delegates in all the four Commissions. They all centered around world peace, collective security, and the League of Nations in all their various ramifications. Since it is not possible within the scope of one article to mention what everybody said, I shall attempt here to

mention the chief points of what some of the delegates have said at the Congress.

For several years the discussion of American youth has been divided between isolationism and collective security, but at the Second World Youth Congress they agreed on a common Peace program of seven points, closely resembling that enunciated recently by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State. The individual members of the American delegation reserved the right to express their own opinion at general sessions.

The text of the announcement embodying the American program follows:

"Each day's developments make more and more clear the fact that our situation is profoundly affected by whatever happens elsewhere in the world.

"Whatever may be our own wishes, we cannot, when there is trouble elsewhere, expect to remain unaffected. When destruction, impoverishment, and starvation afflict other areas, we cannot, no matter how hard we try, escape impairment of our own economic well-being.

"When freedom is destroyed over increasing areas elsewhere, our ideals of individual liberty, or most-cherished political and social institutions are jeopardized.

"When the dignity of the human soul is denied in great parts of the world, and when that denial is made a slogan under which propaganda is set in motion and armies take the field, no one of us can be sure that his country or even his home is safe. We well know, of course, that a condition of complete chaos will not develop overnight; but it is clear that the present trend is in that direction and the longer this drift continues the greater becomes the danger that the whole world may be sucked into a maelstrom of unregulated and savage economic, political and military competition and conflict.

"To reverse the present ominous drift toward international anarchy and armed conflict we propose the following program:

"1. Limitation and progressive reduction of armaments.

"2. Economic reconstruction, with the assurance of justice to all peoples as the basis of international well-being and stability.

"3. Adherence to the basic principles of international law as the guiding and governing rules of conduct among nations. Respect for and observance of treaties freely entered into. Modification of treaties by orderly processes when the nations concerned feel the need arises.

"Respect for treaties should not, however, become the basis for freezing the status quo. Nations must undertake to evolve a new code of international law based on the principle of dealing out justice to all peoples.

"4. Abstention from the use of force in pursuit of national policies and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

"5. Collaboration in the freest possible intellectual exchange among nations.

"6. Support of international cooperation in such ways and by such methods as may be practicable and which will advance and not contradict the program.

"7. The equality of all peoples and races is basic

to the securing of a peaceful world order. Economic, cultural and political rights should be guaranteed to racial, religious and political minorities within nations to lessen war tension. Subject nations and colonies should be started on the road to self-determination through the introduction of educational opportunities, abolition of oppressive tax laws, discriminatory employment laws, segregation legislation and through the establishment of universal suffrage."

Mr. P. Y. Yin of China was greeted with an ovation when he took the floor. He declared that,

"since the invasion of China by Japanese militarists, the youth of China from all walks of life have achieved an unprecedented solidarity."

The representatives of the Czechoslovakia delegation said:

"We are ready to collaborate with all people who hold the same ideal as we do—that is to say, a faith that international disputes must be settled by peaceful means, and according to the principle of liberty and equality."

Mr. Yusuf Meherally presented India's report which was widely discussed among the delegates from all countries. Many of the delegates who have spoken to me privately, said, "The report of your delegation was the best". This is what Frank Adams said in the *New York Times* of August 18th, 1938:

"A scathing indictment of British rule in India was delivered by Yusuf Meherally, who declared that one hundred and eighty years of 'foreign imperialist rule' had reduced 'a prosperous India to an appalling condition of poverty, mass illiteracy, and malnutrition.'

"He asserted that at present India was ninety-two per cent illiterate, and quoted Will Durant as authority for an estimate that it was fifty per cent illiterate when the British came. He said the expectancy of life in India was only twenty-six years, against fifty-six in Great Britain and that four hundred of every one thousand Indian babies died before the age of eight.

"The British delegates joined in the applause indicating their approval of Mr. Meherally's words."

It was not possible to finish all the reports in one day. So those who were unable to present their reports on the first day did so in sessions later in the week.

The first meetings of Commissions A, B, C, and D was held in the evening of August 17th. They were largely devoted to technicalities, such as what procedure should be adopted in conducting the meeting. Some time was devoted to discussing the agenda and very few papers were read in Commission C. I came to know next day at breakfast that the same difficulty held in other Commissions. Although there were five Commission meetings scheduled, there were a few extra sessions in some of the Commissions in order to wind up the work of the Commissions.

The British foreign policy was defended as well as criticised by a number of British delegates. Miss Mary Stanley Clark of the Youth section of the British Conservative party defended the Chamberlain policy of non-intervention in Spain as a measure of keeping the Spanish civil war from spreading beyond its boundaries. Gabriel Caritt, delegate of the British Youth Peace assembly, attacked the Chamberlain foreign policy. He said it was necessary for England to revise its foreign policy with respect to Spain for three reasons:

"First, the bombing of British merchant ships in Spanish waters sets a terrible precedent. Second, toleration of Moorish soldiers in Spain may have harmful implications in colonial India, and thirdly, Britain's key defense positions in the Mediterranean, such as at Gibraltar, are in danger."

John Ballard declared:

"The British youth opposes and condemns the domination of one people over another."

A formal statement was issued by the delegates from Great Britain and her empire, read and approved by Elizabeth Shield-Collins. It declared:

"The British National government, as instanced by its departure from the League of Nations obligations to Ethiopia, Spain, and the Far East, and its refusal to take decisive steps to prevent aggression, has prejudiced the security of our country and of all peoples."

The delegate of Spain, Emanuel Azcarates, son of the Spanish Loyalist Ambassador to London, said in the course of his speech:

"We come to defend the principles of collective security and the League of Nations. . . . The fundamental problem is not to discuss pacts or treaties, but to talk of the ways of carrying them out. One must find ways of mobilizing the forces of world peace. The victory of the Republic means peace for the world."

Mr. Paul Maurice of the American delegation asked Dr. P. C. Chang of China: "Under what conditions will the Sino-Japanese conflict come to and end?"

Chang's proposal was a Pacific agreement in which, he declared, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from China, and "not Japanese alone". His program was:

(1) the possibility of naval limitation; (2) political settlement, withdrawal of all troops from China; (3) make an improvement in the Washington treaty including economic readjustments."

An earnest listener to the Chinese plea was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President.

At the plenary session on Monday, August 22nd, each of the four Commissions submitted their report to the Congress. The important parts of those reports are as follows:—

Commission A, The Political And Economic Organization of Peace—The Report was presented by Emlyn Garner-Evans of Great Britain.

"A new world order could be established in which a lasting peace could be founded on justice and preserved by the cooperation of mankind. In this regard, emphasis was laid on Democracy as a safeguard of peace. As an ideal it was a great unifying factor making for solidarity among all people. As a system it placed international affairs under the control of the people and provided a guarantee that overwhelming opposition could be raised to the force of aggression.

"It was generally agreed that permanent peace required not only justice between nations, but also, social justice among peoples.

"It was strongly urged that cooperation among all the states of the American continent should be extended and many delegates saw in the closer unity of the Latin-American countries a positive guarantee for the maintenance of peace over the whole continent. There was a general welcome for the 'good neighbour' policy inaugurated by President Roosevelt as a contribution to this end."

The organization of peace through disarmament—a general reduction in armaments was urged, and the problem of China, Spain, Austria, Ethiopia, and Czechoslovakia, adequately treated. Peaceful settlement of dispute and peaceful change were advocated, and the question of minorities (racial persecution—especially persecution of the Jews) was noted.

Under the title, Economic Organization, the report points out economic causes of war and suggests the solution of economic difficulties by creating an international economic commission to deal with the economic problems.

The last point in the report is that of imperialism.

"Delegates recognized that not only is the economic and political domination of one people over another immoral, but it is also a constant source of conflict—between the natives and the imperialistic state, and between the imperialist states themselves.

"There was general recognition of the right of all peoples to self-government and self-determination. The achievement of this end within a specified time limit should be the object of all colonial policy. This requires education, freedom of speech movement, political and economic association, the prohibition of economic exploitation and the prevention of militarization. The extension of these rights should be internationally guaranteed."

Commission B, The Economic And Cultural Status Of Youth and Its Relation To Peace; The Report presented by Miss Renu Roy of India.

"We realize that the youth of most countries are faced with the same problems of war and peace today, of unemployment, bad labour conditions, defective education, etc. What is needed today is an improvement in the material situation of youth which will help in giving them that confidence and hope in life which is a

guarantee of peace and liberty in the world. We are also convinced of the necessity of bringing economic help to those countries menaced or suffering from aggression. In order to save peace, it is necessary not only to unite goodwill in the political, religious or philosophical spheres, but also to find the necessary cures which will end the difficulties which trouble the world today.

"The aspirations of youth are identical everywhere. We want to enjoy security, leisure, health, to mould our lives in a free and progressive atmosphere and it was interesting in the Commission to note how identical were the opinions expressed by almost every country on questions such as illiteracy, unemployment, labour conditions, vocational training, etc."

The rest of the report deals with various problems of youth point by point. The report emphasized, "free and compulsory education up to the minimum age of 16."

Commission C, The Religious and Philosophical Bases of Peace; the Report presented by Ian MacLaren of Australia included the following aims:

"1. To work against those forces in human nature and society which cause war.

"2. To reaffirm those principles upon which a just and durable peace rests.

"3. To develop an international mind in youth and those new forms of social, economic and political relationships which are essential for the advancement of civilization."

These are the two important points which the Commission C, recognized as obstacles to peace and desires to remove —

"(1) Idealization of hatred between races and nations.

"(2) Imperialistic domination over dependent peoples and aggressive policies toward weaker nations."

Of the six points which it reaffirmed, the most important is number one.

"Man's loyalty to religious or philosophical truth which comes before allegiance to any institution or individual."

Commission D, The International Role of Youth, the Report submitted by Olga Schieslova of Czechoslovakia:

"The youth of all lands must affirm its unity in building a world of peace through international co-operation and social justice.

"We reject completely the theory that youth must give unquestioning obedience to the state and leaders, but we stress the fact that the democratic youth feels no enmity with the youth of the totalitarian states, and will do all in its power to establish friendly contact with them."

In Washington, while the Youth Congress was in session, H. L. Chaillaux, American Legion official, brought charges against the World Youth Congress as a "front organization for Communism" before the Dies Committee on un-American Activities.

In the first place the city of Poughkeepsie refused to extend an official welcome to the

delegates to the Second World Youth Congress because the municipal government of the city will have nothing to do with "Internationalism," "Communism", and "Red". However, the Chairman of the American delegation, Mr. Joseph Cadden, and Dr. Henry N. MacCracken, President of the Vassar College, denied the accusation as false. The Congress may have a few Communists but certainly it is not made up of Communists. All kinds of views were expressed by delegates from fifty-three countries representing various organizations.

The Indian delegation was composed of eight members, four of them from England: Mr. M. Iftikar and Mr. Yusuf Meherally were from London, Mr. Arun Bose and Miss Renu Roy, from Cambridge. Mr. Tarapada Basu came from Paris. Mr. K. A. Abbas of the *Bombay Chronicle* came directly from India. Two members were added from the United States: Mr. Krishna Lal Shridharani and myself of New York. Yusuf Meherally was the head of the delegation and Arun Bose, the secretary. The latter showed me a memorandum which was drawn up in consultation with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Paris. The line of policy that the Indian delegation was to adopt at the Second World Youth Congress was outlined. The members of the meeting at London left out *Commission C, The Religious And Philosophical Bases of Peace*, as unimportant,* and so gave no consideration to it in the memorandum. When I was added to the Indian delegation, I was put in charge. In a nutshell the memorandum states that the Indian delegation must take a stand for self-determination, collective security, and the League of Nations.

While I supported the point of view of the Indian delegation, nevertheless, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the League of Nations had failed utterly to stop war in Ethiopia, Chaco, China, and Spain; it has been occupied mostly with European affairs, it has not helped India to achieve her goal of independence—a problem of worldwide importance.

Having observed the trend of political movement in the Western Hemisphere for a number of years, I find it difficult to believe that collective security can be achieved on a worldwide basis under the aegis of the League of Nations. Since the Buenos Aires Conference, the tendency to solidify the Western Hemisphere is growing every day. Today if a

*This was a superficial, short-sighted and regrettable decision.—Editor, M. R.

nation of the Western Hemisphere is attacked it becomes the joint responsibility of all the republics of the Western Hemisphere to defend the victim of aggression. On August 18th, 1938, President Roosevelt declared in the course of an address at Queens University, Canada:

"I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

The interests of Canada are swinging the Canadian foreign policy more and more towards the United States. Whether Canada will throw in her lot with Western Hemisphere or maintain neutrality in case of war, as a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a member of the League of Nations, is a matter which ultimately will be decided in the Canadian Parliament. While a number of Latin American Nations are still members of the League of Nations, others have already left the League; not to speak of the four big powers who are already out of the League of Nations: the United States, Japan, Germany and Italy. All these facts indicate that a new orientation of international polity is in formation in the Western Hemisphere. Under the circumstances, it is, I believe, unwise for India, anymore to support collective security on a worldwide basis. That is why I am in favour of regional collective security—a League of Nations for each continent, and the World Court as a final resort to settle all international disputes.

At the Congress there was a considerable number of delegates who affirmed that "mutual assistance could best be organized on a regional basis."

The Indian delegation joined hands with other colonial delegations such as those of Africa, Indonesia, Palestine, etc., in condemning imperialism. Imperialism had a very bad day. There was great indignation against racial discrimination in the world. Nearly everyone stood up for self-determination and racial equality. There was a general recognition of the right of every people to self-government and self-determination.

There was a severe condemnation of Germany, Italy and Japan. No delegation was present from either Germany or Italy, but Japan was represented by a small group. An Austrian came to the World Youth Congress who was recognized as a delegate of Austria and there was a German who represented at a special meeting the views of dissatisfied youth of Germany. He distributed a copy of printed

literature which gives the picture of present-day Germany. He condemned Herr Hitler and requested everybody to think of the German people who have contributed so much to human progress, emphasizing that German youth want peace and send us their greetings.

The threat of war, and its concomitant reactions in every fiber of civilized human beings today have roused the passion of youth as never before to banish war forever from this earth. There was an intense feeling in the Congress against all sorts of exploitation of the weak by the strong which in its train creates grave social injustice that invariably leads to war. The sentiment for world peace was very strong. At the same time there was a severe condemnation of imperialism. There was practically a universal cry for the recognition of equality of all peoples and races as a basis of a new world order. Regardless of what we have actually achieved at the Second World Youth Congress the fact remains, that in the name of world peace, youth have flocked to Vassar from the four corners of the earth to take part in the deliberation of our common cause—the cause of peace. That is a great step forward in the right direction.

To dream great dreams, to live in the high hope of achieving them in one's own life-time, or to make an endeavour to attain some high ideal is the eternal privilege of youth. What youth dreams today mankind shall realize tomorrow.

The Second World Youth Congress has proclaimed to the world what work it has set before itself for the future in the form of a resolution. With solemnity the head of the delegation from each country signed the Vassar Peace Pact.

RESOLUTION ON FUTURE WORK

Whereas the Second World Youth Congress held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York State, from August 16th. to 24th., has been an unqualified success, and

Whereas a great advance in the matter of the number of countries represented has been made over the First World Youth Congress held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1936:

The International Secretariat of the World Youth Congress Movement is hereby required and requested:

1. In view of the large representation from the states of Central and South America present at such a Congress for the first time to make special efforts to extend and strengthen the cooperation already existing between the youth of those countries and the rest of the world.

SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

2. In view of the considerable representation again for the first time at such a Congress of the youth from Colonial countries to make special efforts to help the youth of those countries; to offer them support from the youth of richer and more mighty organised countries; and to bring even more of the youth of the Colonial countries into the work of the World Youth Congress Movement.

3. With the object of extending the work of the World Youth Congress Movement the Second Congress charges the council to approach the big organisations which do not as yet collaborate officially with the movement with a view to obtaining their collaboration. The attention of the council is drawn particularly to the necessity of approaching the Socialist Youth International (who have already sent a fraternal representative to the Second Congress), the International Catholic organisations, and the International Trade Union organisations.

4. In view of the continued absence of the representation of the youth from several important countries to make fresh efforts to obtain their cooperation.

5. To convey to all those young people who have had the misery, waste and destruction of war forced upon them, the most profound sympathy of the youth of the rest of the world; and to help and alleviate the sufferings of the victims of these wars as a practical demonstration of the desire for peace of the delegates to the Second World Youth Congress.

THE VASSAR PACT

The delegation of youth from 53 countries present at the Second World Youth Congress

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Convinced that war and militarism are inherently brutalizing forces, destructive of all that is valuable in civilization and human personality;

Confident that war is not inevitable if the law between nations can be upheld and justice for the peoples established in accordance with the peaceful and democratic will of the peoples in each nation;

Hopeful that they may contribute their share to the preservation of peace which is existing, to the restoration of peace where it has been shattered by aggression and to the laying of the foundation for a universal and enduring peace;

Certain that the World Youth Congress movement has proved the profound desire of youth, regardless of nations, race and creed, to cooperate for peace, and has demonstrated that agreement on practical measures of common

action can be achieved while conviction are fully respected—

Have decided, on the tenth anniversary of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, to conclude this solemn agreement:

ARTICLE 1.

We swear to develop a spirit of fraternity and collaboration between the youth of all nations, to help unite the youth of our own nations and to work for unity with young people of all other countries without distinction of race, creed or opinion under the leadership of the World Youth Congress Movement.

ARTICLE 2.

We solemnly condemn any war of aggression directed against the political independence or the territorial or administrative integrity of a State.

ARTICLE 3.

We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to guarantee that the youth of our countries never participate in any war of aggression against other states.

ARTICLE 4.

We agree to bring pressure to bear, whenever the circumstances arise, upon our respective authorities to take the necessary concerted action to prevent aggression and to bring it to an end, to give effective assistance to the victims of treaty violations and aggression and to refrain from participating in any aggression whether in the form of supply of essential war material or of financial assistance.

ARTICLE 5.

We solemnly declare that the bombardment of open towns and civilian populations constitutes a violation of the canons of humanity and the rule of conduct among nations and undertake to mobilize the forces of world opinion to condemn any such action and to give aid for the relief of the victims.

ARTICLE 6.

We, recognizing that there can be no permanent peace without justice between nations and within nations, or without their recognition of the right to self-determination of countries and colonies seeking their freedom, undertake in a peaceful manner to set right injustices against peoples, regardless of race, creed or opinion, to establish political and social justice within our own countries and advocate that international machinery be immediately instituted to solve differences between nations in a peaceful way.

INDO-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

(First dinner-conference on the subject in America—Held on July 21st, 1938, under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce. Head Office: 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.)

The 14th floor of the Aldine Club where not so long ago the 77th birthday of Tagore was celebrated by the India League of America, again became the center of another great occasion—the first of its kind in America—when under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce a banquet-conference was held on July 21st to present and discuss the status of Indo-American trade relations.

Messages and telegrams reached the conference from British Guiana, Canada, India and various sections of America, from Mr. G. R. Channon of India Importing Co. of San Francisco; Dr. S. C. Ghose of India Incense Co. of Chicago; Mr. Oscar Thompson of Indo-Persian Fine Arts, Montreal, Canada, American Asiatic Association of New York, National Council of American Importers, Inc., New York, and South Indian Chamber of Commerce, India, and Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, India. All wished success of the conference.

Mr. N. R. Checker, Chairman of the Indo-American Association of Commerce, presided. He opened the conference as the last course of the dinner was being served, and welcomed the guests with the remark that "India has always had international relations in the field of commerce, and it was due to India's great name as a trading nation that Columbus landed on the American soil. And this evening on this very soil—the romantic result of India's commerce—we have gathered together to discuss problems affecting trade relations between India and America. The objectives of the Indo-American Association of Commerce are (1) to find ways and means to facilitate and improve trade relations between India and America, and (2) to study the conditions affecting Indo-American trade relations with a view to create goodwill between the two countries."

The chairman sprung a surprise as he announced the presence in the gathering of Mrs. Charles Perrin. In introducing the distinguished guest to the gathering the Chairman took this opportunity to pay tribute to her late husband, Mr. Charles Perrin of the Perrin Marshall Co of New York, in these terms:

"India's progress in the iron and steel industry is due almost exclusively* to America. Not so long ago a very distinguished American engineer and a specialist in Steel went to India at the invitation of that most far-sighted of India's captains of industries, the late Jamshedji N. Tata, to make a survey of its iron resources which ultimately resulted in the establishment of one of the largest Iron and Steel Works in the world. Today India enjoys the third place among the steel producing countries. We feel greatly honoured, therefore, for having with us, this evening, the distinguished wife of that great American, Mrs. Charles Perrin." Mrs. Perrin rose amidst cheers and said:

"Gentlemen and all this distinguished company: I am greatly honoured at your words to my lately deceased husband who was so fond of India and her three hundred

and fifty million people, and through whose hands flowed millions of rupees each year in connection with the Tata Iron and Steel Works. It is a wonderful thing that you are doing here tonight. I can only say that I wish success (and good wi-he-) for future accomplishment."

Mr. Checker then introduced the speakers of the evening in fitting words.

INDO-AMERICAN TRADE RELATIONS

By MR. HEMENDRA K. RAKHIT,
Sogani & Co. Inc.

Commercial relations between the two countries like the United States and India are always fascinating; one of the foremost industrial nation in the world; the other still mainly agricultural. Yet it would hardly be true to say that of India. The fact is she is at once an agricultural and an industrial country. You will find India dotted with cottage industries; you will still find the village potter moulding his clay in the age-old way; he goes on working with a song in his heart. The theme of his song may be a sort of conversation between him and the lump of clay he is giving a shape to. "Mr. Clay," he says, "you must be thankful to me. I am giving you a beautiful shape. Hundreds of people would come to see you and admire you." "Oh, no, Mr. Potter, you are mistaken," the Clay replies, "for, had I been where I was, a lump of clay, a rose might have shot through my bosom to proclaim my glory." You can imagine the wealth of culture that must have gone into the making of the potter to sing and appreciate and enjoy such a song.

And not very far from him you will find the great Tata Iron and Steel Works, according to Mr. Saklatwalla, the head of the Tata Works and an Honorary Member of the Association of Commerce, the largest of its kind in the British Empire, employing over 25,000 men. India, today, takes the seventh place among the industrial nations of the world. To deal with such a growing nation of 350 million will require of you patience, courage, study and understanding a task which is being admirably done by your Trade Commissioners in India. Thanks to their labour, those so-called unsurmountable barriers are no longer considered so; and today the trade between the two countries assumes a significant figure.

But this evening we want to draw your attention to certain factors that seem to retard the natural growth of trade between India and the United States. One of these factors is the existence of discriminating trade barriers.

The Hon. Mr. Francis B. Sayer, Asst. Secretary of State, addressing a distinguished audience in April of last year, remarked:

"Every time the United States loses a foreign market for its cotton, for its hog products, for its automobiles, or for its machineries, men are thrown out of work and economic dislocation follows . . . throughout the country."

This is true of any exporting country. And here the significant fact is that India is perhaps the only country where you sell less and buy more. The balance of trade has always been in favour of India and against the United States.

* The name of the late Mr. P. N. Bose should also be mentioned.—Ed., M. R.

This is not a healthy sign. This unhealthy situation is largely due to the existence of the Imperial Preference system, commonly known as the Ottawa Agreements, a preferential tariff arrangements entered into among the nations within the British Empire in 1932. According to a great authority on the subject, the Hon. William S. Culbertson, former United States Ambassador to Roumania and Chile, and a valued member of the U. S. Tariff Commission, such preferential agreements as the Ottawa Agreements "are in violation of the unconditional most-favoured-Nation Principles." It is to remove such discriminatory trade barriers as these that the Secretary of State Hull is so busily and, so far, so successfully engaged to bring about a genuine liberalism in the regulation of trade movements and equal and non-discriminatory commercial treatment.

We trust that as a result of Secretary Hull's continued negotiations with Great Britain this discriminatory trade barrier between the United States and India will be done away with. Only then can the two countries increase their trade to mutual benefit. For, as Dr. Taraknath Das, of the City College of New York, pointed out at a conference of the Academy of Political Science on International Trade last year, "India should not be treated as a colony of Great Britain, but should be treated as a nation of 350 million people, one of the greatest industrial powers of the world." An Economic peace cannot be ushered into this world when such a large country as India is subject to artificial trade restrictions. For, it is as clear as daylight that unless you sell us more you will not buy from us more. There lies our common interest to see to it that the trade between the two countries grow at equal pace.

The harmfulness of the Ottawa agreements can be gathered from the trade reports such as these. In his report of the Indian Trade Commissioner's activities in London, Dr. Meek observes :

"The grant of preference to our (India's) exports in the United Kingdom have, it must be observed, resulted in a policy of retaliation from several of the countries with whom India has had her trade relations for a long time. Owing to the Preference, Indian trade was diverted from those countries and her relations with some of them are not as cordial as before. A tendency is visible in the various countries for purchasing their requirements from those countries which purchase from them."

The General Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of India also, in a course of an article discussing the serious effects of the discriminating trade regulations such as the Imperial Preference agreements, stated : "Germany is now purchasing large quantities of raw materials which she formerly purchased from India."

It is to curb these tendencies in so far as the trade relations between India and America is concerned that we are in favour of Secretary Hull's untiring efforts to discontinue all di-criminating treaties so that commerce may take its natural course.

I now come to my next point. Commercial discrimination abolished, a trade treaty between the two countries on a reciprocal basis becomes an urgent necessity. It is really unthinkable that these two great countries have gone on doing business amounting to millions of dollars without any treaty at all. The nearest to such a thing was a convention hold during the Napoleonic Wars between Great Britain and U. S. A. whereby India was mentioned in a casual way, as a result of which Americans enjoy all the privileges that the citizens of England do in India while we of India were given no such privileges here. It was decidedly an one-sided treaty. There is no criticism here of the

United States. We did not know much about you then. The U. S. was mainly a country of the Redskins and a romantic land of power and promise. And to you we were perhaps nothing but a race the mothers of which were supposed to throw their darling babies on the Ganges so that the crocodiles might not miss their early breakfast ! But we are living in a new age and we know each other better.

It is true that the recent immigration laws may not permit us to become citizens of the United States, as in the case of Chinese and Japanese people. But that is the national policy of the United States which we must respect. However, while China and Japan have special commercial treaties which enable their businessmen freedom of movements in this country, India has no such treaties. Yet the volume of trade between China and the U. S. A. and between India and U. S. A. are approximately the same. Time has certainly come when negotiations between the proper authorities for such a treaty between the two countries should begin. The opinion of the business groups in America and India, we take it, will whole-heartedly support such a reciprocal trade treaty; and we feel sure that the two governments will look upon such a treaty with a favourable eye. But, we trust the business of America will take the lead in this matter, for, as I have said before, the balance of trade is still in our favour and you must sell more to us. Among the countries that have trade agreements with you under Secretary Hull's reciprocity plan, India is the only country where you can so easily export more. Removal of discriminating trade barriers and a trade treaty will go a long way to increase your trade with India.

Thirdly : We also propose establishment of permanent exhibition of typical American merchandise in India and Indian merchandise in America. America and India are at once agricultural and industrial countries. Industrially speaking their development must follow somewhat on similar lines, for India is comparable with the United States in size and varieties of resources; both have huge home markets and can afford to be liberal to each other in their export trade policies. India with its aroused millions under a most reasonably nationalistic regime that the world has ever witnessed, thanks to its great leaders, is bound to be a very important country in the world strategy of raw materials and the strategy of war and peace. You have such a market before you. And it is with this in mind that your Trade Commissioner in Bombay, Mr. W. G. Flake, wrote, "If only 1% of the population of India buys, United States will have more customers in India than the entire population of Cuba."

Fourthly : In the development of American Trade in China the presence in large numbers of Chinese students in this country was a no mean factor. It stands true of students from India also, who come to study in your universities. The knowledge they gain, the habits they form, and the friendships they make—the flavour of all these last much longer than the flavour of those certain products that Mr. Wrigley ships to India ! A large percentage of the trained men in responsible position in Tata Iron and Steel and Hydro-Electric plants are American trained men. We therefore urge our American friends to keep an eye on these students who are here, and even facilitate their coming in larger numbers.

The arrival of the first Trade Commissioner from India to this country at this time is a godsend. We feel sure that we will find our Trade Commissioner, Mr. H. S. Malik, very responsive to our objectives toward further-

ing the growth of trade between India and America, removing all unnecessary barriers that seem to choke the natural flow of trade. Mr. Malik's presence here with his deep store of experience as India's Trade Commissioner to Germany and England, will be of immense value to us. For he is in a key position to promote and guide the course of commerce between the two countries. We wish he were here; but duty takes him to Washington. Nevertheless, we have his sympathies. Mr. Malik is intimately and sympathetically conscious of all our problems as outlined above and we expect great help from him.

Let me briefly summarise these points which are essential for increase of trade between India and America :

1. Removal of all discriminating trade barriers between India and America.
2. The urgent need for a Trade Treaty between India and America on a purely reciprocal basis.
3. Creation of permanent exhibitions of American merchandise in India and Indian merchandise in America.
4. Presence of students from India in this country must not be overlooked as they are an important factor in the development of trade between countries.
5. And lastly, in view of the fact that Indo-American trade is certain to assume significant importance, we request that the Foreign Trade Council create a India Department within their organization.

MR. C. B. SPOFFORD, Jr.

Former American Trade Commissioner to India

I was American Trade Commissioner from 1922-1930. I was in India three years before that time working for an American firm, so all together spent 12 years of my life there.

I don't want to abuse the privilege of being allowed to say a few words, but I am very touched for several reasons: About 10 years ago, I had occasion to speak on India in the United States. That makes me feel ten years younger, because I did have a great personal interest in India, although not in an official capacity. What I think might be of interest to you to know is that in 1938, Sir Feroz Sethna, one of your distinguished members of the Council of State in India, whom I came to know quite well, asked if I could give some suggestions to support a resolution for the Council of State to form an Indian Trade Commission to this country. Of course, I was very anxious to further such a move, and I did give him some arguments in favour of it, that, along with his own experience apparently was sufficient, and the resolution when moved was accepted by the government without dispute. He did not attempt to question the desirability of it except in principle, and had visions of someone being sent in a few weeks. But, I found that due to one reason or another, it had been delayed. But I am very pleased to learn that at least now a trade commissioner has been appointed to this country. I hope to meet him and can only urge those present and all others interested in furthering business relations between the two countries, especially Americans, to give him full support and help, as good support and co-operation as members of the Indian community gave me while I was there. I received excellent co-operation, and am very pleased to see that this association is formed, and that you are now to have an Indian trade commissioner. There is so much to be gained by having an Indian trade commissioner. It seems that for too long we have had to know each other through third parties or through the press and unfortunate books that have been written which did anything but further our relations. I know that we

have very much in common, and I think that the good that will come to both, will be beneficial to all.

TRENDS OF COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

MR. S. M. AHMED,

Munds, Winlow & Potter

INFLUENCE AFFECTING TRADE :

Economic activity to a large measure regulates the flow of goods and commodities between the nations. The United States being an industrial country, its foreign trade is influenced by manufacturing production trends; India being a predominantly agricultural country, its volume of commerce is affected by crop yields and commodity prices. In general, curves of foreign trade volume of both countries have been running parallel to each other. The value of total exports and imports of the two countries reached extraordinary high levels during 1928-29, and was followed by severe declines caused by world-wide depressed economic conditions. In 1932-1933 the volume of foreign trade of the U. S. fell to approximately one-third, and that of India, to one-half of the 1928-29 levels. Improving economic conditions experienced in the following years enabled the foreign trade of both countries to recover substantially. The U. S. Dept. of Commerce reported an increase in international trade larger in 1937 than in any other year since the depression low of 1932, and the quantity of foreign trade of the United States was the greatest since 1929, and that of value was the highest since 1930. Likewise, Indian trade enjoyed an exceptionally good year in 1937. The value of United States imports to India last year, amounting to \$43,747,000 was the highest figure reached since 1930, and was 63.2% more than in 1936. The value of exports to the United States reached a high level of \$103,622,000 or a gain of 47.3% over 1936.

Tariffs and changing price levels are two other prominent influences affecting volume of foreign trade. Import tariffs have undergone extensive revisions, principally in an upward direction, and have been a retarding factor. Happily, during the last year or so, the reciprocal trade agreement program of the U. S. Government has reduced these handicaps appreciably. By the end of 1937, the U. S. Government had negotiated trade agreements with 16 countries, which together with their colonies account for well over one-third of the total foreign trade of the U. S. Benefits resulting from these trade agreements were promptly reflected in the trade between the 16 nations, which showed a greater rate of increase in trade volume last year than the non-agreement countries. In the absence of a treaty of commerce between India and U. S. the trade between the two countries is at present without the benefit of reciprocal or low tariffs. It is hoped that steps will soon be taken to negotiate a trade treaty between India and U. S.

In preparing statistics and summarizing results of trade between India and the United States, certain modifying factors must be considered. The figures in this report are compiled from United States Dept. of Commerce publications. Due to the fact that India is port d'entree for Afghanistan and other Central Asiatic countries, the United States statistics include goods shipped to and from these countries *via* India. An important influence upon the value of trade is the price of goods exported and imported, and the price indices never remain the same. This yearly comparisons must take into account not only the value of goods exchanged, but also the

quantity. The change in the gold content of the dollar in 1933 made a realignment of statistical tables necessary. Of considerable significance is the volume of trade done by American corporations through their British subsidiaries to take advantage of lower tariffs, and is not reflected in the figures covering direct trade between the two countries.

PROPORTION OF TRADE

American trade with India represents only a small portion of the total United States volume of commerce with the world. United States exports to India have averaged about 1.3% of total exports during the past several years, and imports to the United States a little over 3%. However, among the Asiatic nations, next to Japan, Philippine Islands, and China, India accounts for the largest volume of the United States trade. In recent years volume of the U. S. trade with India has been expanding more sharply than with any of the principal Asiatic countries. Using the 1931-1935 average total value of exports and imports as 100, India's volume of trade with the United States in 1936 and 1937 was 123 and 187 respectively, as compared with China's 109 and 139, Japan's 118 and 155 and Philippine Islands' 118 and 154 in these years.

TOTAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS (Million Dollars)

| | 1937 | 1936 |
|-----------------------|------|------|
| Japan .. | 493 | 376 |
| Philippine Islands .. | 211 | 162 |
| China .. | 153 | 120 |
| India .. | 147 | 97 |

On the other side, Indian trade with the United States is only exceeded by the volume of trade with the United Kingdom and Japan. India's commerce with Germany, which at one time was the third largest, has substantially fallen off and now lags behind the United States.

The value of India's exports and imports to the United States has undergone relatively little change in relation to the total volume of exports and imports. In 1937, a marked gain in this ratio was reported. Trade with Japan has become of greater importance since 1930.

In 1936 of the total value of imports to India, the United States accounted for 6.6%, the United Kingdom 39%, Japan 17.2% and Germany 9.8%. On the export side the United States took 9.2%, the United Kingdom 31.9%, Japan 15% and Germany 4.4% of total Indian exports.

India has enjoyed a favourable trade balance for the past several years; its export being sizeably in excess of its imports. While the total value of Indian exports has been running 15% to 20% in excess of its total value of imports, the excess margin of exports or imports from the United States has been considerably greater, and has run as high as 40%, in one year it reached 58%. In other words, India buys about two-thirds as much from the United States as she sells to the United States.

Being an agricultural and raw material producing country, exports of raw material account for more than one-half of total Indian exports. Food beverages, tobacco and semi-manufactured goods constitute the balance. On the other hand, imports of manufactured articles represent nearly three-fourths the value of total imports. United States principal exports to India have been manufactured goods, and Indian exports to America have been largely raw material and commodities, with semi-finished goods playing only a minor part. India, eager to develop its economic resources, is interested in American machinery, electrical and agricultural, auto-

mobiles and finished goods, and willing to ship raw materials so useful and important to industrial enterprises here. The natural conditions in both countries are such that trade possibilities could be further exploited without any conflict of interest.

DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

On the basis of 1936 trade statistics, the latest available, imports from the United States to India consisted of the following principal items:

| | in \$1,000 | % of Total Imports |
|----------------------------|------------|--------------------|
| Machinery | \$6 406 | 20.6 |
| Autos & Trucks | 5 320 | 17.1 |
| Lubricating Oil | 3,212 | 10.3 |
| Hardware | 997 | 3.2 |
| Canned food and provisions | 689 | 2.2 |
| Leather goods | 652 | 2.1 |

Other articles of relatively less importance were tires, copper, zinc, patent medicines, coal-tar dyes, stationery, wearing apparel, paints and colors. The importance of India as a potential market for American products can be better appreciated by examining the proportion which she received from the United States in relation to total imports. In 1936, India imported machinery of all kinds to the amount of \$63,290,000 and only 10% came from this country. Of the total value of automobiles and buses shipped to India, approximately 40% originated from the United States. Hardware, tools and cutlery from America accounted for less than 8% of the total value of imports of these articles. Of the many other lines which India imports heavily—textile piecegoods, raw cotton, yarn and fabric, paper and cardboard, iron and steel, rubber goods and chemicals—representing nearly two-thirds of the total imports, only a negligible portion comes from the United States. In these fields, especially, India offers the greatest fertile field for expansion of the American market.

The bulk of exports from India to the United States consists of raw material, and among the conspicuous items are:

| | (1936 figures) | \$1 000 | % of Total |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------|------------|
| Jute burlap .. | .. | \$30,002 | 48 |
| Jute raw .. | .. | 5,071 | 8 |
| Goat skins and hides .. | .. | 5,505 | 9 |
| Lac .. | .. | 3,076 | 5 |
| Cashew nuts and fruits .. | .. | 3,711 | 6 |
| Raw cotton .. | .. | 2,604 | 4 |
| Tea .. | .. | 1,473 | 2 |
| Mica .. | .. | 1,047 | 2 |

With the exception of Jute burlap and goat skins, exports of Indian commodities to the United States again represent only a small portion of total exports.

In the past few years there have been little changes in the shipment of individual items. The chief articles of trade have remained the same, showing variation in increases or decreases, except that volume of raw cotton, kerosene oil, tubing, piping and fittings have experienced a declining trend, while demand for lubricating oil has been steadily rising.

AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN INDIA

The total value of American direct investment in foreign countries at the end of 1936 was estimated at \$6,700,000 of which very little has been invested in India. It seems that most of the American investment has been centered in countries like Canada, South and Central

Americas, and the United Kingdom, all closely situated to the United States. India, in my opinion, offers equally great opportunities for the employment of capital. She has enjoyed a stable government under British influence, and much capital is needed to exploit her natural resources, and to build up communications, utilities, and other service enterprises. Of note has been the interest of American and Foreign Power Company in several important Indian public utility properties.

It has not been possible in this brief paper and time allotted to discuss trends of Indian trade with the United States at length, but it is hoped that this brief summary may contribute something to the purpose of this conference. The statistical evidence supports the belief that much could be done to develop and promote trade relations between the two countries, and there is a need for compilation and dissemination of information on trade opportunities in the two countries.

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY AND TOURIST TRADE TO INDIA

By MR. RALPH E. TOWLE

Vice-President, American Express Company

If I may, I will speak on the subject dear to me and to you in regard to India in travel and transportation. It is a subject in which the American Express Company is chiefly interested, in spite of the fact that we do a large banking and international trade of a highly specialized sort. I am old enough to remember when there was in this city of New York the first "Round the World" Club with a very limited membership. Only those could become members who had proof that they had the courage to completely encircle the globe. That is not so very long ago. Today, tens of thousands of Americans could join the club, if that were the only requisite of membership. This happened within my lifetime and yours.

It was in 1921 that the American Express Company operated the first cruise which completely encircled the world. This was on the steamer *Laconia* that left from the Port of New York. Following 1921, we began to operate annual cruises around the world for seven or eight years.

The next was the Steamer *Franconia*; then the *Belgium Land* of the Red Star line. These boats touched Calcutta, Columbo and Bombay on their way around the world.

If the American Express Company in that way had anything to do with a change of trend in travel for pleasure and business in India, I am very happy. I want to pause to pay tribute to a great name and a great man, who on his own name, his own courage established a fortnightly ship for passengers around the World, Robert Dollar. It meant a great deal, I am sure to India. I want to thank those who are Indian citizens here for the co-operation and consideration they have shown to their country. We have three offices in your country, Ceylon (if we may call the Island of Ceylon a part of India), Calcutta and Bombay. You have been very kind to recognize the sky-blue money of the American Express Company, for which you always seem willing to give your money in exchange for the name of American Express on our bills.

We have a great interest in sending tourists and travellers to India. We have gone so far as to transfer one of our Indian Managers, Mr. Wilson, to our London branch, in order to establish an Indian Travel Dept., thus

enabling each and every traveller to hear all about India. He has lived for many years in India, and held many offices. His only duty these days is to increase travel to India.

We have just completed a thorough survey of all the transportation and other facilities and sights of India to the traveller. These facts have been brought down to date in one very large document and distributed throughout the world showing that anyone in any part of the world may have all the information they desire on India. I had hoped to meet the new trade commissioner here tonight, and tell him how anxious the American Express Company is to work with him, and also hoped that he would like America well enough to invite his friends of India to come and visit America.

COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA

By MR. C. G. HOGG

General Motor Overseas Corporation

I feel honoured by the invitation to be your guest tonight and to have the opportunity of speaking on trade relations between India and the United States.

When I consider the present chaotic conditions of the world in general, with certain nations apparently doing all in their power to endanger peaceful relations with their neighbors, it is a pleasure indeed to have this opportunity to be one of a gathering whose object is to promote an ever-increasing flow of trade both ways between two great nations.

In international commerce, just as in our dealings with each other domestically, reciprocity is essential to the smooth flow of trade. International commerce cannot flow down a one way street for very long and no nation can isolate itself and live in comfort.

Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has taught us much in this regard. Mr. Hull has always been in favour of the peaceful and profitable exchange of goods between nations. When he came into office he set about putting into practice the theories he held for some twenty-five years, and turned to the task of building up our foreign trade. Free intercourse between nations is his gospel.

If the standards of living in the countries of the world are to rise to a higher plane, then the products of these countries must be easily available to each other.

Having spent some years in India, it is extremely interesting to me to be associated even for a brief hour or two, with the affairs of that great country. Speaking the languages as I do and knowing as I do conditions as they exist there, I appreciate the necessity for an improvement—a great improvement in the standard of living of the masses in the cities and towns and particularly in the villages.

Rather than launch into a discussion on trade agreements and reciprocal trade programs, I would prefer to talk about some of the circumstances that might well be used to create more trade between India and the United States. I would like to speak as one extremely interested in the welfare of India and as a practical business man, looking for business opportunities that would result in benefit to both countries.

It is by being in close contact with other countries and nations that the masses in India will be educated to desire the better things of life and just as the wish is father to the thought, so is the thought parent of the act.

Looking back down the years, one finds that trade

relations were the vehicle for the transfer of ideas and ideals in modes of living. Nation learned from nation as well as bought from each other the good things of life and it is to consider how this objective may be best achieved between our respective countries, that we are here.

In this regard, one thing above others occurs to me. Being a free trader myself, I naturally think of representation, we, in India, and India here.

A great stride has been made in this direction, even during the last few days. I refer to the arrival of Mr. Malik to these United States as Indian Trades Commissioner. I am in no position to know how many Indian business houses have offices or agents here, but it is indeed gratifying to see India appoint a Trades Commissioner to our country.

Although we are apt, when considering international commerce, to have in mind the big staple products, such as cotton, rice, iron and so forth, there are many other products of the soil that may become of importance in international trade. For instance, I was sailing down the Malabar Coast in one of those small steamers—the *Sarasvatty*, or the *Parvatty*.—I just forget which, when I met a young American. He told me he was interested in the collection of Caju nuts and Cocomut kernels to be shipped to the United States. He said he saw a great future for this business. Some years afterwards, I again met him and found that he was exporting Caju nuts and Cocomuts from India to the United States in large quantities. Factories for the roasting and husking of the Caju nuts and shelling and drying the cocomut kernels had been established along the coast, and many people were employed in the work. This new activity undoubtedly brought prosperity to the neighborhoods where the factories are located and increased the purchasing powers of the communities involved. Here is a concrete case of how trade with the United States started, a practically new industry, and benefited both countries. The cocomut, I believe, is sold in this country in desiccated form and the Caju nuts as we know, are very popular as an item of food. There must be many such cases scattered through the length and breadth of the land.

I recall that his Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has been very progressive in the matter of establishing new industries in his State. On the occasion of one of my visits to the State of Mysore, I happened to arrive very shortly after his Highness' private secretary returned from a leave in England. It appears during his stay in England, he had noticed certain children's toys displayed for sale. They were cut from thin pieces of wood gaily painted to represent Fairy Tale and other figures, such as "John Bull" and mounted on pedestals. They were simple but very effective in appearance.

Knowing the capabilities of the Mysorian carpenters, his Highness' Secretary purchased some of these figures as samples and brought them back to Mysore. He showed me the figures that had been cut and finished by the Mysorian workmen, and I must say that they were in every way equal to the samples. Other figures representing personalities of interest in India, such as the Mysorian "John Bull"—I just forget the very well fed gentleman's name,—were added to the line to meet local choice.

Here is a case where a foreign market was found, which an Indian product could fill. Unfortunately I don't know whether these figures were ever exported from India in quantities, but I don't see why they should not be.

A business might well be developed from so small

a thing and if many such businesses could be developed and their products exported, to me it seems a better thing than having one's eggs all in one basket, so to speak, by depending entirely upon the exporting of staple products with their ever-fluctuating prices. During my travels, I often used to wonder why certain commodities were not produced in greater quantities and exported to our country.

Take tea for instance, some years ago, during my visit to the Nilgiris, I have talked to tea planters about the possibility of importing tea into this country, specifically for the purpose of making iced tea, for, as we all know, iced tea is a very popular beverage in this country during the summer-time, and great quantities of tea could well be used in the making of iced tea. On one occasion, I had the good fortune to meet a gentleman who was an official in either a tea-growers' organization or a Government commission, I forget which, to do with the advancing of Indian tea interests, and I also had a long chat with him on the same subject and he was very interested. Not that I for one moment believe that any of these very casual conversations of mine have had anything to do with it, but it is of interest to me to note that the tea growers of India are now staging a big campaign in this country along those very lines.

I tell this story to stress the point that I have been and am trying to make, which is the necessity for Indian merchants to be as aggressive as their Western brothers in the matter of advertising and campaigning, for I firmly believe that other things being equal, India can achieve more in the way of reciprocal trade with the United States by these methods than any others.

India produces good rugs. I know that because I own some, and since there is a ready market in these United States for rugs, it seems to me that here at least there is an item that could be investigated and probably profitably. True some Indian rugs are sold in this country, but many of them are of inferior quality, such as "Numdahs."

In India I found very shrewd and able merchants who had for generations been importing into India the things that are necessary to Indian life. I came across a few exporters of products other than cotton, rice, and the big items, but not many.

While visiting Trichinopoly, where I went many times, I inquired of the cigar manufacturers there why they did not export. They told me their difficulty lay in the fact that there were many small concerns making cigars, but that there was not one really large manufacturer amongst them. I am convinced, conditions such as these exist in other industries, and it seems to me that much of India's foreign trade problem will need to be tackled right in India itself.

We know that Indian workmen, properly trained and provided with modern tools and machines, can produce good work and good products, and though there are diverse opinions on the advisability of industrializing a people, I, for one, think that within reasonable limits it is a great benefit to any country.

To launch an enterprise of this character, even after the product and the market have been found and fitted, if it be rugs we are considering, much work is necessary in the way first of educating the public to the fact that Persia does not have a right to pre-eminence for India too produces good rugs. It would then be necessary to create in the public mind an Indian rug consciousness, so that when rugs were mentioned, Indian rugs would come to mind. This would need to be done through systematic advertising in American Journals, establishing distributors in this country, who in turn, would place the commodity

with the retailers, in brief, as we would term it, a complete merchandising organization.

Now this may sound somewhat fanciful and these words may appear to be those of a person who has not given much thought to the subject under reference, but believe me gentlemen, this is not so, and I know that unless we engender in our minds some definite plan and set for ourselves a goal that is really worthwhile—we shall achieve little.

I must make myself clear and say, that notwithstanding these high ambitions I speak of, I fully realize that we must walk before we run and this organization would need to be built up slowly and with thought and composed of carefully selected men, each of whom would not only need to be an expert in this line, but would also need to be fired with that eminently necessary quality which we call enthusiasm.

It seems to me that to effectively establish lasting and ever-increasing commercial intercourse, it will be necessary to have a very well-thought out plan of campaign. I visualize an organization here, studying the American markets, trying to find out how many of its needs India could well supply. An organization in India studying availability of material, both staple products and manufactured articles and then these two organizations working in such close cooperation, that the staff in India would know the kind of market open to them and would keep the Indian staff in the U. S. informed as to the possibility of their supplying the commodities for which there seemed possibilities.

I know that it is easy to stand here and suggest that, this, that or the other be done to achieve a certain objective, and the fact that I have lived in India makes this knowledge all the more significant to me, but I do say that no matter what we essay to do, must necessarily spring from small beginnings, and be carried on to completion through the many steps that business grows.

India is so full of years and wisdom, she has a civilization at least as old as that of ancient Egypt, and a philosophy that has been found to fill not only the needs of our own people, but those of many foreigners. It is therefore not easy for a westerner to essay to give advice to the East and I make these suggestions with due reservation. It would seem that some industrialization, some departure from the now prevalent method of doing business in a restricted and in many cases family manner toward business on a bigger scale, might do a great deal toward the improvement of Indian foreign trade.

NEW PRINCIPLES IN THE PROMOTION OF INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

By DR. VAMAN R. KOKATNUR

Autoxygen, Inc.

INTRODUCTION

I am very happy to be able to participate in this conference. My pleasure is doubled as I have interests in both countries. I was born in India, but I am a naturalized American citizen. As an American I am naturally interested in the promotion of American trade with India. As a son of India I am deeply solicitous of the welfare of the land of my birth. It is exceedingly fortunate that the two countries which are so intimately related to me are on such friendly terms. I feel proud that India, the most ancient democracy of the world, and the United States, the modern leader of democratic ideals, are meeting together on the same platform to discuss mutual trade relations. If I did not believe that the

development of commercial relations between the two countries contributed greatly to the peace of the world and to the enrichment of the two countries that are dear to my heart, I would be reluctant to take active part in tonight's proceedings.

My approach to the subject is not that of a practical business man. Although I have had considerable contact with certain aspects of trade, it is as an industrial chemist and a research worker that I undertake to present some new principles for promoting trade between India and America. It may be unnecessary to speak of the importance of trade relations between the two countries. Suffice it to say that India is one of the largest importing countries, only second in importance to the highly industrialized countries of the West, namely, England, Germany, United States and France. Although India is on a par with countries like Italy, Belgium, Holland, Japan and Canada in her world trade, Indo-American trade relations are not on a par with America's trade relations with Belgium, Holland, Italy and Canada.

While the increasing trade relations of the two countries prove that India needs American products and her market, and that America needs products of India and her vast but still unexplored market, a great deal still needs to be done if the trade relations of the two countries are to be at all commensurate with their potentialities.

I propose to outline briefly certain suggestions for the construction of an Indo-American trade bridge that will serve well today and with timely improvements will serve the future even better.

PREFACE

In my treatment of the subject I will deal mainly with three topics:

I. Indo-American Trade should be promoted on Mutual or Reciprocal Lines.

II. Although all the factors involved in trade promotion must of necessity be considered, certain factors are of greater importance than others in reciprocal trade promotion.

III. The lines which both countries should follow for effective and profitable reciprocal trade promotion.

I

Trade relations between countries are either built by natural forces operating between them, or are deliberately moulded to fulfill certain definite objectives. Up till now only the natural forces operating between the two countries have been for the most part responsible for the Indo-American trade.

Historical study of international trade and commerce will show two definitely marked tendencies.

Up to the latter part of the 18th century the trade of the world was based primarily on the principle of exchange. Up to this time the principles of "laissez-faire" and "give and take," played the prominent role. Trade during this time followed the path of least resistance and no particular effort was made either to promote it or to discourage it. Whichever country had the excess of commodities was willing to exchange her excess for other commodities she did not possess.

Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, international trade has taken a new turn. This has been characterized by deliberate planning, the profit motive, and the application of force backed by financial, military or political strength. There has been a seeming disregard of the principle of exchange as well as the principle of "live and not live." This has given rise to many ills such as competition, subsidies, tariff walls, economic upheavals,

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labor troubles, etc. Dictatorships have undoubtedly arisen due to the necessity of enforcing means for economic nationalism and national self-sufficiency. These ills have been particularly aggravated during the last two decades. But at last we are beginning to see some hope of remedying, partially at least, this unfortunate world situation. Our distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, following the "good neighbor" policy of President Roosevelt, has introduced a refreshing idea in international trade policy. This is popularly known as a "theory of reciprocal trade relations." Although it is likely to be misunderstood in some quarters, it is without question an outstanding contribution in this field.

The European countries, not being self-sufficient in resources, have been compelled to push their trade by fair or unfair means, into international markets. Fortunately, the United States has ample resources in agriculture, forest products and minerals. This has given to the United States trade policy a liberal trend. For this reason the American point of view on trade is very different from that of the European countries.

Reciprocal trade relations are based on the exchange of products having their origin in natural complementary differences in resources. When blessed with such a relationship neither nation steps on the toes of the other. When two countries are competing to sell the same commodity to each other, due perhaps to certain advantages of subsidy, lower wage standard, lower price level, process monopoly, etc., conflicting interests are certain to develop. This may lead to retaliatory measures, shifting of economic balance, depressions, dictatorships, and even to war. We all know how the center of gravity of world economics and finance shifted from London to New York at the end of the World War.

To have reciprocal trade, the countries must have resources of men and material so differentiated that they are complimentary, that is, for complete trade each should require the resources of the other. Although no absolutely ideal situations are to be expected, the greater the number of complementary resources between the two countries, the greater the possibility of reciprocal trade relations.

India and America each requires for complete existence what the other possesses in complementary resources. No other two countries are so similar in certain resources and yet so complementary in others, as the United States and India.

II

If we wish to increase this trade relationship without following the beaten path, and plan deliberately for reciprocal trade relations, we must study some of these factors.

Without attempting a long enumeration of the various factors, I will mention just a few that seem to me the most important:

1. THE EFFECT OF RELATIVE INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES UPON EACH OTHER

The high industrial development of America, on the one hand, and India's lack of industrialization, on the other, make the two countries complementary to each other.

India's vast population and her consequent home demand, automatically set a limit on her export of common commodities such as sugar, cotton, iron, food-stuffs, etc. India requires the common resources for her own consumption. Even if she wanted to export them, she lacks the necessary manufacturing skill as well as the capital. Although India is nationalistically inclined and

determined on industrial expansion, this need create no fear. In fact, this will create an expanding market for equipment goods such as industrial, transportation, power, plantation, engineering, etc.

2. THE POSSIBLE NATIONALISTIC BARRIERS SUCH AS TARIFF WALLS, ECONOMIC POLICIES, ETC.

While India has a tariff, it makes no distinction between one country and another. From this standpoint India remains to this day a country of free market.

3. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND THEIR EFFECT

From the traditional standpoint all other political philosophies except that of democracy, are foreign to India. American ideals have made a greater imprint upon India than upon any other foreign country, due to the common English language as well as training and experience of many Indians in America. Abraham Lincoln and George Washington are better known in India than perhaps in any other foreign country, be it in Asia, Africa or Europe. For these reasons direct American representation in India would be desirable and helpful.

4. CERTAIN BUSINESS TRADITIONS AND THEIR EFFECT

Certain set ways of carrying on business in India are in general foreign to American methods. The managing agency system and conducting import business on "Indent" seem to be definitely under discard, due to impact of American business methods carried by Indians trained in America.

5. TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS AND WAYS OF THOUGHT AND THEIR EFFECT ON EXPORT ADVERTISING

In this connection Carl Crowe's book "Four Hundred Million Clients" comes to mind. India is a vegetarian country and yet I recall an American firm advertising its bakery goods as containing the finest triple-pressed stearin. If idioms and trends of thought are not understood, export advertising becomes very ineffective.

This brings to my mind an instance in which the entire meaning of an idiom was changed after being translated into Japanese and re-translated into English. The idiom was "Out of sight, out of mind." This was translated into English by a Japanese to read "Unseen is insane."

6. LIFE HABITS AND THEIR EFFECT ON COMMODITY SHIFTS

One can easily see the difficulty of selling a large volume of tooth paste to India which has used from the remotest antiquity the shoots of certain trees to clean teeth. Although India buys over \$10,000,000 worth of drugs it would be difficult to increase the sales of endocrine products because of India's prejudice to animal products.

7. THE DIFFERING EFFECTS OF CONFLICTING AND COMPLEMENTARY RESOURCES, HUMAN OR MATERIAL

Although India and America possess certain conflicting common resources, due to the high industrial development of America and to India's vast home demand, these resources become complementary instead of conflicting, as shown in my discussion on the effect of the relative industrialization of the two countries upon each other.

Although comparatively little serious study has been given to the effects of these factors on mutual trade relations, it seems to me that no thinking person can take successful issue to my thesis that India and America meet quite fully—perhaps as fully as any two countries—

these requirements for successful, mutually profitable trade relations.

III

India and America are ideally situated for reciprocal trade. In the development of the milling, sugar, canning and steel industries, and in the development of the manufacture of chemicals, America can be very helpful to India. India's gratitude for this help will be America's best guarantee against competition in products based on common resources.

India has been blessed more graciously by Providence in natural monopolies than any other country in the world. Compared with Canada's nickel and cobalt, America's helium, Russia's platinum, Brazil's coffee, China's antimony, Malay States' tin, India has the world's monopoly in jute, shellac, castor beans, monazite, mica, sandalwood oil, rubies, sapphires and tea, and virtual monopolies in manganese, chromite, magnesite, graphite, tannin-producing materials, crude drugs, coconut oil, etc.

If India wants to improve her trade relations with America with economy and least resistance, she should follow the reciprocal line of trading based on complementary resources.

In her program of industrialization India should devote greater attention to the production of semi-finished or finished products in her international trade. For example, she may find it profitable to export chromium-steels, ferro-manganese and other ferro alloys instead of selling as at present, the raw ores. Or again, she may profitably extract oils from such raw products as castor beans, sesame, safflower, for export. In general, the aim should be to export only such raw materials as cannot be utilized either for domestic consumption, or for profitable processing at home. India has already followed this procedure in at least three commodities: jute, shellac and cashew nuts.

India should attempt to control her exports to the United States in such a way that they conform to the tastes, fashions and traditions prevalent in America. As a wealthy country, the United States requires luxury items, delicacies in foods, and unusual artistic products that have taste in color and line. America should offer a great field for the export of tropical fruits and vegetables both preserved and fresh. The fragrant rice of India, canned green chick peas, safflower oil, special nuts like the cashew and bibba, special preserves from cashew fruit, custard apple, mangoes and amla, canned shewas, pickles, chutneys, perfumes from Kevada, vetivert, mogra, jasmín, ashoka, champaka, etc. should open a profitable export field.

America is developed along manufacturing lines, while India has developed, from antiquity, in handicraft. India's handicrafts are finding a profitable outlet in American trade. India should devote greater attention to exporting these handicrafts catering to American taste.

Sialkot in Punjab has special resources in men and materials in producing sport goods. The Sialkot Importing Company has done pioneering work in the introduction of the Sialkot sport goods to America. The line appears to offer splendid prospects for the future.

As to America's part in the promotion of mutually profitable trade, it would seem to me that the danger of future misunderstanding can be avoided almost completely by a policy of frank assistance in the industrialization of India, for this can be done in such a way that America will earn the eternal gratitude of India and be sure of mutual co-operation. As an example of this kind of co-operation the enterprise of General Foods in the introduction of India's cashew nuts to America is worthy

of note. If more companies follow in the footsteps of General Foods, both America and India will benefit thereby.

Without resort to aggressive methods and following the "good neighbor" policy, the United States has achieved second place in some of India's imports.

The fact that America is fourth or fifth in her exports to India in things where she should be the first or second, clearly proves this non-aggressive policy between the two countries. The United States is foremost in the development of textiles, hardware, steel, electrical and metal-working machinery, rolling stock, scientific instruments, sport goods, glass, drugs and pharmaceuticals, dyes, chemicals, paint, soap, toilet requisites, paper and petroleum products. She could well afford to hold the first place in India's importation of these. Except in toilet requisites, metal-working machinery and soap, she holds fourth or fifth place in India's imports. The fact that Japan and Germany and even Belgium and Italy should supplant the United States in some of these products, is a sad irony in Indo-American trade relations. In view of facilities of language, training, experience and political institutions, there is no reason why America should not take a place at least second to England in India's trade.

MERCHANDISING INDIA'S PRODUCTS IN AMERICA

By MR. J. A. KEILLOR

Vice-President, B. Altman & Company

There is probably no great country in the world that is so little known to the average American merchant as India. I am looking over the guests: I see that there is a sufficient number with thinning hair to know that they completed their studies in the last part of the century, who if they had looked at the map of Africa would have seen great spaces marked undiscovered. And yet, in the Atlas of the average American merchant, it is still unexplored, and it is little wonder. It was a long way off. It seems but yesterday that I took 17 delightful days from Trieste to Bombay, and only a few days ago, you and I sat with bated breath in front of the radio while a little group went around the world in 3½ days.

India is no longer remote. But, we must understand one another and one must understand what the other wants. It is not my province to say what India wants of us; but I can still hear the laments of the Bombay merchants who received a shipment of raisins packed in cardboard boxes during the monsoon season. Perhaps you and me have been in the great Bazaar on the day of the arrival of the Caravan from Tíval. If you have done so, you have a memory that will live with you forever. But ladies and gentlemen, glorious as that memory may be, it is not the bazaar merchandise that is going to make the growth in trade. It is an understanding of what the people here want, and create merchandise suitable to this market that in itself is a long dreary task, but one that is filled with the joy of accomplishment.

We can market goods from India. We should go every year with the seasons to bring an understanding of what is wanted here, and have it developed, and only after long, long patient years be successful in our results.

Take the textile industry: It is in fields like that, cardinals. As I sat and listened while the speaker told

the potter of his clay, I couldn't help but think of the Cardinacs industry developed in Czechoslovakia and Japan, that are not working so hard today. This is the future of India. The great exports of India will always be raw materials, and millions of Rupees of manufactured products that can be sent to this country. But, it avails us nothing if the colors are not fast. It is of no avail to you ladies here to have beautiful luncheon sets, that have taken us a long time to design, to have them run in the wash.

There has been more set backs from various parts of the World than you have any idea. The aim is not to get the price down, but the quality up.

There are many markets of this world closed today. This, I point out to you, is a great opportunity for India.

COTTON TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA

By MR. C. THACKAR

Member, Bombay Cotton Exchange

It is with a feeling of great pleasure that I address you, as representatives of business; which has become a problematical question of this modern world. I very much appreciate such opportunities and that, too, in this great country of America amongst its good business people.

Anyone who happens to travel through various lands will be impressed how free international business spirit is capable of creating world-wide co-operation and peace. This ideal, to which I wish to call your attention, should be cultivated zealously for the future prosperity of this unbalanced world. Now we are passing through the age of frequent world business depressions; and to our mind this "too much machinery" is responsible for it, which we fear is a serious problem before the world, and the only solution for it, as we believe lies in co-operation of all the nations of the present "distrust" world.

Now to be frank I must admit that our big country still lies undeveloped with every scope of immense progress in every direction. As a result of my saying this, naturally the question arises that why so much behind. To this, painfully I have to say that Indian commerce and industry is still controlled by the ruling power to suit its own ends. At the same time, it gives me pleasure to disclose before you freedom-loving people, that a movement of great international significance is going on in India with Mahatma Gandhi at our head, and it will not be long before the Indian commerce and industry will spread to enrich the commercial world.

In the first place, India is fighting a peaceful battle to gain her independence from a foreign power which has kept her for a long time out of the community of free nations. The all 350,000,000 people of India are not only becoming conscious of their sovereign political rights, but also they are anxious to increase their contact and intercourse with the rest of the world. This will ultimately mean a systematic exchange of cultural thought as well as increased commercial relations with other nations.

And, in the second place, India is sending her representatives as unofficial ambassadors to other countries with a definite aim to study their conditions and to gain their good-will. Now we are sure in due course of time India will participate in the councils of the world to make its contribution for the advancement of business.

Now coming to my own business "cotton" and its relations with the world, I am happy to say that America stands at the head not only in cotton but many more

factors and leads the business world. India stands next as a cotton-growing country having its average production nearly 6,000,000 bales every year. Your country imports our cotton several hundred bales every year and we also import your several hundred thousand in spite of we both are big cotton-growing countries.

Our agricultural methods are still very poor; and labor inefficient. For improved cultivation we look to this country and like to carry away modern equipments to enrich our soils and growths. Up till now we have only 350 textile mills producing cloth, 85% of our requirements, but as a matter of fact, the majority of our population is still without proper clothing and as we advance, would probably require three times the number of textile industries and so the great scope of importing machinery is still there. If we do not do this we shall have to allow imports of cloth to fulfill our increasing demands. Japan is our common cotton export market but having different varieties we have no competition there with American export.

Our other products are wheat, rice, jute, tea, tobacco and so on.

American automobiles and radios are very popular in India and an overwhelming demand will be forthcoming as we advance. As an Indian business man, I feel it is my duty to remind you that the benefits of free trade and co-operation, much as we understand them, are as old as Indian civilization. But, unfortunately, the influence of Hindu culture has not been sufficiently felt by the west. At the same time, we feel that with the genuine co-operation of business nations, we shall popularize Indian commerce.

GENERAL DISCUSSION :

At the end of Mr. Thackar's speech a general discussion followed in the light of the addresses delivered by various speakers.

Mr. S. Anhalt of National Drapery Association emphasised the importance of India's having an exhibit in the World's Fair in New York. It was suggested that several of the merchants get together to further the interest of private merchants in an exhibit. In this connection India's art and culture should not be forgotten. Mr. K. C. Ghose reminded the gathering that inasmuch as other types of fibres and paper are cutting into jute and burlap business it is high time that the Jute Mill Owners Association and Jute and Burlap Shippers Association engage in research to find other uses of jute and to increase consumption. He would also like to remind the industrialists in India that since America changes its factory equipments oftener than any other nations a buyer of second-hand machineries would get a better bargain in the United States both as to quality and price. Mr. Hogue of General Motors and several members, both from India and the United States, felt that Secretary Hull's trade policies and the presence of Mr. Malik will be of great help in the solution of problems as outlined and discussed during the evening. The following resolutions, as representing the sense of the gathering, were

Resolution No. 1. This conference held under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce, welcomes the First Trade Commissioner of India to North America, Mr. Hardit Singh Malik, and offers its cordial greetings and pledges its co-operation.

Moved by—Mr. B. V. Mukerji, Secy. Indo-American Assoc. of Commerce.

Seconded by—Mr. C. G. Hogg, Sr., General Motors Overseas Corp.

Resolution No. 2. Be it resolved that approach should be made to proper authorities to remove discriminatory trade barriers between the U. S. A. and India, and to start negotiations for a new reciprocal trade treaty between the two countries to carry out the principles of Open Door.

Moved by—Mr. C. G. Hogg, Sr., General Motors Overseas Corp.

Seconded by—Mr. H. K. Rakhit, Sogani & Company, Inc.

Resolution No. 3. Be it resolved that a committee be formed for the purpose of engaging in research work covering the present tariff situation and along the lines of reciprocal trade agreement between India and America, with the following members constituting the committee :

1. Mr. S. Anhalt, National Drapery Association.
2. " L. F. Blenheim, the United Agencies Corp.
3. " John F. Chapman, Foreign Editor, "Business Week."
4. " N. R. Checker, Indo-Persian Fine Arts Co.
5. " K. N. Ghose.
6. " C. G. Hogue, General Motors Overseas Corp.
7. " H. K. Rakhit, Sogani & Co., Inc.

Names of the Business Concerns and their representatives who attended the conference :

1. Allied Purchasing Corporation—Mr. J. W. Cance.
2. Altman, B. & Co.—Mr. J. A. Keillor, Mr. Milton S. Klein.
3. American Exporter—Mr. Franklin Johnston.
4. American Express Co.—Mr. Ralph E. Towle.
5. Automobile Manufacturer's Association—Mr. Joseph A. Jones.
6. Autoxygen, Inc.—Dr. V. R. Kokatnur.
7. Baldwin Locomotive Co.—Mr. J. Remix.
8. Birla Bros. Ltd. New York Office—Mr. Simon Swerling.
9. Bombay Bullion Exchange Ltd.—Mr. C. S. Thakar.
10. Calco Chemical Co. Inc.—Mr. J. L. Clark.
11. Checker Brothers, New York, Bombay—Dr. B. V. Mukherji.

12. Dayton Price & Co.—Mr. H. H. Hort.
13. Electro-Chemical Industries Ltd.—Mr. N. R. Chowdhury.
14. Export Trade and Shipper—Mr. W. R. Bickford.
15. Fairchild Aviation, Inc.—Mr. C. A. Harrison.
16. Furs, Skins Merchants—Mr. G. J. Sawal.
17. General Electric International Co.—Mr. F. C. Callahan, Mr. H. C. Maher.
18. General Motors Overseas Corporation—Mr. C. G. Hogg.
19. General Shaver Corp. (Remington-Rand)—Mr. William Moss.
20. George E. Mallison Importing Co.
21. German Department Commerce, New York—Dr. Herbert Gross.
22. Condrand Shipping Co. Inc.—Mr. K. N. Ghose.
23. Heeramanek Galleries—Mr. C. Heeramanek.
24. Indo-Persian Fine Arts Co.—Mr. N. R. Checker.
25. Industrial Plants Corporation—Mr. Paul F. Lowinger.
26. Kenyon Importing Co. Inc.—Mr. C. F. Bedigan.
27. Lambert Pharmacal Co.—Mr. R. Clairmont.
28. Manufacturer's Trust Co.—Mr. Jack O'Halloven, Mr. J. Patterson.
29. National Assoc. of Manufacturers of U. S. A.—Mr. B. H. Horchler.
30. National Drapery Association—Mr. S. Anhalt.
31. National Export Advertising—Mr. Paul Kruming.
32. New York Trade Sugar Laboratory—Dr. F. W. Zerban.
33. Sialkot Importing Corporation—Mr. J. R. Vadra.
34. Sogani & Co. Inc.—Mr. H. K. Rakhit.
35. Studebaker Export Corporation—Mr. D. J. Elmore.
36. United Agencies Corporation—Mr. R. N. Daugherty, Mr. L. E. Blenheim.
37. U. S. Sterl Products Corporation—Mr. M. S. Borrisson.
38. Westinghouse Electric International Corp.—Mr. I. F. Baker.
39. Woman's Wear Daily—Mr. Edward Atkinson, Mr. Lewis.



POSITION OF INDIAN MERCHANTS IN AMERICA

By RAMLAL B. BAJPAI

THE position of Indian merchants in America is humiliating and disgraceful. An Indian merchant is not allowed to acquire real estate holdings in California, or to become an American citizen. On the one hand he is prohibited in the state of California from entering into a marriage contract with a native-born American and on the other hand not allowed to bring an Indian wife into this country. All this in spite of an Indian investment running into hundreds of thousands of dollars in America, Indian merchants live here like tourists who must leave this country after a short stipulated stay. And yet the Secretary of the Indian Government, pocketing a salary larger than that of any member of the American Cabinet, derived from the taxation of poor Indians, has persistently side-tracked this momentous issue of making official representation and protest to the American Government in behalf of Indian merchants wishing to trade in America.

The appointment of commissions to look into such matters, conferring fat-salaried posts on Englishmen and a few selected Indians, and pointing to the favourable balance of trade enjoyed by India in her dealings with the U. S., etc., are standard alibis to stall off any effort at direct action in the matter.

If similar treatment was accorded to British merchants or for that matter to the merchants of any other civilized nation and their accredited government agents or councils had failed to protest or to bring about honourable adjustment of trade relations with the U. S. A., a Cabinet crisis would arise resulting in the demand by those nationals for the resignation not of one member but of the whole Cabinet. The representative who is paid sumptuously out of the taxes collected from the poor Indian people, however, sleeps undisturbed over the iniquitous treatment accorded to Indian merchants by the Washington Government.

There is reason to suspect that since about 95 per cent of the business between India and the U. S. A. is directly in the hands of British merchants it is to their advantage that such conditions and odds against Indians in America continue to prevail. If a new agreement is made on just and honourable terms, a larger

share of trade would go into the hands of Indian and American merchants.

Will not the members of the Legislative Assembly, Chamber of Commerce, Indian National Congress, and President Subhas Chandra Bose stir the Indian Government to take immediate action to negotiate a new trade treaty between India and America and thus help to lift this stumbling-block in the way of Indians wishing to engage in normal commercial relations with the American people?

The Indian people have great confidence in men like Mr. Ghanashyamdas Birla, Walchand Heera Chand, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Bhulabhai Desai, Satyamurti, Kumarappa and others from Congress. If an official delegation of such representative and reliable persons were sent to represent the Indian people and their Government to the U. S. A., it would be possible for such a delegation to study actual conditions and opportunities here and to undertake negotiations for furthering commercial relations between India and America.

Scholars like Dr. Taraknath Das, Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney-at-Law, Principal Shanker Rao Gokhale, retired consulting engineer for the General Electric Co., and Mr. Maganlal S. Dave, Vice-President of the newly formed Indian Chamber of Commerce of America, and others will co-operate and benefit the delegation by a knowledge of the situation gained from years of study and experience.

It is obvious in this day and year of disturbed international balance that imperialists while striving to perpetuate their stronghold upon defenceless peoples, and dictators are busy forging new chains for enslaving humanity once more, leaders of the Indian National Congress and other enlightened persons interested in India's economic reconstruction should take all possible steps to establish direct trade relationship with the U. S. A.

India cannot make headway unless and until artificial trade restrictions placed upon her merchants are removed, and all normal avenues of commercial intercourse are opened to her. Both India and the U. S. A. stand to gain by mutual understanding and co-operation.

New York.

FUTURE AND GANDHISM,—AND WHAT THEN MUST WE DO?

By X

WHILE the twentieth century has been a witness to the greatest display of violence on wide areas, on unprecedented scales, it has also witnessed the emergence of non-violence as an active and dynamic force in the shaping of the history of a nation. While the school of violence camouflaged as Fascism is out to proclaim that "Life is essentially appropriation, conquest of the weak, suppression, incorporation and exploitation"—a plea for spiritualization of politics or economics, and of the very springs of human activity is put forth with singular simplicity and beauty by a Man who is content to give it no higher name than his Experiments with Truth. Thus Militarism, Class-war and Profiteerism stalk a world whose only hope lies in the predominance of the fear of losing what has been gained, over the desire to gain more, in its dictators. The dawn of Gandhism in such a world of warring nations and interests has arrested attention and compelled admiration. What will be the future? Will the seeds of non-violence sown in a remote corner of the world by a saintly man and fostered by his limited followers, be shrivelled by this terrific world-temperature, or will non-violence grow and spread by its all-conquering strength?—this question is before the thinking men all over the world, but we in India who have been privileged to see the saintly sower taking infinite pains and nurse the seedlings against enormous odds that seem to rise out of the stuff of human nature itself, can and ought to answer with hope and faith. And faith and hope and prayer of millions are just the requisites needed for clearing the heavily charged atmosphere that is stifling the growth of the mighty seedling today.

And yet, just at the present moment, the world-situation as well as the Indian atmosphere both seem to arrest all hope and faith. Though the credit of the Mahatma as a practical idealist appears to have reached the peak, and though the associates of Gandhiji in the Congress function as members of the Government in 7 out of India's 11 "autonomous" provinces, many events have recently combined to bring to a prominence the question of the Future of non-violence as Gandhiji interprets

it, and it is even said by those who ought to know best that of late, the Mahatma has shown himself as seriously afraid that even the Congress as a whole does not understand and is not prepared to follow the doctrines, he has always considered essential.

Writing under the caption 'The Choice' in *Harijan* of April 9, 1938, Mahatmaji in confirmation of some of these fears, has even gone to the length of suggesting an alternative to Non-violence, and has pointed out that a retracing of the steps may be necessary if the Congress wants to do what is being done all over the world—'Forbear when we can, hit when we must'. In moving words he has stated 'If that is to be our policy, we have lost 17 precious years. But 17 years in the life of a nation are nothing.' Rather than playing with what he considers to be Truth, he is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice of obliterating his life-work, though in his modesty, he calls this nothing in the life of a nation which has no faith in it. Those who have made an intimate study of Mahatmaji's personality know that he is capable of making any sacrifice provided he feels that his principles demand this. Many years ago, in *Young India* of August 1920 when he set forth his ethics of non-violence, Gandhiji wrote prophetically:

'India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. If I have a living faith in my religion it will transcend my love for India herself.'

Very significant words these, and when we read together with this Mahatma's recent statement on the communal riots—'to the extent the Congress ministers have been obliged to make use of the Police and the Military, to that extent we must admit our failure.' We may very well appreciate the spiritual crisis in which we find him engulfed. When the world stands amazed and perplexed to hear that for the first time in the past fifty years, he finds himself in a 'slough of despond' must we also join the gaping crowd while the culmination of a supreme career is thwarted before our very eyes? Surely we can not afford to be passive onlookers like the rest, we who saw him fashion

his monumental deeds ablaze with the flaming light of vision.

What then must we do? What must be done to save this vision for our all-encompassing problems and for the world seething with racialism, class-war and militarism? But perhaps we are wrong in stressing only the visionary aspect of the message of Gandhism. Have we not seen the vision translated to tangible deed? Have we not witnessed his ceaseless giving of himself to the last limit of sacrifice, and what is more—have we not had demonstration that the 'unconquerable spirit that creates has already been released?' There may be a question as to the nature of the Congress non-violence. As a matter of fact there has been question, 'Can national and social groups imbibe sufficiently this individual creed of non-violence, for it involved a tremendous rise of mankind in the mass to a high level of love and goodness?' But the fact has also been admitted that the only desirable ultimate ideal is to raise humanity to this level so that hatred and ugliness and selfishness may be abolished. That at any rate is above all question. Now Mahatma has shown us a way which, if we follow, will not only lead us to this level but help us to lead others as well. It can not be morally or intellectually questioned that the ideal and method of Gandhism is fundamentally sound. As Dr. Tagore stated only the other day:

'Arduous indeed is the quest of Righteousness while we are beset with the battling forces of evil around and within us. But whether any one of us is or is not capable of rising to the heights of Ahimsa, accept it and believe in it, we must; for have we not in this very modern age, a man who by his own life and example, holds aloft this standard for us to follow?'

So the only question is why in spite of our intellectual acceptance we do not take up this quest of righteousness? Why we are content to give it formal assent rather than practical realisation? It is freely said that he has brought a new force into public life but it has not had time enough to be universal, and until it does, be it the Congress Ministry or any other, they will have to use old and recognised method of keeping law and order. Gandhiji however is unable to fall in with this view. All along he has tried to make his own ideal—the universal ideal. He has not been content to make it even the ideal of a social group, and he has been against grouping unities as such. As he pointed out in a celebrated article,

'My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house top that the message of non-violence is a

message to the world. It must fall flat, if it does not verily bear fruit in the soil where it has been delivered.'

So he took pains all along to make his movement neither exclusive nor aggressive but health-giving, religious and humanitarian. Still there has been the danger of its falling flat, and this is due not to any inherent weakness in his technique but to the poverty of response even in those who took the pledge of non-violence under his guidance. With failing health and with the sands of life running out, the Mahatma who is human through and through in spite of his great soul tells us what he feels. Those familiar with his autobiography know that in spite of his great soul, he has the spirit of a child. So he feels a bit the child's desire to share his sorrow, and the world's sympathy is with him in his hour of trial. But it is dynamic response more than passive acceptance, actual application rather than sympathy and smooth words that can preserve for India and for the world,—the redeeming force that is in Gandhism. So the problem before the world and India today is how to release mass energies through non-violence. The passing phase in India shows that with many chances of success—we have not solved the problem. This does not show however that the problem is insoluble. No doubt some amount of violence appears to be the basis and foundation of our acquisitive society and it is also true that the machineries of property and of governments and of the present order stand between and hide the hearts of man and man, yet as Gandhiji said:

'If only we watched the latest international developments in Europe and Eastern Asia with an eye to essentials, we could see how the world is moving steadily to realize that between nation and nation as between man and man force has failed to solve problems.'

Apparently this increasing realization has not meant much, for in spite of a wide-spread belief that failure would lead to world-catastrophe, the repeated failures of international conferences to find a solution even for the problem of disarmament show that 'the approach was wrong and the people concerned did not dare to go the right way.'

We make bold to claim that in Gandhism not only India but the world as well can find a clue to that right way. Indian politicians who adopted it as a right policy deserted the implications of its practice as soon as a measure of success gave them the right to use its alternative. Situated as they are, perhaps there is some justification for their action. But cer-

tainly more was expected of them. That they failed to apply against their own erring countrymen what they so often preached and sometimes practised against an alien government, and that they put up with a major evil for fear of a lesser one, can hardly be gainsaid today. But that disappointing performance can not mean defeat of the principles or of the technique of non-violence. As Gandhiji wrote in 1932,

'Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings can not do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it and it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed by making their conversion easy.'

Now these principles of Ahimsa were explained by him again and again. He has called it Truth-force or Satyagraha, as its root-meaning is holding on to Truth. From his own experience, he discovered that the pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self. At one time, on the political field the people could use it in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. But the application of the mighty principle need not be restricted to this. The same struggle between might and right, the spirit and the flesh and between Truth and untruth is going on all over the world. Why not apply this solvent which though re-discovered is as old as the dawn of human conscience, and which the *Mahabharat*, Buddha, and Christ preached through the gospel of overcoming evil by good? Mahatma's unique and powerful contribution is in his application on a mass scale to political and social movements what was formerly an essentially religious and individual method. He has always regarded man as a man first, and brute afterwards. Nobly optimistic he states:

'I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not merely meant for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well.'

Elsewhere he has explained the object he aimed at and its metaphysical implications in the following words:

'I do not believe that an individual may gain

spiritually and those who surround him suffer. I believe in Adwaita. I believe in the essential unity of man and, for that matter—of all that lives. Therefore I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him; and if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent.'

This stress on the religious and spiritual side of non-violence was not heeded by those who took it up as an expedient, and they gave his teachings a partial homage and tried it as a policy piecemeal. Hence the trend today is towards 'Forbear when we can, hit when we must' or worse still 'Hit when we can, forbear when we must'. The results Gandhiji promised and expected have not been fulfilled though there have been splendid instances of individuals going up in the human scale. But as Pandit Jawaharlal has rightly pointed out:

'Groups and communities have not improved greatly though a non-violent technique has affected the odd individuals on the other side and gained over world opinion.'

But then the blame must be with those who took to the letter rather than to the spirit of the doctrine. They omitted to note Gandhiji's stress on righteousness and character and forgot that Gandhism—though not a dogmatic religion, meant a religious outlook on life. And it is only such religious approach that can save the world by going to the root of the evil whose manifestations we see everywhere today in class-war and militarism on the one side, and in imperialism and profiteerism on the other.

That Gandhiji is not the only solitary thinker on these lines will be apparent from the following quotation from Dean Inge's famous book on England:

'There is no disguising the fact that England is in a state of chronic civil war today, and that the forces of law and order are on the defensive against anti-social organizations which have no aim except to wreck the existing civilization.'

After dilating on several other dark spots in England today the Dean formulates:

'In plain living and high thinking will be our salvation or the salvation of the remnant which will survive the turmoils of our age of transition. Plain living will be forced on us whether we will or not, for the conditions of prosperity are in part slipping from us, and in part are being wantonly thrown away. High thinking will not only make us citizens of the city whose type is laid in heaven, but will mitigate the acerbities of a struggle for which the responsibilities cannot be laid on the shoulders of any class.'

Mahatma Gandhi is much more radical and universal than the gloomy Dean. Only in one point are they at one—and that is with regard to the present social system. Rather than abolish it altogether, both would have a change

of heart on the existing superstructure, involving a root and branch change of the mode of living. Still Mahatmaji has been called a reactionary by communists, because, with all his sympathy for the underdog, he can not imbibe an anti-feeling against the top-dog. Here again it is impossible for the irreligious to understand a religious personality of the highest order. Gandhiji however has made his position, as a lover of men rather than of ideas, clear as ever :

‘The socialism and communism of the west is based on certain conceptions which are different from ours. One such conception is the essential selfishness of human nature. Our socialism and communism should be based on non-violence, and on the harmonious co-operation of all.’

Even prominent people like Pandit Jawaharlal however fail to see the truth in the reasoning that if non-violence is successful against foreigners with their pride of racialism and power, *prima facie* it would be easier to use it against indigenous selfish interests and communal acerbities. But Mahatmaji hopes to convert them all. As he briefly put it at the end of his Congress presidential address, ‘Truth-force is my Kalpataru—my *Jam I Jam*—the

universal provider.’ At any rate, that it may serve as a panacea, if rightly applied—is beyond question. The question is whether it will be applied at all? The question is whether in this imperfect world, the gospel of moral perfection will not fall flat?

Yet with gloom and despair prevailing all around, the Mahatma has put in a plea for a non-violent army in India who will act unlike armed men in times of peace as of disturbance, and would be engaged in constructive activities that would make riots and clashes impossible. The need for such armies is great not only in India today but perhaps in every country of the world. While the mad race for armament is going on and while world-catastrophe is looming large in the horizon, will humanity fail to note these portents? Will not even a handful of men in every country stand up and practise this long-suffering and all-redeeming gospel? If they do, undoubtedly the great idea of non-violence will grow, and more and more affect the action of the world. And a day may at last dawn when mankind will be disinclined to use violent methods and will try and succeed in peacefully meeting every situation. It must take time, but for those who have faith there is no haste.

THE GUJARATI THEATRE

By PROFESSOR HIRALAL GODIWALA, B. A. (Oxon.)

WE LEARN from a reliable source that the Bombay Radio Station proposes to broadcast two of the famous plays of Nanalal, *Jaya-Jayant* and *Shahjahan*, some time next month. Syt. Chandravadan Mehta—the well-known poet-dramatist-producer of Gujarat, now working as the Director of Gujarati Programmes with the V. U. B.—deserves to be congratulated on the venture. It is rarely that Nanalal's plays are produced—more rarely still, with a mixed cast, as is proposed in this case; and we do not know of any brilliant or even successful production of Nanalal. It is time some fresh attempt was made in this direction.

The difficulties of producing Nanalal's plays—great as they are in other respects, and certainly literature of a high order—are the same as those which would present themselves to a producer of say Shelley's *The Cenci*. Even

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya's plays suffer from the same handicap—to a lesser extent, may be—except when a brilliant and original producer like the author himself undertakes the task, when his acting, wit and music and his original, often symbolical, settings carry away the audience. Nanalal's are a poet's plays, meant more for the study than for the stage. Dialogue rather than situation, poetry rather than drama, idealism rather than realism—these are some of their characteristics. May be, production on the air may make a difference, doing away as it would with the necessity of settings and, to some extent, of the convincing management of stagecraft. There is a technique of radio production as of stage production. And much depends on how these plays are handled.

The production not only of Nanalal's plays

but of any good play is a rare phenomenon in Gujarat today. One almost feels like saying that the film has driven out the play; but then one remembers that there was not much of a 'play' to drive out before the advent of the film. There has always been a paucity of good plays in Gujarat—thanks to the want of talent or taste displayed by the professional theatre and to the general apathy or superiority, resulting in a neglect of the theatre, on the part of those respectable writers and gentlemen who knew, or professed to know, better and had better taste. The attempts of a brave writer like Ranechodbhai Udayram to give some good stuff to the Gujarati theatre in the last century—attempts pursued with almost missionary zeal—met with remarkable success, and even made the theatre a popular and respectable resort of the middle classes, a centre not only of entertainment but of instruction and social reform. But though Ranechodbhai left some lasting influence on the theatre, his attempts were not followed up. No great literary writer took up the task after him as earnestly as he had done; and the novel took the place, in the popular imagination, of the drama.

Meanwhile the professional theatre continued the tradition of cheap, vulgar farce or bombastic 'history' and 'tragedy'—occasionally accompanied by first rate hystrionic talent (as in the case of 'Sundari' or some Parsi actors) which should have been given better opportunities and a better environment. When a good play like Ramanbhai's *Raino Parvat* or later, Ramanlal Desai's *Shankit Hridaya* appeared, the contact with the professional theatre was not established; and such a play only remained a play for the study till some amateur producer thought of producing bits from it at some school or college theatricals.

The hero of the professional stage carried on, in the Elizabethan manner, rattling off fustian and 'making damnable faces.' And the heroine—some effeminate, undergrown boy with a shrill, piping voice—attempted to entertain the audience with her affected coyness and exaggerated sexy gestures. The songs too fitted ill into the play and hardly deserved to be called music, depending as they did for effect more on their sex-appeal or their cheap didacticism—which had a great appeal for the degenerate taste of the overfed city bourgeois who formed bulk of the audience—than on their musical content. The writers of these plays were mostly unknown and lived and died in obscurity. Sometimes a brave young soul

like Barrister Vibhakar attempted to refine the professional stage and even seemed to succeed for a while. But it was difficult to break the vicious circle of bad plays and the bad taste of the audience to which they catered; and soon things became what they had been before.

During the present century, the theatre has sometimes attempted to produce some historical play giving a glorified picture of the feudal times and seeking to appeal to the national sentiment. Or, sometimes some effete, sentimental 'social comedy' has appeared—a none-too-bold 'problem play' where some conventional social problem has been taken up and solved by resorting to a too easy or impossible idealism and where Jack has always succeeded in having his Jill and all has ended happily. These plays must have satisfied the bourgeois audiences to whose decadent taste the theatre-managers have been in the habit of catering. And it would be but in the scheme of things when—as used to happen during the years of the Satyagraha movement—the hero appears in a plain khaddar *kurti* and a Gandhi cap (and not in the gaudy expensive-looking clothes in which all ranks used to appear in former times) and even goes to jail if the occasion demands it.

A professional theatrical performance has become a rare thing these days. The bourgeois audience has taken to films. But when occasionally a professional company appears in a provincial town like Surat, one notices welcome changes like the acting of female roles—at least the main role—by females. And the plays are always acted to full houses, showing that while people are fond of films these days, they have not forgotten that a good film is no substitute for a good play.

The growth of something like an amateur theatre movement—particularly among the middle class youth of both sexes—has been a notable tendency in Gujarat during recent years. But even here the difficulties have been many. Even when the right talent is available, goodactable plays are all-too-rare. Mixed acting—females acting female roles—has not yet been universally accepted by the social conscience. Amateur circles in Bombay and sometimes in Ahmedabad—and in some of the colleges (after a great struggle)—have taken to mixed acting. But even among educated circles in some of the big towns, it is not rare to come across people who—probably out of fear of orthodox reaction—would 'rather not see a play produced than have a woman to act the female role.'

The insistence of a young playwright like Chandravadan Mehta—and even of old, venerable, greatly respected writers like Prof. B. K. Thakore—on only females taking female roles in their plays whenever they are produced has helped the social forces in the right direction, though it has sometimes prevented some young enthusiast from producing one of their plays.

The frequent and successful amateur production of Syt. K. M. Munshi's social comedy *Kakani Shashi* and of Syt. Chandravadan's plays have been notable features of the amateur theatre movement in Gujarat. The latter has written many plays. Poet, scholar, teacher, (and now a director of programmes on the radio), this young writer has already given proof of remarkable original talent in the direction of writing, acting and producing plays. He has a versatile genius. He has successfully rendered foreign plays into Gujarati—plays that almost seem to spring from the soil—thanks to his mastery over local colour and his knowledge of dialect. He has written realistic plays like *Ag-Gadi* ('The Iron Road')—frequently produced by the author, and once with an all-writers cast—giving a kaleidoscopic picture of the life of our railway workers; *Naga-Bava* ('The Naked Faquirs'), depicting the multi-coloured life of our beggars; *Santa-Kookdi* ('Hide-and-Seek'), dealing with the problem of our backward primary schools; and *Ramakadan-ni-Dukan* ('The Toy Shop'), a fascinating musical play for children—produced by children once under the direction of the author. Syt. Chandravadan's genius lies in the direction of comedy; and there is something Shavian about his ways. He has successfully introduced the practice of writing critical prose prefaced to plays and has attempted innova-

tions like introducing the 'Sutradhara,' the author and the audience as characters in his latest play—*Veer Narmad*—woven round the life of the famous poet rebel of nineteenth century Gujarat. It is only fair to add that Chandravadan owes not a little of his success to the co-operation of other writers and of some brave young girls who have come forward to act in his plays and to the support given him by his appreciative audiences.

Mention must also be made, in this connection, of the numerous plays—mostly one-act plays—written by Syt. Yashvant Pandya, Syt. Batubhai Umarvadia and many young writers. Some of these are sometimes produced at school or college gatherings or at charity concerts. But even today the dearth of goodactable plays and of first class productions is felt. And, despite well-meaning, enthusiastic Ranga-bhoomi Parishads (Theatre Conferences), a 'National Theatre' or 'People's Theatre' remains but a distant cry in this philistine world of Gujarat.

It may be said by way of conclusion that the theatre in Gujarat—even the amateur theatre—has up to now been catering to the needs of the middle class; and the great masses of the countryside have had to remain content with very rare—and now almost extinct—crude, productions of semi-mythological plays (*Bhavais*) given by some wandering players. 'Proletarian plays' have been attempted by young writers like Chandravadan, Umashankar Joshi, 'Sundaram' or Indulal Gandhi. But no attempt has yet been made to approach the masses directly—in town or country—and to revitalize the theatre from this great fountain-source of life.



KESHUB CHUNDER SEN AND "NATION-BUILDING"

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN was born on the 19th November, 1838. This year, 1938, is the centenary of his birth. It will be celebrated in various places in India and abroad in the current month and in December. In fact the celebrations began some time ago in England, many Indian and British notabilities taking part therein.

Keshub Chunder is rightly known as, above all, a man of religion, and all his other activities sprang from his deep and intense spirituality. In this brief article, however, we shall refer mainly to those activities of his which have, directly or indirectly, gone to the making of an Indian nation.

India has been inhabited for centuries past by many religious communities. In order that these may form one united nation it is necessary that they should respect one another's faiths. Like his "spiritual grandfather" Ram-mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder respected the scriptures and the prophets of all religious communities. Inspired by his teaching and example some of his co-workers made particular studies of the scriptures of particular religions. Girish Chandra Sen translated the Quran into Bengali from the original Arabic, his being the first Bengali translation of the scripture of Islam. He also wrote and published in Bengali a book entitled "Tāpasmāla," containing the lives of eminent Muslim saints. Protap Chandra Mozoomdar wrote "The Oriental Christ," forcibly reminding Western Christendom thereby that Jesus was not an occidental priest but an oriental teacher of spirituality. Aghorenath Gupta wrote his biography of the Buddha entitled "Sākya-muni-Charit." Gour Gobinda Upādhyāy wrote learned works on the Gita and other Hindu Sastras. The Bhakti movement was started in which the emotionalism of Bengal Vaishnavism was revived by means of *Sankīrtan*, in which the "singing apostle" Trailokyanath Sanyal took prominent part. An anthology of sayings culled from the Hindu, Jewish, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Christian, Islamic and Sikh scriptures was published under the title "Shloka-sangraha." Keshub taught the harmony of all faiths. He did not stop short there.

"He practised and prescribed for his immediate friends and co-adjutors a form of spiritual culture known as Sadhu Samagam or 'Pilgrimage to saints and prophets.' By close study, meditation introspection and prayer these devotees sought within their hearts to commune with the departed saint- and prophets—nay, the messengers of truth and light in every sphere of life. The life and personality of Moses, Socrates, Buddha, the Hindu Rishi Fathers, Jesus, Mohamed, Chaitanya thus formed the subject of special study and contemplation and were followed up by those of Faraday, Carlyle, Emerson and the like."—P. K. Sen. *Keshub Chunder Sen*.

So long as the caste-spirit, caste and 'untouchability' remain, the solidarity of a united Indian nation must remain more or less a dream. Keshub Chunder, therefore, determined so far as he could to do away with caste not only in matters of food and drink but in marriage also. Act III of 1872, which was passed at his initiative, validated intercaste marriage. Many such marriages were celebrated during his life time and more continue to be celebrated.

In no country is it truer than in India that the nation dwells in its hovels and huts and cottages. Therefore, he who would uplift the nation, build it up, reconstruct it, must be one in spirit with the masses, must sympathize with them literally. Keshub felt that he was one of them—one with the poor. The following is from his *Jeevan-Veda* (Scripture of Life):

"Often have I asked myself whether my soul is of rich or poor lineage. The answer to this question forms an important chapter of my *Jeevan-Veda*. One must know the caste in which one's soul is born . . . I am convinced that my soul belongs to the class of the poor. The articles of food, my daily habits—all bear ample evidence of the spirit of the poor . . . The practice of poverty is not a difficult exercise with me; it comes naturally. My nature takes delight in (plain) rice and herbs. This fact reveals to me an unspeakable secret of my inner life. I take it to be a sign of God's special grace for me. If I have to travel by railways, I usually go third class. I hesitate to travel first class lest I transgress my own province and trespass on the domains of the rich; lest things and thoughts foreign to my nature rob me of rest and peace of mind. And the decision comes in an instant,—the mind instinctively seeking the place where the poor and the lowly are. If ever I travel first class, it is because I am obliged to. Where the poor are there is rest for me, there is life for me. I never learnt this poverty by effort, it came to me naturally."

Here it would be appropriate to give the

translation of a few sentences from Keshub's pice weekly, the "Sulabh Samāchār." of 1871:

... who are the really great folk? In our country the humble people (*chhota lok*). Had they not existed, who could have their food ("bhat"), who could have driven in their carriages to see the races, or who could have smoked their nargilehs propped up against bolsters? See, how the humble folk are giving us our all. We are posing as big people with their wealth. But who think of expressing special gratitude to them? Taking trouble day and night, perspiring—they are giving us our food; but how many of us think of their condition? That England has so much wealth, so much power and prestige—whence did these come? From those same humble folk. In this world a day will come when the humble people will no longer remain dumb, no longer lie prostrate on their earth-bed. Even now in England they have become so strong that they do not care for or obey the king, do not care for or obey the rich men;—they are asserting their rights and expressing their puissance themselves.

Keshub then goes on to give the example of Ireland, and sums up by saying: "Thus in all great countries a struggle has begun between the common people and the big folk." Addressing the readers of "Sulabh Samāchār," he says:

Our readers, those among you who are tenants (*raiatts*), or artisans or crafts-men, stand up and gird up your loins together. Make the utmost effort for your own welfare, and for putting a stop by your own strength to all tyranny, cruelty and repression of the *prajas* (the people or the tenants). It is for your good that we have published this small newspaper. Do not sleep any more. Rise, the time has come. See, there is no one to speak for you. The King's officers do not get to hear what you have to say, the big folk slight you, do not care for you. Will you bear such insult for ever? Are you not men? Has not God created you with knowledge and intelligence? Then why do you lie asleep in the sleep of ignorance? *You are the great men of this country.* Do you not know that, but for you, this country would go to wrack and ruin? Therefore, take pains, make earnest endeavours, acquire knowledge. Then when you will understand your own rights, when you yourselves will do your own work, then the officials will be compelled to listen to your demands, the tyrannical big folk will become afraid seeing your valour, and ultimately will not be able to refrain from honouring you."

These words, addressed to peasants and workingmen sound very much like those of a Marxian labour leader addressed to the proletariat. But Marx's German book on *Capital*, was translated into English for the first time in 1886, and the words from the "Sulabh Samāchār" translated above were published in 1871. Some Marxists and Leninists appear to believe that it is their atheistic masters and 'comrades' who care for the proletariat, but that believers in God do not. But evidently the theistic Keshub did care for them—a fact of which there are other proofs in his writings and pronouncements.

But he did not rest content with merely writing and speaking.

The third department of the Indian Reform Association established by him, namely, Education, undertook to educate the labouring classes, and also to instruct the middle classes in industrial arts—thus seeking to obliterate the distinction between the labouring and the intellectual classes. The Working Men's Institution and the Industrial School were opened on the 28th November, 1870. Besides imparting to the labouring class elementary education in the mother-tongue and English, the Working Men's Institution afforded them such recreation after the day's work as might keep them from bad company, intoxication, idleness and demoralizing amusements. The Industrial School gave instruction in useful arts with a view to training the middle class students thereof for independent occupations. Carpentry, tailoring, clock and watch repairing, printing, lithography and engraving were among the subjects in which instruction was given. Keshub himself took to these occupations with workman-like avidity, and could turn out little pieces of furniture so neatly executed that it was said that "he could not have done better if he had given his whole life to carpentry alone."

The Indian Reform Association mentioned above was established in 1870. Its object was comprehensive and was to be attained through five departments of activity—Cheap Literature, Improvement of Girls and Women, Education, Temperance, and Charity. The object of the first department was to disseminate useful and scientific information among the masses by the issue of a cheap newspaper and the publication of cheap and useful tracts. Accordingly on the 16th November, 1870, a week pice paper, the "Sulabh Samāchār," mentioned before, was started. It was the first of its kind in India. In two weeks its circulation rose to 5,000, and in two months to 8,000—high figures for those days. It attained still higher circulation afterwards. Keshub's friends and co-adjutors went about hawking the pice paper from door to door and from street to street. It had great influence in those days. It wrote vigorously against the tyranny of the officials and the landlords.

Under the auspices of the Female Improvement department was started a Women's Normal and Adult School for the education of adult ladies who wished either to be instructed themselves or to be trained for imparting

instruction to others. A small Girls' school was shortly after attached to it, which served also as a practising school for the students of the Normal School. There was a Bāmā-hitaishini Sabhā (society for the welfare of women). There was also the women's monthly journal, the "Bāmābodhini Patrika", established in 1864. The ideal of Keshub Chunder and of the Brāhmo Samaj was that women should be meet companions of men in knowledge and spirituality, participating in the larger life of the world.

The activities of the department of Education have already been referred to.

The object of the Temperance department of the Indian Reform Association was two-fold: first, to instil into the minds of the rising generation a definite aversion to the drink habit, which was a growing evil in the seventies of the last century; secondly, to wage war against the drink evil by exposing the iniquity of the Government's liquor policy and by reforming the excise administration of the country. The first object was served by the Band of Hope for young men. The members took the vow of total abstinence. They walked in processions, banners flying, singing temperance songs with great gusto. They had lectures and pamphlets and tracts, through which they carried on the crusade till the membership swelled to large numbers. Many a young man of those days has, later in life, testified to the tremendous influence which the Band of Hope exercised on the life and conduct of that generation. The second object of the Temperance section was served by a vigilant propaganda, by publication of statistics of crime, disease and death arising from intemperance, by formation of branch societies and by co-operation with the leaders of the Temperance movement in England, specially with the United Kingdom Alliance. A Bengali paper under the name of "Mad nā Garal" ("Not Wine But Poison") was started and broadcast gratis. Various substantive proposals for reform were pressed on the Government in a variety of ways.

Equally active was the Charity section. Apart from almsgiving or extending help to the distressed and the indigent, it organized distribution of medicine and food supply to large tracts of country suffering from epidemic diseases.

Here a reference to the first Youth Movement in the country would be appropriate. It was also a Movement for Inter-provincial Amity and Goodwill.

In the first quarter of the year 1861 came

the terrible famine that devastated Upper India. Keshub organized a special famine relief campaign after divine service. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore delivered a soul-stirring address. All members of the Brāhmo Samaj and others under its influence did their part to the best of their ability. They begged for alms at every door. The poor helped with their mite. Women parted with their jewellery. Thus considerable help could be given to the famine-stricken.

In November of the same year there was an epidemic of fever in Lower Bengal. Relief was given to the sufferers by organised co-operation.

These were the beginnings of the first Youth Movement in the country harnessing the enthusiasm of youth to the noble cause of relief.

No nation can remain or grow strong in mind and body if it consists for the most part of the offspring of child marriages. Keshub Chunder struck a blow at child marriage by the same Act by which intercaste marriages were validated. The minimum age for marriage of the bride and the bridegroom was fixed at 14 and 18 respectively, these ages being generally exceeded in Brāhmo marriages.

The various kinds of publicity and agitation which a growing nation requires cannot be carried on without organs for moulding and giving expression to public opinions. One organ, the "Sulabh Samāchār" in Bengali, which Keshub established, has already been referred to. Another organ, the *Indian Mirror* in English, was established by him earlier, in August 1861. It was started as a fortnightly newspaper. At that time the *Hindu Patriot* was the only other English newspaper in Bengal under Indian control and editorship. It gave a warm welcome to the *Indian Mirror*. The *Mirror* had a distinguished career as a Nationalist journal started as a fortnightly, subsequently it became a weekly, and in 1871 it became the first Indian daily paper in English. At the time of the starting of the *Indian Mirror* Keshub Chunder had conceived a comprehensive scheme of education to which he could give effect only in part in later years. As he died when only 45, he could, alas! complete little indeed of what he began to do for India and the world. Keshub proposed a simultaneous agitation in England and India for educational reform to bring home to the public and the Government the urgency of certain radical changes in the educational machinery of the day.

"If Brahmo Dharma was the religion of love, he said, then it must be realized that it could not consist of a belief, or a passing rush of good impulses. Nor could it exhaust itself in empty praise of God in the *Mandir*. It must become the sovereign law of life and bear abundant fruit in acts of service. It must invigorate the body, inspire the soul, and fire the will for serving those around. It must naturally manifest itself in initiating movements of reform all along the line, and in co-operation with existing movements of reform wherever found. It would not do to depend on Government for help in every particular . . . Self-help and self-reliance must be the watchword for all workers . . . Education should not be the monopoly of the rich and the prosperous. Of what avail would it be if education merely touched the surface and left the bulk of society in darkness? How would the barriers of caste be broken unless education were thrown open to all, irrespective of so-called rank and respectability? . . . The country could never prosper unless and until the light of education penetrated the zenana. Educate the men as you might, the women folk, if left uneducated, would always be a drag on society. Women must first be rescued out of their deplorable condition before salvation could come to India."

With all his zeal for education, Keshub was absolutely against the least denationalization. In his day the process of denationalization was in full swing. There was a tendency to eschew all that was of the East and to ape and adopt what was occidental. Keshub was against this indiscriminate rejection and adoption. He himself never wore European costume. In many a speech in many places in England he spoke against the denationalization of Indians. Speaking at Bath he said:

"While other nations that are now in a state of refinement and civilization were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, India possessed a high order of civilization. . . . I can never look upon the redeeming features of India's past history without feeling a thrill of patriotic fire running through my heart. Proud of our nationality we shall ask you to give us all the good things you have in England, but not your corruptions."

In Birmingham he said:

"I for one would not allow myself to be denationalized. Bring the influence of English education to bear upon the work of Indian reformation, but I would ask to let the spirit of Indian nationality develop all that is good therein in a national way."

The following passage occurs in a letter written by Elizabeth Sharpe to Rajnarain Bose on the 28th August 1870:

"I cannot help wishing to tell you that one of the things we greatly admire in Babu Keshub is his strong wish that his country shall not be denationalized, but that it shall be elevated and improved according to its own nature; it seems to us India can only be thus truly reformed, having life of its own as the basis of reformation, not adopting in all things foreign ways and habits."—*Autobiography of Rajnarain Bose*, pp. 164-165.

In another letter to him, dated the 15th March 1871, she wrote:

"I can give you another instance of how strongly we respect those who honour their own country and national life. Another friend of mine was struck with pleasure by nothing so much by Keshub Babu's last speech in London as by his saying: 'I came here an Indian and return a confirmed Indian.'"—*Ibid.* p. 165.

He was opposed to the advocacy or promotion of the interests of any particular community, class or section of the people of India. In the course of his speech on "England's Duties to India," he said:

"I do not this evening represent any class or sect, political or religious; I stand here as an humble representative of the people of India. . . . If you desire to do good to India as a whole you must look to all the numerous sections of its varied community, and try as far as possible to do justice to the whole nation."

Keshub was critically appreciative of British rule in India and of the British connection. His criticism was as vigorous and unsparing as his appreciation was ungrudging. With reference to some of the criticism in the lecture referred to above, Bepin Chandra Pal observes in "The Brahmo Samaj and the Battle of Swaraj in India" (pp. 60-61):

"For the time Keshub was abused by the Anglo-Indian Press with an energy and unanimity which caused some anxiety to his friends. Every Englishman who subscribed for our newspaper, the *Indian Mirror*, withdrew his name, Keshub's motives were cruelly aspersed, and one irate Briton in Bombay publicly threw out a challenge that he would give Rs. 500 to any one who would venture to read the lecture on England's duties to India in his presence while he stood horsewhip in hand."

Communism as regards property has prevailed in India among some orders of Sannyasins (Hindu and Buddhist monastic orders) from ancient times. In his Bhārat Ashram Keshub Chunder introduced and maintained it so long as it lasted. Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar writes of it:

"About twenty-five families, consisting of men, women, and children, thus lived together, having their devotions, studies, and meals together, and showing the noblest dispositions of love and good will towards each other. The Brahmo missionaries and their families formed the centre of them all . . . He meant it to be a modern apostolic organization, where the inmates should have a community of all things, and where every worldly relation should be merged in spiritual fellowship."

Keshub probably meant this Ashram to be the experimental nucleus of the organization of the brotherhood of man, on a national and international scale.

The political bearing of monotheism cannot have escaped the intellect of Keshub Chunder Sen. Walter Bagehot writes in his *Physics and Politics*:

"Those kinds of morals and that kind of religion

which tend to make the firmest and most effectual character are sure to prevail, all else being the same; and creeds and systems that conduce to a soft limp mind tend to perish, except some hard extrinsic force keep them alive. . . . Strong beliefs win strong men, and then make them stronger. Such is no doubt one cause why Monotheism tends to prevail over Polytheism; it produces a higher, steadier character, calmed and concentrated by a great single object; it is not confused by competing rites, or distracted by miscellaneous deities. Polytheism is religion *in commission*, and it is weak accordingly. But it will be said the Jews, who were

monotheist, were conquered by the Romans, who were polytheist. Yes, it must be answered, because the Romans had other gifts; they had a capacity for politics, a habit of discipline, and of these the Jews had not the least. The religious advantage was an advantage; but it was counter-weighted."

[This article has been compiled in great part from Dr. P. K. Sen's book on Keshub Chunder Sen. The writer is responsible for the arrangement. He is indebted to Mr. Yogananda Das, son of Dr. Sundarimohan Das, for the extract from the *Sulabh Samachar* and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's book.]

MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR

BY THE HON'BLE DR. SAIYID MAHMUD

Minister of Education and Development, Bihar

BIHAR occupies a most minor place in the literacy map of India. It was therefore natural that the first opportunity should be taken to initiate measures to improve her position. India could not afford to wait for another generation to see the results of a renovated system of primary education on the children of today, as the presence of millions of illiterate adults was a drag on all progress, and it was a positive impediment to the spread of primary education itself. Hence was inaugurated the Mass Literacy Campaign to liquidate the illiteracy and ignorance of the masses, widen their intellectual horizon and make them better citizens.

Our financial position is not strong and the demands on a fast dwindling Provincial Exchequer are steadily growing; hence it was idle to think of the investment of large sums of money and the recruitment of a large number of paid teachers in our attempt to liquidate the illiteracy of 70 lakhs male and 80 lakhs female adults between the ages of 15 and 40. We had, therefore, to fall back upon the vast resources of man power with which we are luckily endowed. We impressed on all educated persons that it was their duty to pay their personal tax to society by undertaking individually and jointly to teach our illiterate fellow countrymen. This appeal was made to the teachers and students of all grades just before their Summer Vacation and the response was very favourable.

The Literacy Campaign was inaugurated on the 26th of April last and on that day meetings and processions were organised all over the Province. Messages were received from eminent persons in the country and they created

a good effect. The Mass Literacy Committee, within a very short time, recruited and trained thousands of volunteers, printed Charts and Primers based on the Rapid Method of Teaching Adults and organised Literary Centres all over the Province. The buildings of Colleges, and High and Primary schools were utilised for holding classes. Boys of the Junior classes of Schools formed themselves into bands for persuading adults to attend the Centres. College Professors and School Teachers organised series of lantern lectures on useful topics to supplement the ordinary instruction given at these centres. The funds for the contingent expenditure were raised locally by subscriptions and in some cases grants were given by Local Bodies. The text of the Charts and Primers was in Hindustani and they were printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. In a large number of Literacy Centres both these scripts were taught with the result that many Hindus and Muslims have learnt both these scripts. It was found that an adult learnt to read and write after 6 to 8 weeks' regular attendance. At most of the Centres caste Hindus as well as Harijans sat side by side to acquire knowledge.

Literacy work was organised in the Jails and the prisoners showed great enthusiasm in joining these classes. This has given them a new outlook on life and the Jail looks like a real school when the Literacy Period begins. Teaching work is conducted by literate prisoners, outside volunteers and the Jail Staff.

Arrangements have been made to make the army of Police Choukidars literate within the next six months.

The industrial magnates in the Province have evinced marked interest in this work.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company have started a network of Literacy Centres at Jamshedpur where thousands of labourers are receiving instruction. Many of the Sugar Mills also have started this work in their Reserved areas.

The Government have recently granted a sum of Rs. 80,000 with a view to make this movement permanent. Under this scheme the existing machinery of the Education Department will be utilised for the organisation and supervision of this work. The main agency for instruction as before will be the voluntary labour of teachers, students, unemployed young men and social workers, but in some cases, with a view to enable the workers to devote more time to this work, provision has been made for the payment of a small honorarium of Annas Five per adult made literate. Small grants-in-aid will also be paid for meeting the cost of contingent expenditure. To ensure lasting literacy a graduated series of Readers on a carefully drawn up plan is being prepared and provision has been made for the publication of

a Fortnightly News Sheet in Hindustani printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. Special provision has been made for the expansion of literacy among women and this work will be entrusted to a Ladies' Committee.

The experience gained during the past five months has been very encouraging. During the months of July, August and September when the agricultural work was in full swing and large tracts were flooded it was apprehended that the Movement would collapse, but although the attendance has suffered the fall is not alarming. If the Movement can be intensified it may be possible to liquidate illiteracy from Bihar in less than 10 years.

The figures so far received, till August, show that *over 3 lakhs of adults have been made literate during the last four months*. A sub-division has been selected for intensified work and *it is hoped that within one year the entire population of that sub-division will be made literate*.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

Indians in East Africa

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to have read the contribution that appeared in *The Modern Review* of the current month under the heading of 'Indians Abroad' and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my great admiration for the informative articles that I find appearing in your paper under the 'Indians Abroad' section.

But, the immediate and special reason for my

writing this letter is that the report that has been used of my speech at Lucknow in connection with the conditions of Indians in East Africa is incorrect in one serious particular and the mistake gives a more favourable picture of the conditions of the Indians than they really are. I refer to page 273 column 2 where I am reported to have stated that the Indians in Kenya who number 41,000 have only 11 seats on the Legislative Council of the Colony. The truth is more serious than that. It is that in the council which consists of 41 members—

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------------|------|----|-----------------|
| Indians | who | number | 41,000 | have | 5 | elected seats |
| Europeans | " | " | 18,000 | " | 11 | " " |
| Africans (Natives) | who | " | 3,000,000 (3 Million) | " | no | seat |
| Arabs | who | number | 10,000 | have | 2 | seats 1 elected |
| | | | | | 1 | nominated |
| Nominated Officials | all | Europeans | | | 21 | seats |
| Europeans | nominated | to represent | native interests | | | |

41

The picture you will appreciate is gloomier than the port quoted in your paper will make out to be. I realize the error is unintentional and the reporter seems to have mixed up the number of the seats for Europeans with the population figure of the Indians. I think it would serve the purpose of putting the truer and of course the more unpleasant picture before the public as well as that of correcting the misreporting if you can print the figures I am giving above in the September issue of your esteemed 'Review.' I may add that I am

the person supposed to have spoken as reported. I had the honour to be the Member and the Honorary Secretary of the East African Indian Deputation. And, I am at present the Honorary Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress. If you desire I can later on send the figures regarding the position in the other territories of East Africa.

I am,
Yours most appreciatively,
S. G. Amin

SIR,

After writing the accompanying letter but before the posting of it, it occurs to me that it might be more appropriate for you to publish the figures regarding the composition of the legislative councils of the four territories of East Africa under the British Rule and governed directly by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The figures regarding Kenya colony are already given in the other letter, but, for the convenience of the printer I am

putting them here also along with those of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The much trumpeted equality of all races under the British Crown is exposed in its ugliest nakedness in these parts of the world which are not yet enjoying Self-Government and the Imperial Government cannot excuse themselves under any pretext of local opinion forcing them to the policy of Racial Arrogance for which South Africa is notorious.

| KENYA COLONY | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Indians | population | 41,000 | have 5 seats (elected) |
| Europeans | " | 18,000 | " 11 " " |
| European Officials | " | | " 21 " (nominated) |
| Europeans to represent | " | | " 2 " " |
| native interests | " | | " 2 seats 1 " " |
| Arabs | population | 10,000 | 1 (elected) |
| Africans (Natives) | | 3,000,000 (3 million) | No seat at all |
| TANGANYIKA TERRITORY (MANDATED) | | | |
| Indians | population | 32,000 | have 3 seats (nominated) |
| Europeans | " | 8,926 | " 7 " " |
| European Officials | ex-officio | | " 13 " " |
| Africans (Natives) | | 5,105,705 (5 million) | No seat at all |
| UGANDA PROTECTORATE | | | |
| Indians | population | 14,860 | have 2 seats (nominated) |
| Europeans | " | 1,994 | " 2 " " |
| European Officials | ex-officio | | " 6 " " |
| Africans (Natives) | population | 3,646,245 (3½ million) | No seat at all |
| ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE | | | |
| Indians | population | 14,242 | have seats (nominated) |
| Europeans | " | 278 | seat " " |
| European Officials | " | | seats (Ex-officio) |
| Arabs | population | 33,401 | " (nominated) |

The Imperial Government's declared policy in East Africa is that native interests will be paramount. 'Paramountcy of Native interests' and the Theory of

Trusteeship is carried out in practice as the figures given above so eloquently describe.

I beg to remain
Yours,
S. G. Amin

AN EXHIBITION OF MADAME SMULDERS' PAINTINGS IN PHNOM-PENH, CAMBODIA

AN EXHIBITION of Madame Smulders' paintings was held some time ago in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia. It met with great success, and was important not only from the artistic, but also from the ethnological point of view.



Portrait of the artist, Madame Smulders

Madame Smulders is a Dutch artist. Many of her pictures were a revelation to all sections of the art-loving public of Cambodia, whether Cambodian, European or Annamite. A wonderful variety of types was presented to the public. Her powerful drawing does not prejudice the delicacy of her pencil, and the touch of colours that she adds does not alter the classical simplicity of her art.

Mrs. Smulders who is a Doctor of Law, practised for several years in the Dutch Indies as legal adviser. She gave up her post, so that she might be able to give herself entirely to her art and study the soul of the people she met, by fixing in her drawings either the expression of their physiognomies or their feelings as revealed by their gestures. An artist with such a rich variety of portraits is rarely to be met with. Mrs. Smulders is going to exhibit her work also in America and Europe.

FAR EASTERN TYPES
Madame Smulders' Paintings



The Cambodian dancing girl



Modern Chinese young woman



A Cambodian boy



TOP : Chinese motherhood
BOTTOM : A Chinese baby

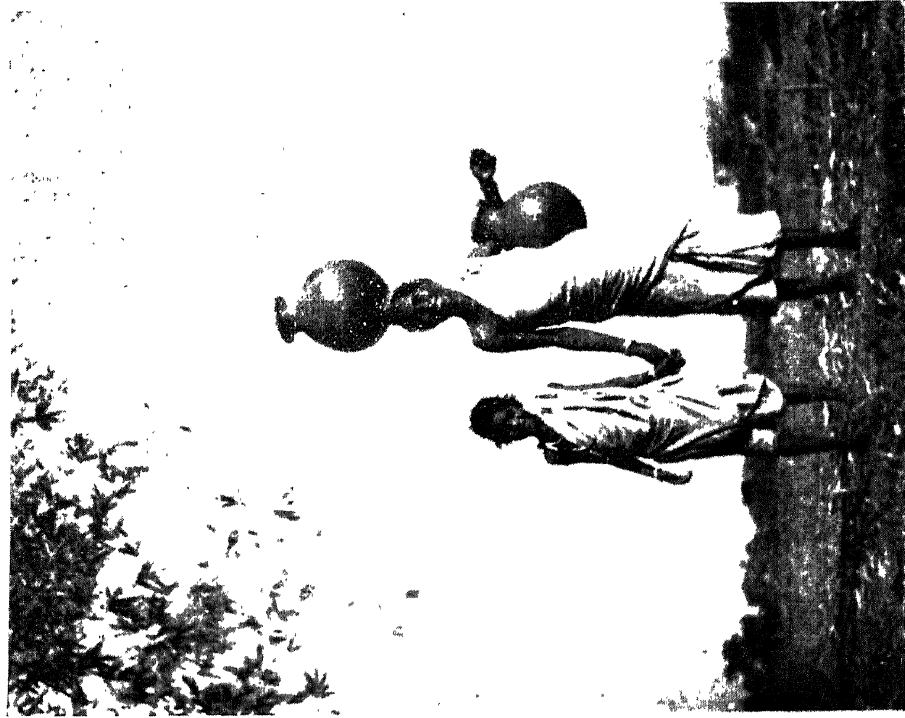
A Japanese woman
The sweet Chinese boy



Top : A Koreen pandit
Bottom : A Balinese girl

A Manchu princess
A Balinese drum-player

SANTALS OF BENGAL



Sachindra Dutt
SANTAL MOTHER AND DAUGHTER



Sudhindra Dutt
SANTAL WOMEN IN A VILLAGE FAIR



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM OFFICIAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE LIFE OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY : *Volume I, 1791-1830. Edited by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, F.R.A.S.B., Late Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (London), of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, & sometime Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. With an Introductory Memoir by Ramaprasad Chanda. A Portrait of Raja Rammohun Roy and Facsimiles of six Bengali, Persian and English Documents. Special Crown Quarto, pp. lxxxix+570. Neatly printed on excellent paper, cloth-bound & well got-up. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 9 Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12-8. There are twenty pages of Persian judgments. A Glossary and an Index of Proper Names add to the usefulness of the work.*

In addition to the illuminating introductory memoir, this volume contains 253 documents. They throw new light on the life and personality of Raja Rammohun Roy. It is stated in the Preface :—"The volume has been divided into three parts. The first part contains records relating to the private affairs of Rammohun Roy and his father and brothers. The second part contains records of cases brought against the Raja in the Supreme Court and the Sudder Dewany Adalat. The third part contains records of proceedings against the Raja's eldest son. The records embodied in the second and third parts are really annals of the Raja's long persecution, and the clearing into clear relief the greatness and patriotism of the man, who, in the midst of these attacks to bring down ruin and disgrace on him, never lost sight of his self-imposed mission of uplifting his countrymen." We are now able to get a clear and definite idea of, the years of persecution to which he was subjected, owing to his religious opinions, by his mother and other relatives and by the Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan and his other enemies, "protected and encouraged, not to say instigated" by many men of the English official class.

Within the compass of a brief notice it will not be possible to narrate even briefly the course and results of any of the law-suits brought against him and his son Radhaprasad Roy, all false and all meant to crush him. They are narrated in the book and summarized in the introduction. His truthfulness, intelligence and the righteousness of his cause triumphed in the long run in every case. Colonel Young, an Englishman who occupied high office in India in those days wrote to the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the course of a letter on the 30th September, 1830 :

"His (Rammohun Roy's) whole time also has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and virulent persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally—but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countrymen; protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours—influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous 'Black Man' should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class, or rather should pass them in the march of mind. Rammohun Roy, after an arduous and prolonged battle through a gradation of tribunals, has at length, by dint of talent, perseverance and right, got the better in the last resort; but the strife and the magnitude of the stake, and the long despair of justice, have shattered his nerves and impaired his digestion and bodily health, and his energies of mind. It is now over, and I hope most fervently that he will recover himself again."—Bowing, *Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. XI, p. 7.

It is to be noted that even during the worst years of his persecution Rammohun Roy carried on his controversies with the orthodox pandits and the orthodox Christians and did not relax his efforts to promote the great mission of his life. Such was the extraordinary strength of his mind and the virility of his intellect, sustained by his living faith in the Supreme Spirit. It is noted in Mr. Chanda's Introductory Memoir that when the (false) criminal case against his son Radhaprasad Roy for alleged embezzlement of Rs. 1,36,360-8-3 was pending before the Sadar Nizamat Adalat and so "when the fate of his son was hanging in the balance," he founded his Vedanta College. Mr. William Adam wrote on the 27th July, 1826 :—

"Rammohun Roy has lately built a small but neat and handsome college, which he calls the Vedanta College, in which a few youths are at present instructed by a very eminent Pandit in Sanskrit literature, with a view to the propagation and defence of Hindu Unitarianism. With this institution he is also willing to connect instructions in European science and learning, and in Christian unitarianism, provided the instructions are conveyed in the Bengali or Sanskrit language."

The extent of official prejudice against Rammohun Roy can be guessed from some facts connected with the false criminal case for alleged embezzlement instituted against his son, originally at Burdwan. Mr. Molony Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, was appointed by the Board of Revenue as a Commissioner to inquire into the alleged embezzlement. But ever before he had made any inquiry he "openly avowed that he had suspended or removed from office some of the ministerial officers of the Burdwan Collectorate on account, in addition to other grounds, of their connection

with Rammohun Roy, father of Radhaprasad Roy"! One of these officers, whom he suspended, was one Kunjabihari Roy, who was taken to be a relative of Rammohun Roy, though he was not a Brahman, which Rammohun Roy was! Against all decent judicial procedure this Mr. Molony used to sit with the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan trying the case and to annoy and insult the witnesses for the defence in various ways. Thereupon, on a petition of the accused Radhaprasad Roy, the officiating Senior Judge of the Court of Nizam-at Adalat who heard the petition, ordered that the following instructions be issued to the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan:

"While you admit the Superintendent as prosecutor, you should on no account allow him to sit on a level with yourself or your Assessor the Law officer, that you should not permit him to put any illegal or improper questions to the witnesses or to make any harsh or irrelevant remarks upon their evidence, that you should not communicate with him in any but the native language so that all which passes between you may be intelligible to all persons."

For the great trouble that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has taken to master the intricate and dry details of the judgments of law-courts and other official documents in order to be able to write a lucid introduction to the work, as also for his other strenuous labours for the preparation and publication of the volume, he is entitled to high praise and the gratitude of all those persons who sincerely honour Rammohun Roy. Entitled to high praise and public gratitude is also his co-worker Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, who, in addition to working with Mr. Chanda in the Calcutta High Court Record offices and Bengal Government's Record office, repeatedly went to Burdwan for finding out and copying documents there and spent month after month in New Delhi rummaging among musty Imperial Records. The editing and arranging of the materials, the correction of proofs and the preparation of the glossary and the index have taken up months of his time. Much valuable material has already been secured for the second volume. For fresh materials Dr. Majumdar has again gone to New Delhi.

The volume under review, which in many portions makes very interesting reading, throws light not only on the life of Rammohun Roy, but indirectly also on the manner in which administration was carried on in the years covered by the documents included in it. For this reason, it deserves to be studied not only by those who honour Rammohun Roy but also by students of the early British period of Indian history. The best way in which we can show our grateful appreciation of the labours of Messrs. Chanda & Majumdar is to study the volume which they have presented to the public.

THE EVOLUTION OF NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, being a Survey of the History and Constitutional Development of N.-W. F. Province in India. By Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, Senior Advocate, Federal Court of India, Advocate, Lahore High Court & N.-W. F. P. Judicial Commissioner's Court, and Author of Many Legal Works. The London Book Co. (India), Peshwar, Nowshera, Rawalpindi, Murree. Price Rs. 12, or 18s. Royal 8vo., pp. xxx+362. Fifty-two illustrations printed separately on art paper and a map of North-West Frontier Province. Dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.

The work consists of sixteen chapters, and four sub-chapters giving an account of the Hindu Period, the Muslim Period, the Sikh Period, the British Period, N.-W. F. in

the 20th Century, External Relations with Afghanistan during the great war, the World War, External Relations after the great war, External Relations with Trans-border region after separation, the Frontier Enquiry Committee and Internal Administration of the District, Constitutional Development in N.-W. F. Province, the Royal Statutory Commission, the National Struggle, the Round Table Conference, N.-W. F. Province Subjects Committee, the Communal Question, Round Table Conference (continued), Second Round Table Conference, Change in Constitution of N.-W. F. Province, and Government of India Act (1935). There is a Postscript dealing with the working of the Congress Government in N.-W. F. Province. The elaborate subject-index makes it easy to consult the work.

The bare mention of the contents of the book given above will show how useful the work is to students of the contemporary history of India. Journalists and other publicists can obtain a definite idea of frontier and trans-frontier affairs from it. College and University libraries and public libraries will find it necessary to have it for their readers. It is a mine of information relating to N.-W. F. Province.

The illustrations are very interesting and include portraits of many famous Sikh and Afghan heroes, many living notabilities, photographs of many forts, etc.

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF V. I. LENIN: By R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. 50 Cents. Pp. 95. Portrait of Lenin on dust cover. Cloth-bound.

Mr. R. Palme Dutt, the author of this book, is an internationally well-known Marxist journalist. In it he presents a clearly written outline of the life and teachings of the Russian revolutionary leader and founder of the Soviet State. He places the main emphasis upon Lenin's teachings, setting them against the background of the period in which he lived. Special emphasis is placed upon the question of the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nature of bourgeois democracy, the national and peasant question, and the problem and building of socialism.

This reviewer is neither a Marxist nor a Leninist, but he appreciates the unapologetic tone in which Mr. Dutt has presented his book to the public.

The author writes:-

"The living ass not only kick the dead lion, but what is worse—patronizes him and brays over him in terms of deepest ass-nature's approval."

We do not know to what extent Lenin has been a victim of this sort of misfortune, but we do know that some of India's great men have had such ill-luck.

FROM TSARDOM TO THE STALIN CONSTITUTION: By W. P. Coates and Zella K. Coates, authors of *Armed Intervention in Russia, 1918-1922*, *The Second Five-Year Plan of Development of the U. S. S. R.*, *Scenes from Soviet Life*, &c., &c. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. 10s. 6d. net.

Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., are, evidently, not propagandists. In the work under review, published by them, the impression which the authors produce on the mind of the reader is that Soviet Russia has made great economic and cultural progress within the last twenty years. They defend the Bolshevik regime against all criticism and attacks, maintaining that even the recent state treason trials were necessary and just. The

same publishers have also published *Russia Under Soviet Rule* by N. De Basily, who "was formerly counsellor to the Russian Embassy in Paris, an intimate colleague of Foreign Minister Sazonov," etc., in which work the author "concludes that Bolshevism has been the ruin of that freedom and democracy towards which pre-Revolutionary Russia was clearly moving, and that the industrial achievements of Bolshevism are of little note when the cost is viewed, and when the trend of the former regime towards an industrial economy is taken into account. Meanwhile, Socialism remains a mirage and the masses are forced to accept a lower level of living than under the Tsar."

So the publishers present both sides of the medal. In *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution* the authors give a bright picture of the Soviet regime. The book is of absorbing interest. Beginning with pre-war Russia it gives a connected account to the end of the second five-year plan. This is followed by chapters on "What Have the Workers Gained?," "The Trade Unions?," "What Have the Peasantry Gained by the Revolution?," "What Have the Women Gained?," "The Intelligentsia," "The National Minorities," "The Stalin Constitution," and "The Recent State Treason Trials."

The achievements standing to the credit of the Bolsheviks, according to this book, are truly remarkable. Only a very few items can be cited here.

"By 1932, illiteracy, which by 1928 still claimed 46.1 per cent of the population as compared with about 79 per cent in 1913, fell to about 10 per cent." This was the result of the first five-year plan. By the same plan, "For some forty-two nationalities who had previously had no written language, such an one was worked out, in a number of cases where the alphabet was complicated and difficult to learn, it was Latinized."

"One of the first tasks undertaken by the Soviet authorities was the stamping out of illiteracy. In Tsarist Russia about 79 per cent of the population were illiterate. Now, with the exception of a comparatively few old people and young children, there are very few illiterates, and universal compulsory elementary education has been established throughout the country."

"Molotov in a speech in May 1938 at a conference of professors and organizers of the Soviet higher educational institutions (universities, etc.) claimed that there were more students in such institutions in the U. S. S. R. than in those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan taken together."

Agriculture, manufacturing industries, road-making, railways, aviation, transport in general, and mechanization have made marvellous progress. The medical and health services have been doing splendid work.

"The number of doctors practising in the U. S. S. R. has increased from 19,785 in 1913 to 90,692 in 1936, whilst in 1937 there were over 100,000 (These figures refer to present territory)".

According to Dr. Clara Segal in *The Financial Times*, U. S. S. R. Supplement, November 8, 1937, "the principal cities and towns of the U. S. S. R. show at present a lower death-rate than some foreign capitals. In 1935, for instance, the mortality-rate per 1,000 inhabitants in Moscow was 11.6, Leningrad 11.3, Kiev 12.9, Minsk 10.3, and Tiflis 10.7, while Berlin had a death-rate of 20.1, Bucharest 16.7, Tokyo 13.5, Paris 12.2, and London 12.2."

The chapter on "The National Minorities" concludes as follows:—

"If the Soviet Government had done nothing else, the solution of the question of the friendly co-existence of the numerous nationalities within the frontiers of the

U. S. S. R. would secure for it an honorable place in world history. But, of course, the question of national minorities, which is agitating so many parts of the world cannot be solved as it were in space. The Soviet Government, with the best intentions, would have been powerless to bring about amity between Cossack and Jew, Ukrainian and Great Russian, Pole and White Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Tartar, etc., etc., were it not for its general economic policy. In a society based on co-operation, on production for use and not for profit, there is naturally no room for exploitation of one nationality by another, just as there is no room for the exploitation of one class by another. The success of the Soviet national policy is a living proof of the fact that there is no necessary national antagonism among the different races and nations. In a society based on socialist principles, every nationality may be given full freedom to develop to the full its own national language and culture, even to enter into friendly emulation with one another without arousing mutual national hatreds."

The attention of British Imperialists and Muslim Communalists is drawn to the following passage, which follows the previous paragraph:

"If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political, and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, if capitalist exploitation of class by class and nation by nation were eliminated."

As regards private property, under the Stalin Constitution "side by side with the dominant socialist economy, the law permits small private farms and handicraft enterprises in which no hired labour is employed. Moreover, every household with a Kolkhoz (collective farm) has for its own use, in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel, a plot of land, a house, livestock, and minor agricultural implements."

"The private property of citizens resulting from their earnings or savings, their dwellings and household goods, as well as all property for private use, is protected by law. In other words, private property continues to exist, but no one will be permitted to use it for exploiting other people's labour power."

X.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION INTO MEASURES OF A NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER FOR RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING. LEAGUE OF NATIONS. *Pages 91.*

This Memorandum by Mr. N. F. Hall, Director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, London, has been prepared in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Assembly in October 1937, which invited the Economic and Financial Organisation to examine measures of a national or international character for raising the standard of living. There is obviously a very close relation between this enquiry and the one previously conducted by the League into the problem of Nutrition.

Mr. Hall suggests that the first step in any concerted international action designed to make possible further advances in human welfare should be the ascertainment, in a more precise form than has been done hitherto, and as a basis for the action of public opinion, of the extent to which existing standards of living fall short of the minimum desirable, in the light of modern knowledge, for the maintenance of health and physiological well-being.

Mr. Hall claims that Governments can do much to promote increased production and consumption by paying careful attention to relative prices charged to consumers for the necessities of life; by wisely planned systems of taxation; by the application of appropriate social policies; and by facilitating the education of consumers in regard to the opportunities for improved consumption made possible by advances in science and productive technique.

An examination is made of the general character of measures likely to raise levels of production and consumption. The author emphasises the relationship between low standards of living and low productivity and shows the desirability of increasing the productive efficiency of agricultural countries (by improved local communications, marketing and credit facilities, and so on), and of securing in them a greater degree of local interchange of agricultural produce. At the same time, the industrial States should base their long-term agricultural policies on an increased local output of protective foods, obtaining more of their supplies of energy foods and animal foodstuffs from the agricultural countries. In this way, the latter would be assisted in improving their productive efficiency since the increased outlets abroad for their goods would provide them with the means of importing equipment. This demand for equipment goods—and later, as the productive capacity of the agricultural countries rises, for consumers' goods—would in its turn benefit the external trade of the industrial countries.

Mr. Hall devotes a separate section of his Memorandum to the important problem of the economic development of peoples less advanced economically. An acceleration of measures to relieve poverty in such cases is, as he shows, a matter of real international concern—quite apart from any humanitarian considerations.

Although the Memorandum is only a preliminary investigation into a vast subject, it may well be fruitful in its ultimate results, particularly if it succeeds in "giving a clearer sense of direction to economic activities" and in "inducing and deepening a sense of conviction that technical progress in industry, agriculture and transport has created for the world as a whole unique opportunities for promoting human welfare by wisely-balanced increases in production and by well-planned measures of economic co-operation between nations." This should be noted by "orthodox" and liberal followers of Mahatma Gandhi in economics and industries.

STUDIES AND REPORTS ON STATISTICAL METHODS. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

1. *Statistics of the Gainfully-occupied Population.* Pp. 32. Price 1/- \$ 0.25.
2. *Minimum List of Commodities for International Trade Statistics.* Pp. 62. Price 2/- \$ 0.50.
3. *Timber Statistics.* Pp. 17. Price 9d. \$ 0.20.
4. *Statistics Relating to Capital Formation.* Pp. 22. Price 1/- \$ 0.25.

These four *Studies and Reports on Statistical Methods* prepared by the Committee of Statistical Experts have just been published by the League of Nations.

1. STATISTICS OF THE GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION : *Definitions and classifications recommended by the Committee of Statistical Experts :*

Contains an international minimum programme for statistics of the gainfully-occupied population, mainly intended for the use of Governments at their next census

of population. The definition of the persons to be considered as gainfully occupied, as well as those not to be so considered, and the discussion of the various principles which can or should be followed for their classification (e.g., by branches of economic activity, by personal status, by individual occupation) will be of interest not only to the compilers of such statistics but to all those who have to use or interpret them. A nomenclature of Industries is annexed to the Report.

2. MINIMUM LIST OF COMMODITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE STATISTICS : *Revised edition prepared by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

The List is now applied by 25 countries representing the majority of world trade. The principles which have guided the Committee in establishing the List itself and the additional groupings of commodities by their stage of production and according to use are fully explained.

3. TIMBER STATISTICS : *A Minimum Programme of Timber Statistics drawn up by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

The Committee makes concrete proposals for recording statistically the timber supplied and the timber consumed for industrial purposes, the stock of such timber, and the production and stocks of simply transformed timber products (such as sawn and planed products, boxboards, wood-pulp, etc.).

4. STATISTICS RELATING TO CAPITAL FORMATION : *A Note on Methods by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

This note is an attempt to describe and to define the phenomena which statistics relating to capital formation are intended to measure. Its object is to promote among economists and statisticians effective discussion of the extremely complex problem of capital formation and of the various possibilities of measuring statistically the process of capital formation at various stages. The definition and the measurement of savings, of the funds available for investment and of the money outlay for the acquisition of newly created capital goods are considered. Certain outstanding examples of attempts to measure capital formation in various countries are briefly reviewed.

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, SEVENTH YEAR, 1937-38. LEAGUE OF NATIONS : *Ser. L. o. N. P. 1938. H. A. 13. Pages 244. Price : in wrappers 6/- ; \$ 1.50 : Bound in cloth 7/6 ; \$ 2.00.*

The new edition of the World Economic Survey is the seventh annual publication in this series. The volume is based largely upon the more specialised publications of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League, and upon information supplied by other bodies and, in particular, by the International Labour Office. It presents, both for the economist and for the general reader, an outline of the important change in the trend of economic development that has occurred during the last year as a result of the decline in economic activity.

The greater part of the first chapter is devoted to an analysis of the causes of the recession particularly in America, and to the effects of the recession on economic conditions in other countries.

The effect of the general recession in trade activity is the main theme that runs through the following chapters of the volume. The fall in employment and the reappearance of unemployment in many countries, the decline in production and the accumulation of stocks of primary products, the change in the trend of prices from a rising to a falling movement, the fall in the quantum and the value of world trade after a period of considerable expansion—these are the main subjects of

successive chapters. Emphasis is also laid upon the change in the trend of commercial policy which has resulted from the decline in world economic activity, since in a number of cases a period of liberalisation of tariffs, of quotas and exchange controls has given place to increased restrictions. In a similar way attention is drawn to the effect of the recession in causing a sharp restriction in the production and export of those primary products which have been subjected to schemes of international regulation.

But in addition to the central theme which runs through the volume, there are a number of interesting special features in the different chapters.

A special section is devoted to the present scale of national expenditure on armaments and to recent policies of monetary expansion and public expenditure, such as the "spending-lending" programme of the United States.

WORLD PRODUCTION AND PRICES, 1937-38.
LEAGUE OF NATIONS : *Ser L. o. N. P. 1938. II. A.*
11. Pages 137. Price 5/-; \$ 1.25.

The volume on World Production and Prices 1937-38 has a wider scope than previous editions and its form has been somewhat modified. It begins with a chapter on general trends of world production from 1920 to 1927 which contains the main statistics for this period and enables some general conclusions to be drawn as to the development of production. The world indices of primary production and stocks are calculated, as in previous editions, on the basis of averages for 1925-1929=100. But the former have, as far as possible, been calculated back to 1920, so as to afford a better view of the general trend. New world indices of the manufacture of capital and consumption goods have been calculated, and new sections added concerning production per head of population and yearly rates of progress.

An interesting feature is a summary of the principal facts brought out by this volume. These facts are too numerous to mention in detail, but it may be stated that, as compared with 1929 world primary production in 1937 was 10% higher, the output of crude foodstuffs 6%, and of industrial raw materials 19%, while world visible stocks of primary commodities were 6% lower. The concurrent increase in world manufacture amounted to about 20%. The simultaneous decline in the international exchange of commodities was reflected by a decline of 3% in the quantum of world trade from 1929 to 1937.

Though the necessary basis for forming a judgment concerning future developments is still lacking, it is pointed out that, in spite of a certain decline, world economy as a whole has shown a relatively high degree of resistance to depressive influences.

D.

LIFE OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE : *By the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Published by the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Mysore Road, Bangalore City. Price Re. 1.*

At the invitation of the organisers of the Extension Lectures of the Mysore University Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered at Bangalore and afterwards at Mysore three lectures on the life and work of late Gopal Krishna Gokhale. These lectures have been published in the form of the book under review. In the first lecture the author has given us the details of the early life of his master—by which name he calls late Gopal Krishna Gokhale—the starting of the Fergusson College and the part played by Mr. Gokhale, his coming under the influence of Ranade and Joshi, the political rishis of

that time, and his connection with the Welby Commission. Much has been said about the Apology incident for which Mr. Gokhale's conduct was criticised as cowardly by many of his countrymen. While in England in connection with the Welby Commission Mr. Gokhale received letters describing the ravages of the plague in Poona and the wrong steps taken by the Government to mitigate its horrors which led to the assassination of Mr. Kand and Lt.-Col. Ayerst. Mr. Gokhale criticised publicly the conduct of the Government and the matter was discussed at a meeting of the House of Commons. On the information given by the Bombay Government the whole thing was termed as a malevolent invention and Mr. Gokhale was asked to apologise when he set his foot in Bombay. He did apologise on the advice of his friends and this was taken as a betrayal by the extremist section of the public. Mr. Sastri quotes a few extracts from Mr. Gokhale's diary to justify his conduct. In the second lecture the author gives an account of his public work, both inside and outside the Legislative Councils, and reviews it from the stand-point of a moderate politician. Some may differ from the author's conclusion regarding Mr. Gokhale's attitude towards Mr. Tlark and his friends, but the author has defended his master's conduct in an inimitable way. In the third lecture the author describes the last years of Mr. Gokhale's life, his enthusiasm for the spread of elementary education and his part in the Indian National Congress in bringing about Hindu-Moslem Unity. For all the work in the later part of Mr. Gokhale's life his name has become a household word in India and the author has delineated these later years in an exceedingly interesting way. Mr. Sastri's style is lucid, forceful, in short, mastery, his command over the facts is admirable. We welcome this work on the life of one of the greatest Indian statesmen by his ablest disciple and hope that a copy of this work will be preserved in every library, public and private, in the towns and villages of India. The printing and the get-up of the book are excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

BANKING FRAUDS IN INDIA : *By V. R. Sonalker, B.A. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pp. 179. Price Rs. 3.*

With the spread of banking habit in India, there has been brought about many changes in the banking system aiming at better and more effective service to the public. But however rigid the system might have been, there are people unscrupulous in their very nature, who have systematically devised new and novel ways to defy the rigidity of the system and perpetrated frauds on the banks. In this book the author took great pains in indicating the very many pitfalls, in the banking system, taking advantage of which many banks have been victims of frauds and consequently huge losses. Problems to checkmate evil designs on banking comes to be a subject of public importance.

Although there is much need for improvement over the present system and practice of Indian banking, the history of banking frauds in India, reveal the ugly facts of betrayal on the part of bank officials. This has been acknowledged by the author of this book. The only possible remedy to do away with this growing evil is undoubtedly the spread of banking education. The book from beginning to end is interesting reading and will be immensely useful to all bank official and the business people as well.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

IMMANUEL KANT ON PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL: By *Humayun Kabir*. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. cl+90, with an Index. Price Rs. 5 or 9s.

This is a translation from the original of Kant's book on Philosophy in General. The translation is preceded by four introductory essays by the translator and also an abstract of the book translated. A knowledge of Kant is indispensable for students of western philosophy and any addition to the extensive literature on him is always welcome. For Indian students, specially, a book on Kant from the pen of an Indian who has read him in his own language, will be doubly welcome. Prof. Kabir is well-known in the field of philosophy and literature and his book, we are sure, will be profitably used by his students.

The printing and get-up of the book is all that could be desired. But the Preface seems over-loaded with too many references and too much of thanks-giving.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

WALKING TOGETHER: A STUDY IN LIVERPOOL NON-CONFORMITY 1688-1938: By *Anne Holt, M.A., F.R. Hist. S.* Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.1. Pages 262. Price 5s. net.

Miss Holt, in this nicely got-up volume, traces the history of the oldest dissenting community in Liverpool for two hundred and fifty years from its very inception to the present stage. The history of this one non-conforming congregation shows, in microcosm, the religious thought and practice of Protestant England throughout that long period. Started in Liverpool by the ejected ministers, Protestantism first took to Calvinism, passed through Arianism and Presbyterianism and finally consummated in the Unitarianism of Channing, Martineau, and Hamilton Thom.

About the bigotry of the then Church of England, Milton declared that it would rather lose a soul than part with a syllable or a surplice. It cost Protestantism many a bitter struggle to liberate Christianity from the Catholic conservatism and narrowness by introducing toleration in the Church-creed and granting religious liberty to its followers. Non-conformity, for the first time, rendered the Bible into the Vernacular, laid emphasis on social service as an essential factor of religious life, and contributed a good deal to the social progress by their fight against slave-trade and other social abuses. Rituals and formalities were relegated to a position of insignificance in the Church; Trinity of God was superseded by Unity of God-head and marriage was allowed to the Clergy. The reformers, however, had to pay heavy penalty for these innovations and for the recognition of their community. They had to face martyrdom and suffer from ecclesiastical censures and social disabilities.

With the advent of rationalism in religion, the thoughtful people in all countries revolted against the dogmatism of their respective faiths. Protestantism came into being not only in Christianity but also in all religions of the modern world. What Protestantism has done to Christianity, Brahmoism has done to Hinduism. It betrays lack of thinking to stigmatise Protestant Reform movements as destructive and dangerous; but the fact is, that they stressed the social and humanitarian aspect of religion which was lamentably neglected by the Orthodox school.

The book, with five illustrations, is an instructive manual to all, particularly, to Catholic Christians who will do well to peruse and ponder over its contents.

The book has been so named from a saying of Jacob's Church Covenant wherein the dissenters were exhorted to 'walk together' in all God's ways and ordinances.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM: By *Sardul Singh Caveeshar*. Second edition. The National Publications. Chamberlain Road, Lahore. 1930.

The first edition of the book (1934) was published under the title "Non-violent Non-co-operation;" and we had occasion to review it in this journal for August 1935.

We are now glad to welcome the second edition, for it, at least, indicates that the public is taking a certain amount of interest in the history of the Gandhian movement. Two valuable appendices have been added to the present edition viz., "Mahatmaji on Non-co-operation" and "Mahatmaji's Statement." But unfortunately the printing has been done in the same slipshod manner as before.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE CHANGELING: By *Hassan Ali*. Published by Herbert Joseph, London, 1933. Pp. 267.

This is an interesting picture, in the form of a novel, of the social and cultural conflict that has always resulted from the contact of the east and the west, among educated Indians, and contains a sympathetic presentation of the tragedy that it often entails. It emphasizes the view that the inherent disparity between the ideals of the east and the west will for ever operate as an insuperable obstacle to a true fusion of the two, and that there is no hope that the twin will ever meet. It suggests that the voluntary adoption of western modes of life by people in India and the compulsory absorption of Indians sojourning in western lands in the life and atmosphere of those countries are alike productive of an abnormal state; and this is set forth in the book in a vivid manner, enlivened at times with fine poetic touches.

But while the work is a creditable performance as a depiction of this conflict it is not very remarkable as a novel. The plot is thin, the love-story is unimpressive and is brought to an abrupt and unnatural close, and the references to current Indian politics are a mere digression.

But the style is entertaining and lively all through, and altogether it is a readable book produced by a writer who has a competent knowledge of his intricate theme and has a command of the idiom of English fiction, which is remarkable in a foreign author.

P. K. GUHA

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE EAST AND THE WEST: Edited by *E. R. Hughes*. Published by Oxford University Press.

A group of distinguished Oxford dons have collaborated in this fine endeavour to bring home to the undergraduate that the best venue for the pursuit of knowledge is not the bottom of the well, but that the wider interests of living have their own rights to be considered. Among these interests is that of the relation of the individual to society, which has been brought to the fore by recent events in Europe, and probably in the Oxford Union itself as well. So 190 pages of the lectures have been devoted to its discussion from various angles, of the primitive, the Indian, the Hebrew, the Chinese, the Greek and of the modern west. The grand (and typical) conclusion is that the individual is irrepressible, that the measure of individual liberty

is the surest guarantee of Social stability. "Different emphases in civilizations involve different bases of social equilibrium and these involve the individual. He in turn sets to work and readjusts the emphases in his civilisation. So the cycle goes on, with the individual tirelessly adapting and being adapted." The Volume ends with the same noble assertion of faith in the individual who is declared by Professor Powicke to be unconquerable having his roots in the very nature of man as a social being.

To an Indian the book is highly flattering to his feelings and convictions. It challenges and successfully demolishes the doctrine that Christianity had discovered the individual. (A lecture on Ikhnaton, the first individual in history would have been welcome.) There are pleasing references to the Bhagavat Gita and Sir Radhakrishnan has contributed a lucid lecture. The Indian of the recent past but with his prestige telescoped into the present had been brought up in Anglo-Saxon ethics and today is almost convinced that the fortress of his individual soul has been besieged by the Mares and the women in revolt. These latter have of course no soul. This struggle for him is rationalized into a conflict between the individual and society. For our Indian elder therefore this book will have a special value through its insistences no less than through its admirable style.

Fortunately, our young men do not read. If they did they would have unconsciously resented the mellow wisdom of these pages. So far as the reviewer knows of their attitudes, their idea is that in India, at least, of all animals the individual is the most improbable under the existing circumstances, their approach towards the problem is neither from the individual nor from society, both in fighting trim, but from the no-man's fairly autonomous land of relationship between the two.

SOCIOLOGY : A BRIEF OUTLINE : By K. Motwani, A.M., Ph.D. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.

The reviewer remembers to have read this essay in the author's study of Manu, the Law Giver. It was a misfit there. In the form of a booklet of 63 pages the outline has merits, which, of course, would have been enhanced if the author had a clear-cut approach and controlled his undoubted learning. The book has a valuable bibliography.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

ESSENTIALS OF HINDUISM : Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas eight only.

In this book extracts from Swami Vivekananda's writings and speeches have been so arranged as to give the reader a comprehensive idea of Hinduism in all its different aspects.

BHAKTI-YOGA : By Swami Vivekananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas twelve only.

This is a nice reprint of Swamiji's Bhakti-Yoga. The get-up of the book as well as the printing are excellent.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION 1938: Official Handbook and Guide.

This sumptuously illustrated volume will prove valuable for travellers in Mysore. It maintains the standard of get-up of former years.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BENGALI

UPANISHAD RAHASHYA OR GITAR YOGIC VYAKHYA (Secret of Upanishadas or esoteric interpretation of Geeta 10th part): By Srimad Bijoy Krishna Debasarma. Published by Sj. Kumudranjan Chatterjee, Korabagan. Howrah, 565 to 747 pages. Size Royal 8vo. Price Re. 1-4.

The book is written in Bengali language. It contains the text of the Geeta from 9th to 12th chapter, a Sanskrit annotation and then the Bengali explanation. In this explanation the author gives first the current interpretation of the text, and then the esoteric explanation, which is the essential part of the book. It is written in pure simple chaste Bengali, and in a very fluent style. The writer has based his views on Vedantic thoughts, apparently of non-dualistic school, but really it embraces the ideas of qualified monism. It seems the author did not pay much attention to the distinction of those two schools, probably for the benefit of general reading public. On the whole the book facilitates a very happy reading of the Geeta, and deserves every encouragement from the reading public.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

GUJARATI

ABAD HINDUSTAN : By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pages 244. Price Re. 1 (1937).

MAHAVIR SWAMI NO ANTIM UPADESHA : By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. 149. Price annas eight (1937).

SHRI KUND KUNDACHARYA'S TRAN RATNA : By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pp. 149. Price annas eight (1937).

All the three books from the pen of Mr. Patel betray his literary activity in various directions. The first is a translation of William Digby's *Prosperous British India*. The facts and figures relating to the economic condition of India have been brought up-to-date, and thus the book made useful to students of the subject. The language of the translation is easy. The two other books have been brought out by the Jain Sahitya Prakashan Samiti and necessarily relate to Jain subjects. The first is the translation of that Uttaradhyayan Sutra, an Agam granth of Jain literature. A scholarly Introduction discusses the Sutra from various points of view and the text itself with the footnotes help the reader greatly in following the last precepts given by that great religious leader, Mahavir Swami. Their utility is such as would endure for all time. The third book deals with Kund Kundacharya, the well-known old Acharya of the Digambar section of the Jains. His three books called by the translator—Three Gems—have been ably translated with commentary in this book. The subject being a metaphysical one can hardly be made popular, though the writer has striven to do so.

MARU KUNJ: By Mathuradas Trikamji. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 156. 2nd Edition. Price -/8/- (1937).

Mr. Mathuradas was a victim of T. B. While undergoing treatment he studied the subject closely, as the bibliography at the end of the book testifies, and as the result thereof has been able to find advice, both as to the prevention and the means of cure of that fell disease. An informative introduction from the pen of Dr. Juraj N. Mehta, M.D. adds to the usefulness of the book.

GAVRI KIRTAN MALA: Published by K. G. Bhachech. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound: Illustrated. Pages 280. Price Rs. 2/- (1937).

Gavribsai, a well known Gujarati poetess (V. S. 1815 to 1865) belonged to the Nagar Brahmin caste and had become a widow when quite a child. When grown up she lived the model life of a chaste Hindu widow and passed her time in worship, study and writing. Her devotion to religion was so great that Princes invited her and the Ruler of Benares where the closing years of her life were passed, greatly honoured her. She has composed religious songs (Bhajans and Kirtans) in Gujarati and Hindi and they have all (nearly 612) been collected and printed in this volume by their assiduous collector. A short sketch of her life is also given. The songs are printed in Devnagari script and therefore can be read and understood by people outside Gujarat. Great credit is due to the compiler for rescuing them from inevitable oblivion, as the present progressive trend of Gujarati literature does not favour such writings. They breathe the spirit of the old devotional literature of Gujarat.

TAPOVAN: By Govind H. Patel. Printed at Vakil Brothers Printing Press, Baroda. Illustrated. Paper-Cover. Pp. 110. Price annas twelve (1937).

This small book contains two very good poems—Tapovan and Yajna Shikha—with explanatory notes and appreciatory prefaces. The first poem describes in feeling language the story of Savitri and Yama and the second the heroic sacrifice and martyrdom of the Sikh Gurus. Both incidents lend themselves to suitable treatment by poets and Mr. Patel has done ample justice to them. They sustain the reputation of Mr. Patel as a writer of great promise.

K. M. J.

ENGLISH-KANNADA

STUDENTS MODERN CONCISE DICTIONARY. (ENGLISH—ENGLISH-KANNADA): Compiled by K. B. Kopp. Edited, Revised and enlarged by Vaidyabhanu D. K. Bhardvaj, M. D. Ay. Publisher P. C. Shyabadi math, Book Depot, Gadag, (M. S. M. Ry.). Pp. xii+1877. Size 3½"×5". Price Rs. 2.

STUDENT'S MODERN PRACTICAL DICTIONARY (ENGLISH-KANNADA): Compiled by D. K. Bhardvaj. Published by P. C. Shyabadi math, Book Depot, Gadag, (M. S. M. Ry.). Pp. viii+1184. Size 4½"×5". Price Rs. 2.

These two publications contain nearly 25,000 English words with their Kannada equivalents. Their usefulness has been enhanced by the addition of tables of weights and measures, useful data, nautical measures, table of specific gravities, abbreviations etc. The size is handy, printing and get-up good. They deserve appreciation by the Kannadigas.

T. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED

HINDU NATIONALISM: By Lala Lajpat Rai. Published by The Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Pp. 26. Price Two Annas.

THE HEROINES OF HINDUSTAN: By D. Rajasekharam. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1.

RIGHT OR WRONG (A PLEA FOR TEMPLE FRANCHISE): By P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Principal Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram. Pp. 32. 1938.

ON THE FRONTIER: By B. Shiva Rao. Copies available from the author from Hyde Vale Cottage, Simla, S. W. Pp. 27. Price three annas.

A brief discussion of the problems of the North-Western Frontier.

ISLAM—A UNIVERSAL RELIGION OF PEACE AND PROGRESS: By Abdul Karim, B.A. Published by Mr. A. Rasu., 13-1, Wellesley Square, Calcutta. 1938. Pp. 29.

BENGALI:

MAHATMA GANDHI O SWAMI VIVEKANANDA (MAHATMA GANDHI AND SWAMI VIVEKANANDA): By Kalinga nath Ghose, M.A., Headmaster, Jalpaiguri Fanindra dev High English School. Pp. 32. Price annas two.



DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION

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INTRODUCTION

It is not possible to understand the distribution of powers and functions in the Indian federation unless we seek first to understand the basis of this distribution, and the basis of this distribution is to be found in the very genesis of the Indian federal scheme.

On the angry reception that the report of the Simon Commission got everywhere in India, it became clear to the British Government that there was no chance for the acceptance by India of any constitution which did not concede at least partial responsibility at the Centre. But the British Government did not desire to accord responsible government to British India unless it could ensure that government's conservative character. That objective could be achieved only by (a) bringing Indian States into a scheme of all-India federation, (b) giving to these States a comparatively larger measure of representation in the federal legislature than their numbers would warrant, and (c) imposing no obligation on the part of the States to move towards representative or responsible government, for such a movement might destroy the conservative character of States' representation. Once secured, the result of such a plan would be to substitute for direct British control of the Centre an indirect but permanent control through the agency of conservative Indian elements themselves which are opposed to the advance of democracy on principle.

From the British point of view, therefore, it was of the prime importance that the formulation of the proposed federal structure must cohere with the inclusion into it of the Indian States. The inclusion of the States, however, was bound to create legal difficulties, particularly so after the report of the Indian States Committee of 1928 which had ascribed to these States a notion of sovereignty as against the Government of India. Any notion of sovereignty of the Indian States, from the historical

standpoint, it must be noted, is an absolute myth. There is undoubtedly a peculiar kind of dignity which the Indian Prince is frequently invested with; but as the Indian States Committee also admitted, this dignity is purely superficial and formal. As against the Paramount Power, no Indian Prince has any unimpeachable rights at all. But it suited the purpose of the British Government to say that although the Indian Princes had no rights against the Paramount Power, yet the Paramount Power did not mean the British Government of India: it constituted the British Crown in its personal capacity—a conceptual basis, it must be pointed out, which is quite inconsistent with the whole spirit of the British constitution, and therefore incomprehensible on any grounds of constitutional propriety.²

The sovereignty of the Indian States was, however, recognised in theory as against the Government of India, and the structure of the federal scheme was built upon its foundation. That explains some of the intricate and unsound features of the scheme of the constitution. That also explains, incidentally, the juridically erroneous exposition of the legal and constitutional aspects of federalism as given by the Lord Chancellor at the third meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the First Round Table Conference.³ The Committee found itself faced with the difficult question as to how it could combine States, which were insisting upon their sovereignty, with British-Indian Provinces, which were subject to the authority of Parliament, and Lord Sankey tried to resolve this difficulty by explaining to the Committee the essentials of a federal government. It is a little unfortunate that he did so on the basis of an extract from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, a book of general reference, rather

2. For fuller criticism of the Report of the Indian States Committee, 1929 (Cmd. 3302), see my essay on 'Indian Federation' published as Fabian Society Tract, No. 245.

3. Refer to Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: Proceedings of Sub-committees (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 20.

1. This opinion is based on the authority of Professor A. B. Keith.

See Vardachariar: *Indian States in the Federation* (O. U. P., 1937), pp. 142-3.

than any accurate and authoritative literature on the subject of federalism; for this extract allows itself of two or three implications which have no basis at all in any true scheme of federation.

In the first place, it refers to the powers and function of the supreme federal government as delegated to it by the States. This is obviously inaccurate language; for delegation implies agency, and it is well understood that the powers of a federal government are neither derived by delegation from the States nor exercised in virtue of any agency but are definitely granted to it by the constitution. The more usual way of describing the process is to say that the component States had, as a condition of entering the federation, surrendered their powers to the nation, which by the constitution invests certain of these powers in the central and others in the State governments.

The passage goes on to say, and this part was particularly stressed by Lord Sankey as going to the very heart of the matter, that

'so far as concerns the residue of powers unallotted to the central or federal authority, the separate states retain unimpaired their individual sovereignty and the citizens of a Federation consequently owe a double allegiance—one to the state and one to the federal government.'

This statement of the nature of a federal constitution is open to strong question. It says, firstly, that as regards residual powers the States retain their individual sovereignty unimpaired. To talk of the individual sovereignty of Indian States is in any case meaningless, but even as regards the position of units in a federal constitution, sovereignty is not the correct word. It is quite well known that in every federal constitution there is a provision for constitutional amendment whereby powers may be shifted from State to national government and vice versa. The Lord Chancellor's talk of double allegiance also militates against the primary character of federal government, which dictates that sovereignty in any federal structure does not belong either to the States or to the national government, both of which are creatures of the constitution, but belongs to the nation as a whole, which has control over the constitution irrespective of its territorial divisions—a proposition which has been judicially held in the United States in *Texas v. White* (7 Wallace, 700).

Faulty in theory,⁴ however, this description

of federalism was convenient from the British point of view. It achieved the purpose of the British Government to bring the Indian States into the federal scheme, however unsound it made the federal scheme itself.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS

In the determination of the allotment of legislative powers, two sets of conflicts had their play. Within British India itself there was a conflict between two opinions, one wishing to keep the predominant power in the Centre and the other wishing to keep predominant power in the Provinces, the extent of this conflict making each of these opinions look with the greatest suspicion in the residuary field, the one opinion demanding that the residuary field should remain with the Centre and the other demanding that the residuary field should remain with the Provinces. To this conflict there was added the jealousy of the States 'to secure the fullest freedom in their own affairs, and to retain or—in cases of some arbitrary decisions by agents of the Crown—to regain their sovereignty and internal autonomy, as implied by treaties, sanads, and other engagements.'⁵ Said the Maharaja of Bikaner:

"The Princes do not want to be levelled down from their present position of internal sovereignty. If it is desirable and feasible to level up others, we should be delighted, but we do not want to go down."⁶

Lord Sankey, as chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, sought to resolve this double conflict by laying down at the very start certain basic principles. For the appeasement of the States, he made a distinction between Federal and Central subjects, Federal subjects being those matters of common concern which interest the whole of India including the States and Central subjects being those matters 'which concern British India only, and which for the moment, perhaps, do not concern all India, though personally I hope that as the months pass by the two will be fused together.'⁷ It might incidentally be pointed out that in the discussions that followed the representatives of the States made it perfectly clear that although it was difficult to anticipate what the future had in store for India, yet so far as the mind of the Indian States was today 'it seemed well to say quite pointedly that there are subjects included in the list of Central subjects which

4. For fuller criticism of the Lord Chancellor's view, see N. D. Vardachariar: *Indian States in the Federation* (O. U. P., 1937), Chapter II.

5. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: *Proceedings of Sub-committees* (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 4.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

can never become Federal subjects.⁸ But for the present, by means of this distinction between the Federal and Central subjects, the desire of the States 'to limit the list of federal matters of common concern as far as possible to a few matters'⁹ was conceded, and so one of the two conflicts regarding the allotment of powers glossed over.

So far as the second conflict between the advocates of the residuary powers to the Centre and residuary powers to the Provinces was concerned, Lord Sankey suggested that the solution might be found in a possible elimination of residuary powers themselves by as specific enumeration of legislative subjects as possible.* He recognized, indeed, that 'human brain is always liable to make mistakes'¹⁰ and that 'the wants of society are so various that the legislator cannot provide for every contingency';¹⁰ but he felt then that exhaustive

enumeration was the only means by which the gulf between the two opinions could be bridged.

Recourse to exhaustive enumeration, however, did not settle all the differences between the advocates of strong Centre and advocates of strong Provinces. The main problem still remained. The advocates of strong Provinces, not unlike the representatives of the Indian States, demanded that as many subjects be transferred to the Provincial list as possible. They were, again and again, reminded by experienced statesmen like Lord Sankey that 'British India is at present a unitary state divided for purposes of convenience into provinces, and not a number of Provinces federated to form a State'¹¹ and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that there exists at present in the polity of India a kind of unity and uniformity which must at all costs be retained;¹² yet the advocates of fully autonomous Provinces continued to insist upon the concession of as large a measure of legislative authority to the Provinces as possible. For the maintenance of uniformity in legislation, which they could not deny was highly desirable in itself, they suggested some highly dubious constitutional arrangements. Sir Muhammad Shafi suggested that

'the Federal Parliament should have the power to enact laws where uniformity is essential for the whole of India, but those laws will come into operation in the Indian States as well as in the Provinces on enactment in the States and Provincial legislatures being passed conforming to those laws.'¹³

Mr. M. A. Jinnah similarly elaborated a plan for co-ordination, which was even more long-winded, complicated, and doubtful of success.

The whole position was summed up by Mr. Lees-Smith, then temporarily presiding over the Committee, in a note. Said Mr. Lees-Smith,

'that it is desirable to maintain in British India, besides the two classes over which the Centre and the Provinces are respectively to maintain exclusive jurisdiction, a third category of subjects which is normally to fall in the Provincial sphere but is to be subject to some arrangement for co-ordination of legislative policy, we have then to decide what that arrangement is to be and what subjects are to be regulated by it.'¹⁴

He went on to suggest that in these matters the Central legislature might be given concurrent powers of legislation with the Provincial legislatures, and a provision made that whenever a Provincial act was inconsistent with a Central act, the latter should prevail and the

8. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

* Although the Federal Structure Committee started with the intention of eliminating residuary powers by demarcating the powers of the federal government and the federating units by a precise and exhaustive enumeration, in the course of the discussions, however, it became clear that however exhaustive the enumeration might be, some undistributed residue of power was still bound to be left over, and in any case there was the ever-present possibility of the need and scope of legislation changing along with changes in the economic and social conditions of society. Some arrangement, therefore, for the allocation of undistributed residue of power, small though it might be, was felt necessary.

It was originally proposed in the White Paper that the Provinces might be given a general power of legislation in any matter of a merely local or private nature in the Province, even if not specifically included in the Provincial list, provided that it did not conflict with any of the enumerated powers in the exclusively Central and the Concurrent lists. Such also is the provision in the constitution of Canada, where the Provinces possess a general exclusive power over non-enumerated subjects of a purely local or private nature. But the experience of Canada also shows that certain subjects which might in their inception be of merely local interest could subsequently assume extra-provincial and national importance. Such possibility was provided against by suggesting in the Indian Constitution that, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General given in his discretion, the federal legislature might also be conceded authority to legislate on such matters, and this is the form in which the provision now stands. The Governor-General in his discretion has the authority to empower (as the need arises) the appropriate legislature, Federal or Provincial, to legislate on any residual subject not enumerated in any of the three lists—*vide*, sec. 104, Government of India Act, 1935.

Regarding this provision, we can only say that it is perhaps a unique case of putting sole reliance on one individual's commonsense and power of adaptation to changing circumstances.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

former to the extent of that inconsistency should be invalid.

Thus there came into being three separate and exhaustive lists of Central subjects, Provincial subjects, and subjects for concurrent legislation as between the Federal government and the Provinces. This method of allocation of powers by specific enumeration in three separate lists is quite without a parallel in any other federation. Sir Samuel Hoare felt that 'it means complication, and it also means the possibility of increased litigation.'¹⁵ He 'very much regretted' that that was so, but he thought that was the only solution of the conflict of opinion in India on the subject.

It must be admitted that the provision of the list of concurrent legislation might help to avoid some of the defects of the Canadian constitution. In Canada, there is just two-fold classification—exclusively federal and exclusively provincial lists of legislation; and this procedure has involved certain difficulties in practice. Every law passed by a legislature, under this method of division, must fulfil two conditions—not only must it fall within the list of powers distinctly given to it, but also it must not in any way affect any subject in the other list; and where, as in Canada, the list of powers is not scientifically drawn, this procedure can in practice cause much overlapping, for it fails to recognize, as the existence of concurrent authority makes it possible to recognize, that

'a subject may, in one aspect and for one purpose, fall within one section of the Act, and may in another aspect and for another purpose fall within the other.'¹⁶

Yet the provision of the concurrent list of legislation has another aspect which is clearly unfortunate. The formulation of the concurrent list, it must not be forgotten, has been wholly made at the cost of the Central list. Lord Sankey had taken as the basis of his Central subjects 'the existing list of powers under the Devolution Rules of the 1919 Act.'¹⁷ The creation of the three lists has really meant the division of these Central subjects into List I and List III, and what is still worse, the allotment of all the really important Central subjects to List III. The reason for that is

obvious. List I, as we have remarked before, is composed of two classes of subjects—Federal subjects, which are of common concern to the whole of India, and in which, therefore, it is assumed that the Federal legislature will exercise equal powers both over the Provinces and over the States; and Central subjects, which are, at least immediately, of common concern to British India alone, and in which the States do not desire to give jurisdiction to the Federal Government. It was expected by the framers of the constitution that the States would accede with regard to these Central subjects in the course of time, so that the Federal and the Central subjects would fuse into each other by all of them becoming Federal subjects. But such an expectation could rest merely on the foundation that the Central subjects in List I should be either completely routine in their character or of mere formal importance. Really important subjects could not be put into this list, for in that case, with their existing attitude, the States could not be expected ever, either immediately or at a future date, to accept the federalization of this list.

Normally one might have expected that the coming of the States into a scheme of all-India federation would lead to the strengthening of the bonds of union between the various parts of the country. Actually, so far as the distribution of legislative powers is concerned, the position of the States continues to be almost exactly as it was before the federal scheme was ever thought of: only the relationship between the Central Government and the Provinces has been disturbed and worsened in order to enable the accession of the States to the federal scheme. Even at present, in matters of common concern for the whole of India the Government of India, as the Paramount Power, has supreme control: in other matters the States are supposed to be autonomous. Practically the same arrangement has been maintained under the new scheme.

At the first Round Table Conference, the representatives of the States agreed to make federal for 'policy and legislation' some 45 items in the list of Central subjects under the Devolution Rules.¹⁸ These items do not at all go beyond what is the minimum essential for a national Government in the interests of the safety and uniformity of the whole of India. They comprise subjects like defence and foreign relations, establishment of postal, telegraphic, telephone, and wireless services, coinage and

15. House of Commons Debates, dated 27th March, 1935.

16. Egerton: *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (Oxford, 1911), p. 151 note.

17. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: *Proceedings of Sub-committees* (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 3.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

currency, emigration and immigration, communications like railways, air, navigation, and shipping, and patents and copyright. But even so, there are very important omissions in the list. Bankruptcy and insolvency, and recognition throughout India of the laws, records, and judicial proceedings of the States and Provinces are federal subjects in practically every federal government that exists in the world, and were indeed placed in the list of federal subjects in the White Paper [Cmd. 4268, pp. 114-15], but were later transferred, presumably on the demand of the States, to the concurrent list. Another deplorable omission is the provision—again a feature common to all federations—for the establishment of internal free-trade throughout the federal area. Lastly, the constitution does not secure uniformity in the rights of citizenship throughout the federation; for while it makes it possible for an Indian State subject to stand for election to a Provincial legislature, it does not secure similar right to the British Indian subject in an Indian State where a legislature exists. When questioned about this in the Joint Committee, Sir Samuel Hoare had to admit that this had been done in order to appease the Princes,* for

‘if we made it a condition that we should have these powers of interference and intervention in Indian States, there should not have been an all-India federation at all. No Princes or no States would enter the federation.’¹⁹

As regards the allocation of legislative powers, therefore, there remains in the Indian federal structure one great anomaly. The extent of the power of the Federal Government is not the same with regard to the States as it is with regard to the Provinces; the constitutional arrangements in the two cases are entirely

* It might be relevant to consider how far the concession of legislative powers to the federation constitutes a ‘surrender’ of sovereign powers, as was repeatedly said by the States’ representatives. The list of federal subject has been taken from the schedule of the central subjects in the Devolution rules, in which British Indian legislature has been legislating ever since the passing of the Act of 1919. Indian States have hitherto had no voice in their regulation, even though some of these subjects like tariff and monetary policy affected them and their subjects most intimately. Even Mr. Pannikar, while giving evidence on behalf of the Chamber of Princes, admitted that ‘most of the subjects which you have now federated are under the administration of the Government of India today.’ (Joint Committee, Evidence. Vol. IIA—2310). All that the federal constitution does is to grant to the States, by the devising of appropriate institutions, a voice, which in many cases is more than adequate, in the conduct of the federal government, where they have not possessed any voice before.

19. Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Evidence H. C. 112 (IIB)—6519—21, 7673.

different. On the whole the Federal Government has been conceded less power over the States than over the Provinces. Even in the case of the Provinces, the extent of the federal power is very limited, and even absurdly so, in view of the present-day tendency throughout the world for the growth of a positive state and for all federations to develop into decentralized unitary states. In the case of the States, it is hopelessly narrow, and the process for its growth far too rigid. But the scheme of Indian federation also allows of the possibility of another minor anomaly as between the various States themselves. The federal constitution involves the possibility of some States agreeing to federate with regard to all the subjects in their standard Federal list and others agreeing only with certain exceptions. The differences may not be confined to the number of subjects of legislation only. The extent of powers which the States may wish to surrender to the federation may similarly vary from State to State. The divergence may possibly not be great if we confine our attention only to the legislative sphere; but if we take into consideration the totality of federal powers, legislative, administrative, and financial—and many of these striking differences are visible in the financial sphere—the anomaly assumes great proportions indeed.

DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS

Related to, and in a way following upon, this anomalous allotment of legislative powers, there are certain complications in the division of administrative powers.

With regard to Federal subjects, the division of administrative powers is different as between the Federation and the Provinces from what it is as between the Federation and the States. So far as the Provinces are concerned, the Federal Government has the discretion either to employ its own officers or to use the Provincial Government as its agent for the administration of any Federal subject, the constitution in any case placing a ‘moral obligation’ on the Provincial Governments to exercise their executive power and authority so as to secure that due effect is given in the Province to every act of the Federal legislature which applies to that Province.²⁰ In case the Federal Government employs the Provincial agency for the administration of Federal subjects, it will have to bear any extra cost of administration incurred by the Provincial

20. See Sec. 122, Government of India Act, 1935.

Government solely for that purpose, that is to say 'which that Government would otherwise not have incurred,' disputes as to the amount and incidence of charges so involved being resolved by the decision of an arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, whose decision would be final and binding on both the Governments.²¹

It seems likely, indeed, that in the case of the Provinces the Federal Government will continue the present system of administration which is utilized by the present Government of India. It would employ its own officers for the administration of such matters as railways, posts and telegraph, customs, and income-tax, but might utilize the Provincial agency for the administration of other Federal subjects. But in all cases where administration is devolved on the Provincial Government, the Federal Government will have the right to see that the laws are administered efficiently and in accordance with its own policy. To that end, the Federal Government has been empowered to give directions to the Provincial Governments prescribing the manner in which they should exercise their executive authority and laying down the standards of efficiency that they should seek to maintain. It is noticeable that such directions may be rightfully given by the Federal Government to the Provincial Governments not merely in the domain of exclusively Federal subjects, but may also be given with regard to the administration of those purely Provincial subjects, between whom and certain Federal subjects there is close interdependence.²² Such interdependence exists, for instance, between the administration of the Federal subject of railways and the Provincial subject of railway police, or between the administration of the Federal subject of 'port quarantine' and the Provincial subject of 'public health and sanitation.' In all such cases the Federal Government has the right to give directions to the Provincial Government to see that the latter's executive power in the purely Provincial sphere is so exercised as not to prejudice the efficient administration of any Federal subject.

In the case of the States, however, the position is wholly different. The States insisted that the administration of even Federal subjects by federal officers within their territories would mean, in the eyes of the State subjects, a

derogation from the sovereignty of the Rulers, and therefore they claimed that it should be provided in the constitution itself that the executive authority of the Federation would be exercised in the States only through the administrative agency of the States themselves. Although this demand of the States was not accepted in *toto*, yet it was conceded in substance by providing that a State may, in its Instrument of Accession, stipulate that it should be entrusted with the right of administering any or all federal laws through its own agency, and in such a case, the only executive authority in that State would be the Ruler, who, however, since he would be exercising merely agency functions in the case of Federal subjects, would be accountable to the Governor-General for the due discharge of his duties.²³ The Governor-General may, by inspection or otherwise, from time to time satisfy himself that an adequate standard of administration is maintained by the Ruler and that the law is administered in accordance with the policy of the Federal Government: in case of dissatisfaction, he may even issue such directions to the Ruler as he might think necessary. But the responsibility of the State, and herein lies the essential difference between the States and the Provinces, is due always personally to the Governor-General in his discretion and not to the Federal Government as such, which has been expressly forbidden from giving directions to the States (as it may do in a similar case to the Provinces) if a particular subject should be badly administered or if a particular law should not be properly enforced.

To finish the narrative of the division of administrative powers, we must refer to the list of subjects for concurrent legislation as between the Federal Government and the Provinces. It would be clear that this aspect of the question is not at all relevant to the States, for as between the Federal Government and the States there are no subjects for concurrent legislation: it pertains only to the case of the Provinces. The concurrent legislative list, as we have seen before, was conceived of as a compromise between two opposing schools of thought and it comprehended that category of subjects which were normally to fall into the Provincial field but which were to be subject to some arrangement for co-ordination of legislative policy. Since in essence all these subjects were thought to be Provincial, their

21. See Sec. 124 (4), Government of India Act, 1935.

22. See Sec. 126 (1), Government of India Act, 1935.

23. See Secs. 125 and 128, Government of India Act, 1935.

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But whatever might be the rational and theoretic basis for this provision, we feel that in practice it must lead to some confusion. It is true that many items in the concurrent list are concerned merely with questions of law, so that in their case no problem of administration would in effect arise. But there are also in the concurrent list certain subjects dealing with economic and social legislation (items 26 to 36) which are bound to involve elaborate, and in many cases expensive, administration of such matters as factories, welfare of labour, employers' liability, workmen's compensation, health insurance, unemployment insurance, sickness and old age pensions, trade unions, industrial and labour disputes, etc. In all these matters, the Federal legislature has, concurrently with the Provincial legislature, the power to pass a law, which would normally have greater validity and force than a law of the Provincial legislature, but has no power to see that it is enforced, even if the Provincial Government does not like or care to enforce it. Even the Joint Committee could not see the use of the uniformity of legislation if there is no means of enforcing reasonable uniformity of administration; and it, therefore, recommended that at least in the class of subjects dealing with social and economic legislation, the Federal Government should have the power to issue directions to the Provincial Government for the enforcement of laws, 'but only to the extent provided by the Federal act in question,' and as to the incorporation in the Federal bill of any power of the Federal Government to issue directions to the Provincial Governments the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his direction should be requisite.²⁴ One need hardly say that the provision is much too limited and too cumbrous.

CONCLUSION

It will be clear from this analysis that the distribution of legislative and administrative functions in the Indian federation has been fundamentally determined by the desire of the Indian States to retain as much power for themselves as possible. If one may borrow the phrase of the Maharaja of Bikaner, the emphatic tendency underlying the formulation of the constitution has been to 'level up' the British Indian provinces which had so far been merely administrative divisions in a unitary state rather than to 'level down' the Indian States. As one studies the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee or the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, one is struck by the fact that whenever there arose any serious disagreement about the allotment of any particular legislative or administrative power, it was almost invariably solved by conceding it to the federating units rather than to the Federal government.

This emphasis of the Indian federal scheme is directly opposed to the characteristic development of the whole contemporary world. The predominant characteristic of the modern community everywhere is growing centralisation in economic functions and economic organization, and this in its turn is leading to and must lead to centralisation of political and legislative power in the State. In the United States, for instance, during the last two or three generations, there has been enormous increase of federal control in industrial, commercial, and financial activities; and the tendency in the United States from federalism to centralisation is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a world-wide movement. It proceeds from certain causative factors (which it is not the purpose of this paper to analyse) which are not local in their operation but which are felt throughout the world. In view of these factors, the whole tendency of modern political development is towards the centralisation of authority. Even as a branch of political theory, the federal state is clearly appearing to be no more than merely the transitory form from confederation to the decentralised unitary state. We fail to see, in these circumstances, any justification for the creation in India of a federal structure of government, whose whole emphasis is upon Provincial and State authority.

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WORLD AFFAIRS

ANOTHER 'BLOODLESS' VICTORY

ON the first October Hitler once more demonstrated how a bloodless victory can be gained. It was not exactly a triumph for non-violence. But Europe does not demand that spiritual canon of her Saviour to be satisfied even in normal times. And in the abnormal days that preceded Europe was too near an avalanche that was coming down on her to care for that. She wanted to be saved, and she has been saved. And who could be the Saviour of nations and peoples but the Nazi Führer that has dethroned the Jewish Christ and renovated the Teutonic Heroic Ideal? So, Hitler once more spared the Continent of the blood-bath and gave a lesson of the technique of bloodless victory.

The technique is faultless. Armament, bluff and bluster, with the sure knowledge that the ruling class of Europe cannot in spite of their loyalty to treaties and democratic traditions lay the Führer down. Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier, it was known to all, could not do otherwise than they did. Theirs, to grant them the claim to sincerity which facts would certainly deny, was at best a pitiful plight. More like the dogs of Pavlov, if we believe them, conditioned by the social order in which they are born and bred, and in which they learnt to hold the rights of peoples and nations and the pledged word of the peoples sacred, they had to be re-conditioned now to this inevitable phase that this very system has generated—the Fascist phase of European history. If the class interests are confused by the vague notions of democracy or right or wrong, the arms of Hitler would put them on the straight road to Fascism. To Hitler has fallen this 'divine destiny' of saving these ruling classes if they err or falter.

"THE PLAY-ACTING"

Yet it is an undeniable truth that Mr. Chamberlain knew the rôle he played. He is too astute not to foresee that it was a betrayal of the peoples and popular rights. But the betrayal was pre-ordained if the social order was to be preserved. "Surrender" to Fascism was at least patent to all observers from the day when Mr. Anthony Eden was dropped.

It was an open avowal that in no case was Britain ready to accept the other alternative—the friendship of Soviet Russia in defence of democracies. The logical development of that line led to the surrender to Nazism. What therefore is remarkable in the whole of these brief weeks as the Czech drama unfolded is the faultless play-acting of the British Prime Minister, his minor study the French Premier and the German Führer, and on this point Englishmen, so remote from one another as John Strachey and Prof. J. M. Keynes are agreed. The 'Technique of Deception,' as the former calls it, forms the subject-matter of a masterly analysis of both the publicists. Of course it began with the appointment of the 'independent mediator' from Britain, Lord Runciman, who was to pave the path for the Nazi Lord to Sudetenland. It progressed fairly—rather unfairly to the Czechs, as it was never intended to succeed. Then the drama gathered momentum, Mr. Chamberlain's solicitude for peace made him fly uninvited to Hitler at Berchtesgaden—where only a few months ago Schuschnigg had gone on invitation to meet his fate. *The Times* proposal for secession of the Sudetenland some weeks earlier, which was then declared *not* to be the official opinion of the British cabinet, became now the Premier's policy, as foretold by us. Writes Mr. Strachey:

Mr. Chamberlain agrees to the essentials of Hitler's demands, namely, the secession of the whole of the Sudetenland to Germany, returns to London, succeeds in including the Cabinet not only to support this secession, but to join with the French Cabinet in imposing it upon the Czechs.

The world-scene changes in a moment. Nation after nation flies from the Anglo-French to the German camp. A week later, Mr. Chamberlain returns to Hitler at Godesberg.

And we plunge into the great act of the drama—the period of tension and crisis which called forth the best gifts of the actors in the piece. Mr. Chamberlain's very face speaks of the pain and agony that is tearing his heart—the Führer's demands are such that the British people cannot be induced to impose them on the Czechs before the six days of grace run out. Staff consultations occur, France was prepared, Russia signifies her readiness. War preparations start in Great Britain. "The run of events began to accelerate. It seemed clear

to everyone that not only were we on the very edge of war, but that the irreversible momentum was carrying us over that edge." Mr. Duff-Cooper, the First Lord of Admiralty, even secured sanction for the mobilization of the fleet, and Mr. Garvin, who knew the game well enough, played his part as the blatant trumpet in *The Observer*, believing little as he wrote on September 25:

Let every man and woman who reads these lines steel their hearts to read them undaunted. To face the truth in its whole starkness, to vow that life and goods are henceforth nothing by comparison with the issues staked, to realize that we may be summoned to rise up for the fight of all time—this is our one true salvation under God.

Then the official mind thought the hour for putting the curb had arrived. The people were now told that British preparations for air defence were inadequate; that General Gamelin had told the Cabinet that the French were weak in air, their ammunitions for the army insufficient; that, above all, the Soviet military strength was reduced by dissensions. Ardour then necessarily cooled, though the truth of the allegations are contested by all now. And when the Premier rose in the Commons reviewing the events to an overwrought House, still not knowing how to finish his speech, Sir John Simon handed over the telegram inviting him to Munich along with M. Daladier and Signor Mussolini. A mad hysteria of cheering closed the evening, closed the act, and settled the future that was to be disclosed at Munich. There was signed away the fortune of the Czech people, without even the formality of consulting them or their ally, the Soviet. The occupation of Sudetenland was to begin immediately and to be completed by October 10; an International Commission was to hold a plebiscite in the areas which had predominantly German population (51% was considered to be the number to satisfy this condition, though the plebiscite idea was given up later when the Czechs saw everything was lost); the Czech defensive fortifications and industrial establishments were to pass over to the German hands untampered; other minority claims (soon asserted by Poland in the seizure of Teschen; appeased, since then, by the creation of autonomous Slovakia; the insistent claims, resisted so far, of Hungary to Ruthenia etc.) were to be satisfied duly; and the Czechs were to receive a guarantee from the four powers gathered at Munich for this for the defence of their new frontiers.

Mr. Chamberlain came home a conquering hero; and thus ended a week's play-acting 'beginning with gas-masks and ending with bouquets,' to quote Mr. Keynes who thus closed his analysis of the situation in *The New Statesman and The Nation*. Observes Mr. Keynes:

Neither the Prime Minister nor Herr Hitler ever intended for one moment that the play-acting should evolve into reality. For it would be a mistake to attribute extreme carelessness to the one or inanity to the other of these two astute politicians. The actual course of events has been dictated by the fact that the objectives of Herr Hitler and Mr. Chamberlain were not different, but the same; whilst Russian policy has played in Mr. Chamberlain's hands by making it easy for him to ignore her.

The course of events can be made intelligible by the following considerations. Herr Hitler has explained that his ultimate objective is the Ukraine. The Balkans, Western Europe, the Colonies 'might' have been the desired sphere of his expansion. But he has openly decided otherwise; and in these matters he is a man of word. Yet the position of Czechoslovakia, with a well armed force of a million men, strongly entrenched, and in alliance with Russia, presented a danger to his flank which could not be overlooked and must be dealt with first. The inner diplomatic game has developed, therefore, as follows. We have been bought off by Germany's agreeing to forego a fleet and soft-peddalling on the colonies; France by her renunciation of Western aims (perhaps including Spain, so far Germany is concerned); Italy by her side-stepping the Balkans; Poland by a sacrifice of the Silesian Germans (for the time being) and the hope of a share of the Russian spoils. Only Czechoslovakia had to be sacrificed. The next move, presumably, is a German alliance with Poland with a view to the seizure of the Ukraine, simultaneously with a Siberian venture by Japan (this move being, however, seriously endangered by Japan's blunder in Central China).

Our sea-power and our overseas Empire remain for the present unchallenged; our own peace may be secured for a considerable period; we are given time to complete our air defences.

CONSEQUENCES

The immediate results of the betrayal of the Czecho-Slovak Republic are too patent to all to require recounting. The Czecho-Slovak State of Masaryk is gone, it has sunk into two small autonomous states of the Czechs and Slovaks. (It has to be recognised that it had no right to Sudetenland, a German area); the Danubian States and the whole of Central and Eastern Europe in fact are rallying round the Nazi Germany; the Czechs are travelling the same Fascist way with their new Foreign Minister, Chalkovsky, a man approved by Hitler, as their guide and Czech capitalist interests organising to uphold an order which promises them safety from the Soviet influence. Of course the Soviet has been deprived of all friends by it, except the Socialists in all lands.

The German ideal of a German dominated Mitteleuropa is now on the sure road to realization—a greater Germany stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Although the unification of the German race is not yet complete, after this there is hardly anything to prevent that when the Führer wills it. The smaller states of Europe like Switzerland or the bigger ones like Poland and Italy know this. France of course no longer considers herself equal to Germany or capable of withstanding the German onslaught by herself. The Alsace-Lorraine separation movement has raised its head under such encouragement. The Four Power Agreement at Munich almost realises the Four Power Pact for which Chamberlain has been trying for a long time. A result of it has been the comparative ease visible in the Spanish position, signified by the disbandment of the International Brigade on the one hand and the withdrawal of ten thousand Italian volunteers on the other. If Mussolini has for the moment been overshadowed by his German partner, he is sure to return to limelight at the earliest moment. Both a little 'off colour,' Britain and Italy may find now that the Anglo-Italian Agreement should be implemented—of course Mussolini will not move away from the Balearic islands, and must have his ambition realized in the Mediterranean too. For Germany the *Drang nach Osten* is now assured, and the way to the Rumanian oil-fields and Ukrainian granary of the Soviet opened by the capitulation of Czecho-Slovakia. *Mein Kampf* is really to begin; and Soviet Russia's hour of trial is at hand—the hour of trial for socialists too there as everywhere. For the very existence of the Soviet is now endangered. These in short are the immediate consequences of the Czecho-Slovak affair in the continent of Europe.

THE COLONY QUESTION

Outside Europe, but really a European problem in essence, the question of the return of the German colonies becomes now an immediate issue. A school of British politicians were in favour of it even before this, as colonies are said to be no great economic gain and all powers should have easy access to raw materials, and above all, a people like the Germans could not be 'appeased' unless the stigma of their being unfit to rule colonies is thus removed. It remains to be seen however how the pro-Nazi Imperialist press of Britain accepts this proposal to disgorge the colonies. A footnote to this colonial claim is furnished by the

opposition intimated by the Indian settlers of Tanganyika. Of course in the great question this will weigh for little with the British government.

PALESTINE

It is not possible to estimate what repercussion the Nazi triumph and the comparative eclipse of the British Imperialist diplomacy is likely to have on other peoples. Thus the Arab world possibly sees in it a further proof of the weakening of the strength of British Empire. Mussolini, it is known, has put himself forward as the claimant for Arab leadership. Palestine Arabs were regularly and openly supplied with Italian arms for resisting the Britisher. For some time it is noted that the Third Reich was undertaking the work of the Hohenzollerns in throwing its net wider in the Near East. General Reichenau's report, published in the *News Chronicle*, refers to the Arab hatred of England and asserts, 'it is only Germany which can give help to the Arabs without threatening their national independence.' Palestine is now any way admitted to be in open revolt. The proposal for partition is shelved; the Woodhead report too is not unanimous on the wisdom of it. It is not easy, however, for the British authorities to agree to the Arab pressure from Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Egypt, etc. and loosen their grip over this strip of territory lying on the air route from the West to the East when the sea route by the Mediterranean was already endangered by the rise of Mussolini. Hussein's Arab national government is therefore having the last big instalment of military repression. The recent European affairs must however embolden these sturdy rebels against Britain.

FALL OF CANTON AND HANKOW

Directly put to the British surrender at Munich is however the Japanese offensive in South China. As soon as it was clear that Britain was not ready to risk a war at the present stage of her preparations, Japan threw off all caution and regard for the power in the Far East. Near Hong Kong soldiers were landed and then followed the sweeping march to Canton to cut off the chief road of war supply so far open to the Chinese. Canton has fallen. The meaning of it is plain to all. China's main road for outside help is closed. She has now only three minor routes for the purpose—the Yunnan-French Indo-China route, the Yunnan-Burma route, and the road yet under

construction between Western China and the Soviet. China is thus almost thrown on her primitive and elemental power of resistance. In modern warfare that is of no value. Even in Moscow a modern Napoleonic expedition would not be so helpless as a century ago. So the hope of China is to retire far into the country—for, Hankow too is about to fall in a few hours—and, if left less disturbed, to develop by herself her own power of struggle through patient and silent preparation while her guerilla irregulars keep Japan busy in the occupied areas.

WHAT NEXT—SOVIET RUSSIA?

The real significance of the Czech affairs however transcends every political problem that it raises. It has a deeper and bigger implication. It means a betrayal of democracy no doubt. It registers also the unpalatable truth that in a world of upheaval the totalitarian states are bound to beat democracies. But it goes further. It declares that a democratic facade is no guarantee against the Fascist inroads in society. Britain still

rules by the parliament, but Mr. Chamberlain plays in the country the same role as any Fascist dictator in his own. Even the Parliament is not called for such big decisions. The Cabinet too was not consulted. They were called on to approve some accomplished fact. The Parliament acted like the Reichstag. Yet the show is kept. Chamberlain knows that the Parliamentary device ensures his ruling class interests better than others. He realizes that Hitler fights his battle for him in Europe and, he too must fight on behalf of the Führer. So the Four Power Pact must be attained assuring Hitler of Fascist domination on the Continent and Soviet isolation in the world. So, in the next few months we may witness British Imperialism entering into a secret understanding with Fascism that the Führer, without pressing for the Colonies, should march to Moscow and Ukraine, while the powers, as well as Japan in Siberia would help him in eliminating the communist menace from world civilization. That we may really count on as the next move.

G. H.

26-10-38

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. SHEFALICA ROY, wife of Mr. B. K. Roy of the Indian Forest Service, is an



Mrs. Shefalica Roy



Miss R. Banerjee

Honorary Magistrate of the Vellore Juvenile Court and an Honorary Visitor of the Presidency Jail for Women. She is also connected with the Girl Guides Movement as Commissioner for the district of North Arcot and Chittoor, Madras, and Red Cross and Child Welfare Society and other social organizations. She hails from Bogra, Bengal.

MISS R. BANERJEE, after passing the B. T. examination from the Calcutta University, went to England and joined the University of Leeds, where she obtained the degree of M.Ed. on her thesis on "Education of Women in Bengal." Miss Banerjee is the daughter of the late Surendranath Banerjee, Advocate, Tongoo, Burma.

AN ASSAMESE HISTORIAN'S SUCCESS



Prof. B. K. Bhuyan

Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, Professor of History at the Cotton College in Gauhati, who went to England two years ago on study leave, has taken his Ph.D. from the London University and returned to India. The title of his thesis was "Anglo-Assamese Relations" (1771-1826) in which he shows British intercourse with Assam followed by commercial and political agreements, leading to its conquest.

Prof. Bhuyan went to England with an established reputation as an author and was straightway appointed Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies in London in Assamese. He had to his credit as many as 36 books in English and Assamese. Some of his Assamese books are recognized as classics and are textbooks for several examinations of the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca and Benares. His work *Tunguhungia Buranji* (History of Assam) was published by the Oxford University Press.

Prof. Bhuyan is also a great antiquarian. He was the life and soul of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam and was its Director for a number of years. Under its auspices he edited many original documents in Assamese with all the requirements of a modern scholarly publications. He discovered some fresh materials about Mughal India from Assamese sources. They were published in several issues of the *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad).

In recognition of his zeal in the pursuit of historical and antiquarian studies the Government of India conferred on him the title of Rai Bahadur in 1936, when he was comparatively young. He has been able to rouse interest in Assamese history and civilization among historical scholars in India and the West. In 1937, Prof. Bhuyan was invited to deliver a course of lectures at Rome by the *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* on history and civilization of Assam.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Congress and Mahatma Gandhi

In the course of his article on South India and the Congress in *The Twentieth Century*, S. Satyamurti observes:

The Indian National Congress undoubtedly receives its strength from the fact that it is the only all-India secular political organization fighting fearlessly for the freedom of the Motherland. But its strength lies also in its component parts. It has grown in strength, stature and responsibility during the last 18 years and especially after the acceptance of office by the Congressmen in eight provinces, its responsibilities have become greater. I do not want to cast any reflection on other provinces, but I believe profoundly that the Congress derives its strength mostly from those provinces where Congress discipline is highest and the Congress writ runs, without any let or hindrance. I know a fetish can be made of discipline and I know that tyranny can often masquerade as discipline, but knowing the Congress, its organization, its leaders and workers and its followers fairly intimately during the last 20 years and more, I can claim that, except Mahatma Gandhi there is no "Dictator," in the remotest sense of that word in the Indian National Congress.

According to the writer the Mahatma is the only disinterested dictator in the world today.

I grant that Mahatma Gandhi is a dictator. But I claim for him that his dictatorship rests upon the acceptance of his views freely and voluntarily by those who lead the Congress and not on any military prowess or any force or any religious fanaticism. Moreover, he is the only disinterested dictator in the world today. He has no axe to grind, not even the axe of personal vanity in the sense of sticking to one's own opinions. I may say that he is the most resilient Congress leader, with whom it has been my privilege to work these years; and above all there is no use disguising the fact that God has given him an instinct and a judgment that enable him to come to right conclusion on most occasions, when most of us flounder and some of us make mistakes.

The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha

According to Mahatma Gandhi non-violent non-co-operation is a really effective substitute for war. In *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Nirmal Kumar Bose expounds the theory of Satyagraha as taught by the Mahatma:

Satyagraha is not a substitute for war; it is war itself shorn of many of its ugly features and guided by a purpose far nobler than what we generally associate with destruction. It is itself an intensely heroic and chivalrous form of war.

The first article of faith with the Satyagrahi is the need of recognizing and of loving all mankind as one. The Satyagrahi also holds that love is never consistent with exploitation in any shape or form. Exclusive possession can never go together with love.

In accordance with this fundamental belief, the Satyagrahi holds that whenever there is a conflict of interests in human society, there must be something wrong somewhere. And if we can look into the situation with patience enough, a way can surely be found to restore the sense of human unity, and, at the same time, to serve the best interests of humanity taken as a whole.

The Satyagrahi also believes that such a solution can be best arrived at if he himself and his adversary can somehow put their heads together.

Fear demoralizes and raises fresh barriers to better understanding in the hearts of men in authority today. Pride and self-defence stiffen their back, and make them less amenable to reason, justice and fair-play. The Satyagrahi has therefore to devise some means of dealing with them effectively; and it is through self-suffering that he proposes to do so.

The writer goes on to explain what the Satyagrahi exactly understands by self-suffering:

It has already been said that the first law of the Satyagrahi is the law of love. The second law, which follows from love, is that the way to the adversary's head is not through the head, but through the heart. He believes that it is only through suffering, voluntarily and cheerfully endured, that the way can be opened to better understanding and a due recognition, on the part of the adversary, of the injustice of his own position. The Satyagrahi knows that all systems of exploitation thrive in the world because both the exploiter and the exploited co-operate in their maintenance. The exploited do so through fear, but they co-operate with the exploiters all the same. It is just here that the Satyagrahi sees his best opportunity of voluntary suffering. He tries to wreck the system of exploitation by refusing to co-operate with it, and thus draws upon his devoted head all the repression his adversary is capable of administering. If he stands unmoved through the shower of repression, his sufferings heroically endured are likely to touch the heart of the oppressor and thus pave the way for mutual discussion and a joint effort to build up a social system without the injustices of the present. It may also happen that the Satyagrahi fails to touch the heart of the exploiter with all his suffering. But even then his endeavours need not go in vain. For continued non-co-operation will bring about the downfall of any system, whether the Satyagrahi eventually succeeds in gaining the good-will and co-operation of the exploiter or not. No system can endure with non-co-operation all the while cutting away the ground from under it.

The suffering which the Satyagrahi voluntarily endures must not be endured mechanically. All through

the struggle it must be illumined by a sense of human love.

Satyagraha blesses him who uses it as well as him against whom it is used. It is a process of self-purification for the Satyagrahi, while it also stimulates the latent human qualities within his opponent's breast. The non-co-operating warrior thus steals a march over his brother who uses violence by being able to employ the educative process from the beginning of his fight for power.

Mahatma Gandhi also believes that one who uses the sword also perishes by the sword. Success through violence is no proof of Truth and ultimately leads to Untruth. So Gandhi holds it as a fundamental proposition that it is only through non-violence that we should combat violence, and it is only love which can overcome hate. It is only a full sense of unity which can combat and ultimately overwhelm the selfish and sectional spirit of mankind.

Federalism

The study of government in one country may be extremely helpful or suggestive to those who have to establish or administer government in another, no matter how different. James Truslow Adams writes on the subject of Federalism in *The Aryan Path* from the standpoint of American experience:

The history of Federalism in the United States is of especial utility for various reasons, among them being its vast scale and the fact that it is the oldest large-scale experiment in Federal government.

Moreover, America has tried two experiments, one brief and unsuccessful but the faults of which afford us a lesson, as well does the success of the later one. The "Confederation," which lasted from 1781 to 1789, proved inadequate chiefly because it largely took the form of a league of sovereign states, and the central federal authority did not have sufficient power to compel obedience even in such matters as the raising of taxes.

A mere league of states had been shown to be useless because of the inherent weakness of such a system already mentioned. Yet the states had to remain as sovereign entities. To solve the problem a then entirely new idea was hit upon, that of *dual citizenship*. Every American citizen is a citizen not only of his own state, New York, California or what-not, but also directly a citizen of the United States so that the power and control of the Federal Government reach down immediately, and not simply through a state government, to every citizen. For that reason we find in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution that it is "we, the people of the United States" who combine to "form a more perfect Union," and not that the states are combining. The change was momentous.

The central government, however, was made one of only limited powers. It can do only such things as are specifically granted to it in the Constitution, such as tax and borrow money for federal purposes, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, control foreign relations, the army and navy, currency and coinage, the postal service, and so on. Other than such specific powers granted, all powers remained with the states or with the people themselves. The Federal Government was also divided into the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, with many checks on each other. The Constitution provided a Bill of Rights guaranteeing forever certain

personal liberties such as freedom of religion, speech, press and others.

For one thing we have found in practice that the difference in size of the various states, so feared at first, has not caused any material disadvantage.

Another point we have learned is that it is not enough to give a Federal Government wide legislative powers unless the executive powers are commensurate.

On the whole, the division of powers between the central and state governments, as well as dual citizenship, has worked out well, although here again, legal questions can arise and have done so. For the first seventy years there was much dispute over the divided sovereignty, culminating in the bloody Civil War in 1861. That decided the question of whether or not a state could secede. Since then, none has tried to and it is doubtful if one ever will again. Economics, if not political theory and sentiment for the Union, have made it impossible. An interior state could not secede without being economically throttled, and a coast state would not be allowed to deprive the Union of its ports.

Nature In Bankim Chandra's Novels

Man is the centre of interest in fiction. Nature in and for herself has no place in this world. The influence of her presence, the beautiful background she creates, her intimate association, sympathetic or otherwise, with human emotions—these are a heritage too precious to be lost. Though centred round man fiction has to allow Nature her proper place in the world that it creates. Romanticism in art recognises the poet's "consecration and dream" which transforms the external world of reality. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is the child of Romanticism. Writes Amiya Kumar Sen in *The Calcutta Review*:

Poets and artists of the Romantic period often represent nature as expressing in forms of beauty the Eternal spirit underlying the universe. They could not rest satisfied with descriptions of her physical beauty alone. They must look deeper into her fundamental characteristics and discern therein 'the one spirit's plastic stress' which consecrates all the objects of the world. Naturally, therefore, they are always conscious of the spirit revealing itself through the veil of appearance. In Shelley and Wordsworth, for instance, there are wonderful pictures representing this aspect of nature. In *Prometheus Unbound* as Asia proceeds along her path of self-realization the whole of nature is gradually spiritualized. The shadows of the morning clouds, the blossoms of spring, the purple mountain slopes have all, writ over them as it were, appeals revealed to the spirit alone.

Bengal had come into intimate contact with Romanticism in Western Literature and Bankim Chandra was bound by a thousand bonds to the currents of thought and life prevalent in his age. No wonder that this technique of romantic art should leave its impress upon his mind and that he should describe in his novels the gradual spiritualisation of nature in contact with human emotions.

When after taking poison Kalyani gradually sinks to her death, in her semi-conscious state she hears celestial music coming through the forest-trees. She

joins in the song of exultation and responds to what appears to be heavenly harmony. Charmed with the harmonious blending of her voice with that of the forest, her husband, his heart overflowing with faith and reverence, raises his voice and in the anguish of his heart, joins in the choric song. The entire landscape resounds with melody. The birds in the trees, the streams, the trees, in fact nature herself, seem to take up the burden of the song. When gradually Kalyani loses her consciousness Mahendra makes the forest resound; he startles the birds and beasts with his song of praise and prayer. Nature seems to be spiritualized; she has become the proper shrine for such hymns of adoration.

Nature thus plays a very prominent part in the novels of Bankim Chandra. Sometimes she is a mere setting to human actions; sometimes she adds a touch of romantic glamour to incidents and personalities represented in the novels; sometimes again she actively participates in the creation of their atmosphere. Bankim also recognises in her a power, a spirit. He can consequently utilise her to symbolise human emotions and passions or sudden changes in the action. He can also use her to universalise the appeal of his artistic creations and make her catch on her beautiful countenance the hues of human emotions. Nature and man in intimate contact, the one reflecting and influencing the other—this is the picture that Bankim Chandra gives us in his descriptions of nature in her varied moods interspersed throughout his novels. And everywhere with subtle touches of art he harmoniously blends together nature and the world of his novels so that none of his descriptions can ever be regarded as superfluous or out of place.

Modernism: An Oriental Interpretation

Life has come to mean today the life exclusively of the senses, the life that is instinctive, reflexive, automatic in its *elan*, which is beyond the control of the conscious will and intelligence, the life that is interwoven with body and matter. In interpreting modernism in the *Triveni* Nalini Kanta Gupta observes:

Whether morally or aesthetically, the domination of the mind and the heart over life was the characteristic stamp of the movement of the human spirit in the past.

Modernism means the release of life from this subjugation; it means the expression of life's own truths in its own way, life's self-determination: that is the great endeavour and achievement of today.

Today, however, in pursuit of the mystery of life we have entered into darker and more obscure regions—of cells and genes, of colloid actions and neutron reaction: the elementary instincts, the primary reflexes, the tangle of short and brief vibrations, and half-articulate pulsations of the most physical and material consciousness are the stuff of the life we seek to live and to capture and mirror. The creative and active force in life as well as in art is now invested in the nervous dynamism and sensational perception. The old morals and aesthetics

and the sentiments and notions around them are considered today merely conventional and bourgeois; they have given place to a freer life-movement, the expression and embodiment of an unrestrained and authentic life, life in its natural, original, unspoilt (and crude and coarse) verity. We are probing into the mystery of the crust.

It appears then that we have come down perilously near the level of the sheer animal; by a curious loop in the cycle of evolution, the most civilized and enlightened type of mankind seems to be reverting to the status of his original ancestor.

Not quite so, certainly. The consciousness (rather, the self-consciousness) that man has gained in place of the unconsciousness or semi-consciousness, characteristic of the general mass in the past, and the growing sense of individuality and personal worth, which is an expression of that consciousness, are his assets, the hall-mark of his present-day nature and outlook and activity.

A Constituency for Dumb Animals

The Theosophist comments:

Why should not every Parliament have a member to represent the interests of the animals? A new idea certainly, but an idea which has passed the stage of humour or speculation, since it has found a place in the Report of the Seal Committee on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore State, namely, that in addition to a Representative Assembly, with mandates from the people, there should be a Legislative Council with "a different end and therefore a different composition . . . such a body must be composed of persons who have a large outlook . . . It will be, not an epitome of the people, but an Assembly embodying its collective wisdom and virtue." In addition to the interests to be represented, such as trade, landed and capitalist, professional, labour, etc., the Report recommends that to these "must be added representatives of the interests of women (so long as the suffrage and full political status are withheld), children, depressed classes, and even the dumb animals."

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, in opening a veterinary dispensary near Bangalore, expressed the hope that "if the new constitutional committee revives the recommendation and it becomes a part of the Constitution, we may be able to secure as the member for this constituency someone who has the welfare of animals at heart as much as Mr. Rangaiengar"—it was Rao Bahadur Rangaiengar who built the veterinary dispensary, and the dispensary is a practical expression of his work in the Society for the Promotion of Kindness to Animals.

How many times have we seen it proposed that the Nations should establish a Ministry of Peace. Ministries of War are energizing everywhere, and as long as they are busy—man warring against man—we cannot expect war on animals to cease. Mysore is showing the way to peace, not only peace with the lower orders, but peace to all beings. A portfolio for the Animal Kingdom would be in very truth a Department of Peace, with all its implications and potentialities. May the light which is in Mysore irradiate the darkness of this war-ridden world!



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Keshub Chunder Sen

In the course of a paper contributed to *The Asiatic Review*, Viscount Samuel makes the following observations on the life and teaching of Keshub Chunder Sen, the centenary of whose birth is being celebrated this year in India and abroad :

Keshub Chunder Sen was one of the great religious initiators of the modern world. He was a man of lofty, spiritual temperament, but not one of the those who therefore renounce the world. He was too wise and too good a humanitarian to take the path of withdrawal and the abandonment of social duty. On the contrary, he spent his life in strenuous and incessant effort to spread beneficent ideas.

I have long been deeply interested in the Brahmo Somaj, and so far as I understand the teaching of Keshub Sen, who was for so many years its leader, the central ideas are these. Religion is not to be regarded as something merely historical, given once and for all at some distant period in the past, but is rather a living force in the present; as much a vital concern for our generation as it has been for any previous generation. Religion is not a matter of rigid dogma, fossilizing ideas that prevailed in an age before science. Rather should it embrace all the knowledge painfully acquired by mankind through the centuries, and should be adapted to the conditions of life of the present time.

Further, it is wrong for each creed to emphasize its own particularized and distinctive doctrines so that a spirit of separatism, or even of antagonism, is created between the various faiths. Religion is something more than the religions. Yet, in seeking an ultimate unity, we ought not to insist upon uniformity. We should not be forgetful of the variety of national traditions and the needs of different temperaments.

Keshub Chunder Sen was an Indian and proud to be the servant of India. He realized to the full her own special needs. He insisted upon the urgent necessity for changes in the ancient laws and customs of India. Caste and Untouchability was an outstanding instance. The status of women was another.

Further, he incessantly attacked the evils of idolatry and superstition; and that message is still needed in a land where those evils still influence the lives of vast masses of the population, confusing their ideas and warping their judgments. He contributed also to the great movement which, in our own times, has gone far to fortify the national self-respect and the patriotic spirit of the Indian people. He dwelt upon the importance of nationalism, but was not among those who make the mistake of considering it necessarily opposed to internationalism. The two, wisely conceived, may coincide, but it has been rightly said that "Internationalism must rest upon a satisfied nationalism."

All these matters are of vital import to modern civilization. In the long run it is Ideas that rule. Practical politics are important. I have devoted almost all my life to political affairs, but I have come to see

that, without depreciating the importance of action in the sphere of politics and administration, even more important are the ideas that underlie and direct and control politics. In the matters with which Keshub Chunder Sen dealt, he touched the very mainsprings of the contemporary world.

I feel, therefore, that the Brahmo Somaj Movement has rendered great service to India, and if its influence were to spread among a larger proportion of the population, that service would be greatly enhanced. And since India includes one-sixth of all mankind, the indirect effect upon the world as a whole must be significant.

Iqbal, India's Muslim Poet

Asia publishes an illuminating study of the poetry and philosophy of Sir Mohammad Iqbal by Amiya Chakravarti, from which these extracts are made. English translations of Iqbal's poetry do not seem to be abundant, and Dr. Chakravarti has used his own translations in this paper.

Iqbal's poetry reveals the struggle of modernism in the East. His ideas march in challenging light, he is fighting two fronts at once. Keenly conscious of cultural reciprocity, his poetry must establish the rights of unique excellences before allowing confederation.

Through a series of paradoxes, and large-print utterances on behalf of the temporary under-dog, he seeks to achieve balance. Following this technique he would advocate the doctrine of power for weak nations, minorities, deflated groups and parties and threaten super-dogs with retaliatory caninism. The human ethics behind this needs searching, but can be found in his writings :

"Do not be indebted to European civilization

Make your pitcher of wine out of Indian earth."

he told his son, in *Jawid ke Nam*, a poem sent to him from London in 1930 during the Round Table Conference. The message hangs on the interpretation of the word "indebted." Western politics Iqbal would mock, as some Westerners would, by saying, in *Syasad-i-Afrang* :

"O God, European politics is your rival,

But its followers are the rich and the powerful . . ."

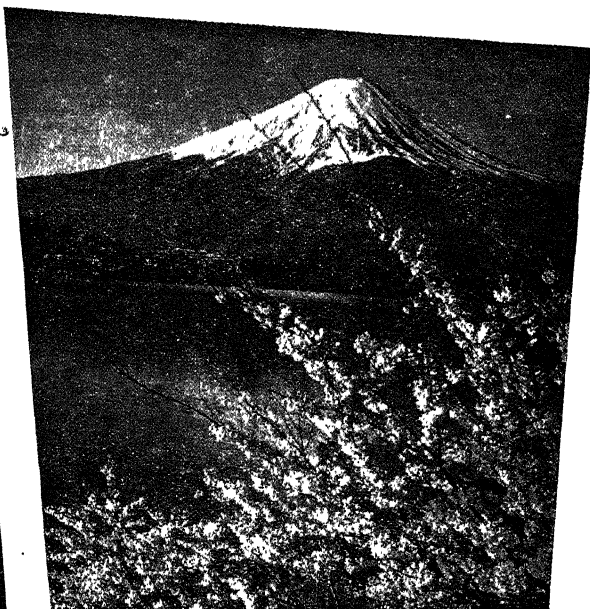
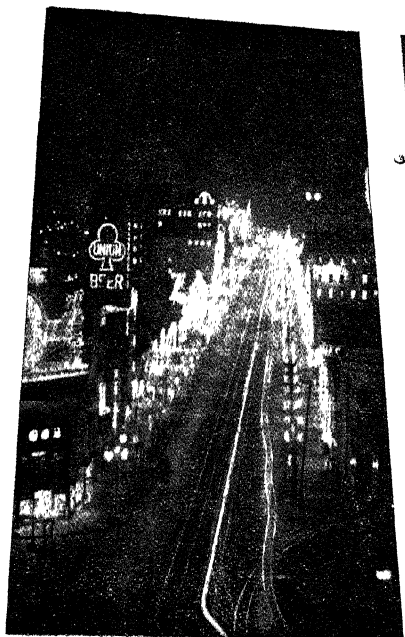
—a novel method of offering consolation. In *Ek Sawā* ("A Question") he hit out :

"One should ask the European philosopher
Because even India and Greece are following him
Is it the zenith of your civilization that men are
unemployed

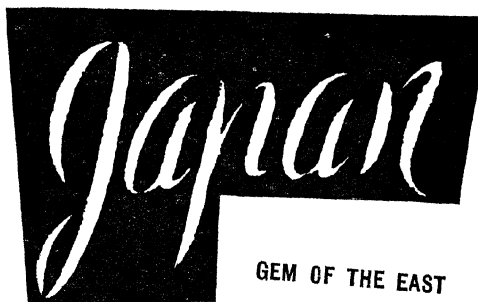
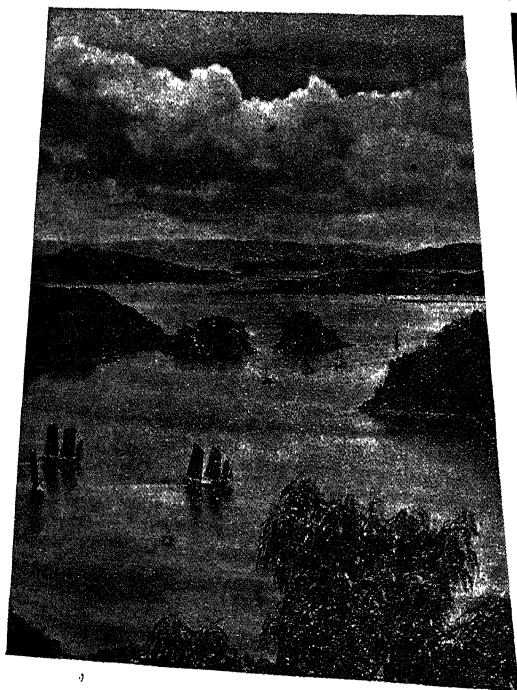
And women cannot find husbands?"

His attack cut both ways when he turned round to the East and in *Khawaj* applied the whiplash to the ruler and the ruled :

"No difficulty is there in kingship
When slaves are accustomed to slavery."



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His latest phase, in *Zarb-i-Kalim* (1937) revealed this sort of epigrammatic pre-occupation with politics, and as quotations would prove, political mischief-makers supplied him with target-practice. He combatted abuse, not caring to define right use, excepting by implication. For example, in *Jamhariyat* he wrote :

"This secret was discovered by Europeans
Although wise people do not declare it—
Democracy is a system of Government
In which people are counted and not weighed."

Then again, in *La Din Syasad* :

"The government is free from the Church,
European politics is an unchained giant.
But when it has an eye for the property of others
Then the ambassadors of the Church form the
vanguard of its army."

and yet, if the priestcraft politician, nearer home, should begin exulting, here is this for him in a poem called *Mullah aur Baheesht* :

"I was present there, I could not keep quiet
When God ordered that the Mullah should be sent
to Paradise.

"I said, 'Excuse me, O God,
He will not be pleased with houries, wine and
gardens—

"Paradise is not for fight, quarrel and debate,
And contention is the second nature of Mullah—

"His business is to misguide,
And neither mosque, church, nor temple is there
in Paradise'."

If the spiritual alternatives offered in Paradise leave much unsaid, the mockery spares none. Emphasizing good by attacking wrongs on both sides may be dangerous procedure, but Iqbal must walk on the tight rope. In a poem on *Lenin*, he makes Lenin say this for him :

"The white man of Europe is god of the East,
The gods of the West are the shining metals"

and the speech continues, less in character than as mouthpiece utterance.

Having exposed up-to-date sanity, Iqbal would on occasion, as in *Firman-i-Khuda*, advocate mid-Eastern madness :

"Civilization today is a factory for deceivers,
Teach the ethics of madness to the poet of the
East."

In the same revolutionary poem he said :

"Warm the blood of slaves with the fire of faith
Induce the weak sparrow to fight with the eagle.
I am displeased and fed up with marble pavement
Erect for me another mosque out of clay."

Whether he touched on religion or art or ethics, his outlook was circumstantial and political; his treatment was mainly symptomatic. On this point there has been much confusion. Iqbal has been represented as disbeliever, communalist and utilitarian; whereas, so far as his

poetry is concerned, he maintained witty elusiveness on salient issues, says the writer.

Excepting at rare moments,—and is this not true of Shaw? Both of them have reveled in attacking the wrong side of things, and exposing aberration, injustice, intolerance and special claims, by methods calculated to meet extremism on its own ground. It would be, however, risky to decide at what point they have left the exaggerated temporal aspect and begun conserving their judgment on fundamentals. The Islamic poet differs from the dramatist in accepting religious tradition. If Iqbal did not follow rationalism in its full iconoclastic fury, and would have reserved areas, he certainly possessed logic of sympathy. Even those who find his cult of power unsatisfactory, recognize that his pragmatism does not betray the victim in the hour of need. Compare Shavian inadequacy with Iqbal's answer to the Abyssinian challenge. A lurking admiration for dictators, which he shared with Shaw, did not prevent him from saying on August 18, 1935 :

"The vultures of Europe are not yet aware
How poisonous is the corpse of Abyssinia.
The peak of civilization is the decline of nobility,
Robbery is the means of living of Nations.
Every wolf is in quest of an innocent lamb.
O bewail that the mirror of Church's honour
Has been broken by the Roman on the public road,
Man of Church, this fact is heart-rending."

At this point it might be mentioned that Iqbal praised Mussolini's work for Italy in a dedicatory poem, but he mingled his praise with an attack on Imperialism :

"Imperialism, which though possessing a fattened body
Has unilluminated heart—"

Iqbal's most recent verse was saturated with politics; the two were inseparable and had to be taken together. His poetry upheld national values. In *Hindi Islam* he said:

"A nation is living only by the unity of thought
If a sacrament destroys unity it is denial of God."

And such values, it will be seen, are identified with absolute laws. The Nation, to Iqbal, was a whole, consisting of units not to be defined by economic, linguistic or psychological values but by spiritual traditions. These traditions derived from immutable laws of revealed religion and were both spiritual and juridical. His philosophy was silent on competitive revelations because competition would not occur on that plane, though his poetry certainly indicated preference. It is not necessary to discuss his choice of a tradition as the highest form of the Absolute—that would lead argument to an act of faith.

Cryptic utterances directed towards a community, have baffled his readers, but India has not forgotten the national song, *Tarania Hindi*, in which Iqbal's patriotism embraces her peoples :

"O river Ganga, rememberest thou those days
When our caravan first alighted on thy shore
Religion does not teach us strife; we are Indians,
Our motherland is India."

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO YONE NOGUCHI

SANTINIKETAN, Oct. '29.

DEAR NOGUCHI,

I thank you for taking the trouble to write to me again. I have also read with interest your letter addressed to the Press. It makes the meaning of your letter to me more clear.

I am flattered that you still consider it worthwhile to take such pains to convert me to your point of view, and I am really sorry that I am unable to come to my senses, as you have been pleased to wish it. It seems to me that it is futile for either of us to try to convince the other, since your faith in the infallible right of Japan to bully other Asiatic nations into line with your Government's policy is not shared by me, and my mistrust of a patriotism which claims the right to bring to the altar of its country the sacrifice of other people's rights and happiness, is sneered at by you as the "quiescence of a spiritual vagabond."

If you can convince the Chinese that your armies are bombing their cities and rendering their women and children homeless beggars—those of them that are not transformed into "mutilated mudfish," to borrow one of your own phrases,—if you can convince these victims that they are only being subjected to a benevolent treatment which will in the end "save their nation, it will no longer be necessary for you to convince us of your country's noble intentions." Your righteous indignation against the 'polluted people' who are burning their own cities and art-treasures (and presumably bombing their own citizens) to malign your soldiers, reminds me of Napoleon's noble wrath when he marched into a deserted Moscow and watched its palaces in flames. I should have expected from you, who are a poet, at least that much of imagination to feel, to what inhuman despair a people must be reduced to willingly burn their own handiwork of years', indeed centuries', labour. And even as a good nationalist, do you seriously believe that the mountains of bleeding corpses and the wilderness of bombed and burnt cities that is everyday widening between your two countries, is making it easier for you two peoples to stretch your hands in a clasp of everlasting goodwill?

You complain that while the Chinese, being "dishonest," are spreading their malicious propaganda, your people, being "honest", are reticent. Do you not know, my friend, that there is no propaganda like good and noble deeds, and that if such deeds be yours, you need not fear any "trickery" of your victims? Nor need you fear the bogey of communism if there is no exploitation of the poor among your own people and the workers feel that they are justly treated.

I must thank you for explaining to me the meaning of our Indian philosophy and pointing out that the proper interpretation of Kali and Shiva must compel our approval of Japan's "dance of death" in China. I wish you had drawn a moral from a religion more familiar to you and appealed to the Buddha for your justification. But I forget that your priests and artists have already made sure of that, for I saw in a recent issue of *The Osaka Mainichi* and *The Tokyo Nichi* (16th September, 1938)

a picture of a new colossal image of the Buddha erected to bless the massacre of your neighbours.

You must forgive me if my words sound bitter. Believe me, it is sorrow and shame, not anger, that prompt me to write to you. I suffer intensely not only because the reports of Chinese suffering batter against my heart, but because I can no longer point out with pride the example of a great Japan. It is true that there are no better standards prevalent anywhere else and that the so-called civilized peoples of the West are proving equally barbarous and even less "worthy of trust." If you refer me to them, I have nothing to say. What I should have liked is to be able to refer them to you. I shall say nothing of my own people, for it is vain to boast until one has succeeded in sustaining one's principles to the end.

I am quite conscious of the honour you do me in asking me to act as a peace-maker. Were it in any way possible for me to bring you two peoples together and see you freed from this death-struggle and pledged to the great common "work of reconstructing the new world in Asia," I would regard the sacrifice of my life in the cause a proud privilege. But I have no power save that of moral persuasion, which you have so eloquently ridiculed. You who want me to be impartial, how can you expect me to appeal to Chiang Kai-shek to give up resisting unless the aggressors have first withdrawn their aggression? Do you know that last week when I received a pressing invitation from an old friend of mine in Japan to visit your country, I actually thought for a moment, foolish idealist as I am, that your people may really need my services to minister to the bleeding heart of Asia and to help extract from its riddled body the bullets of hatred? I wrote to my friend:

"Though the present state of my health is hardly favourable for any strain of a long foreign journey, I should seriously consider your proposal if proper opportunity is given me to carry out my own mission while there, which is to do my best to establish a civilized relationship of national amity between two great peoples of Asia who are entangled in a desolating mutual destruction. But as I am doubtful whether the military authorities of Japan, which seem bent upon devastating China in order to gain their object, will allow me the freedom to take my own course, I shall never forgive myself if I am tempted for any reason whatever to pay a friendly visit to Japan just at this unfortunate moment and thus cause a grave misunderstanding. You know I have a genuine love for the Japanese people and it is sure to hurt me too painfully to go and watch crowds of them being transported by their rulers to a neighbouring land to perpetrate acts of inhumanity which will brand their name with a lasting stain in the history of Man."

After the letter was despatched came the news of the fall of Canton and Hankow. The cripple, shorn of his power to strike, may collapse, but to be able to ask him to forget the memory of his mutilation as easily as you want me to, I must expect him to be an angel.

Wishing your people whom I love, not success, but remorse.

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NOTES

Lord Zetland's Ostrich-like Self-delusion

Speaking at the Town Hall in Torquay on the 18th November last, Lord Zetland said :

"When the history of the past few years comes to be written, it will be seen that our energies have been devoted to one great purpose—the removal of the causes of conflict between us and other peoples in all parts of the world. Our task has been not an easy one, for the war left behind a vast legacy of bitterness and unrest. Yet if much still remains to be accomplished, we may, without being unduly boastful, at least lay claim to some striking successes.

"You have only to compare our relations with the peoples of India, Egypt, Italy and Ireland today with what they were, not so very long ago, to be satisfied as to that."

The British Government has been trying no doubt to remove the causes of conflict between the British people and other peoples in different parts of the world, but not in *all* parts; nor are its policy and methods the same everywhere. Moreover, in some cases the causes of conflict have been only temporarily removed. By yielding to Germany Britain has averted an immediate outbreak of war; but thereby she has unintentionally increased Germany's strength in the next war. Similarly, by recognising Italy's conquest of Abyssinia she has for the time being won the good graces of Italy, but has at the same time made her feel stronger and safer and stimulated her predatory proclivities.

Continuing, the Secretary of State for India observed :

"Those of you who have studied our recent announcement of policy will be aware that we are even now

engaged in a similar attempt to find by discussion and negotiation a solution of the most difficult problem presented by the conflict of interests between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine."

To say that Britishers are trying to find a solution of the Palestine problem "by discussion and negotiation" is to state only a very small part of the truth, if that at all. Thousands of soldiers with all the paraphernalia of war, actual fighting and martial law cannot be considered parts of discussion and negotiation. And this sort of "discussion and negotiation" has not so far removed the causes of conflict between either Jews and Britain or Arabs and Britain, but has made enemies of both.

Lord Zetland went on to say :

"In these days the panorama of world events revolves around us with such bewildering rapidity that we are apt to lose sight of the particular features of the picture. Let me remind you that our treaty with Egypt, our agreements with Ireland and Italy and the Act under which Parliamentary Government had been instituted in India, are great achievements in the policy of conciliation and appeasement—achievements which have not been lightly won but at the expense rather of protracted endeavour and patient negotiation."

The treaty with Egypt, the agreements with Ireland and Italy, and the Government of India Act ought not to have been mentioned in the same breath.

The Irish people have fought for freedom (in a very literal sense) for centuries. Britain felt constrained to yield, but she did not concede all that the Irish wanted. However, Mr. De Valera has used the Irish self-government act with such consummate strategy that

what Britain did not concede has been obtained in a different way. Nevertheless Ireland, or rather Eire, is not yet conciliated or appeased. She will not be satisfied until North Ireland is united with other parts of the island to form the United State of Eire. When Eire thus obtains her heart's desire, Britain will then no doubt declare that she generously adopted a policy of conciliation and appeasement in Ireland.

As regards Egypt, Italy's ambitions in Africa, as evidenced, for example, by her Ethiopian campaign, made it necessary for Britain to conciliate Egypt to some extent. But it can be shown that Egypt is not quite satisfied with the measure of freedom she has got.

It is not a correct description of the Government of India Act to say that parliamentary government has been instituted by it in India. Its shadow has been introduced in the provinces under the auspices of the Act, but not yet in the central sphere. Moreover, in Ireland and Egypt the people got from Britain at least a part of what they wanted. But in the case of India, as admitted in the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's Report, Britain did not concede even what those whom the Committee styled "moderates" (like the Aga Khan) had asked for.

Germany is strong: Britain must yield to her threats. Italy is strong: *ditto* in her case too. Ireland has been very troublesome and may help the enemy in case of a war in Europe: therefore, she must be conciliated. In case of war with Italy, Egypt may cause trouble in the Suez zone and also in Africa towards the sources of the Nile—and she is more united than India: Egypt, too, must be pleased.

But Britain determined to sit tight in India. She could depend upon the Muslims and the "Minority Pact" to keep India divided. And the ruling princes could be used as tools to keep in check and neutralize the forces of nationalism in British-ruled India. But the Constitution given to India has not at all pleased the Indian National Congress, or the Indian National Liberal Federation, or the Hindu Mahasabha, or even the Muslim League and other Muslim bodies.

In an expansive mood, Lord Zetland proceeded:

"I hope that, in view of the office which I hold, you will bear with me for a few minutes, while I say a word about one of them—the establishment of parliamentary government in India. Men who a few years ago were at daggers drawn are working together in cordial co-

operation today. In the provinces, such as the Punjab and Bengal, Ministries responsible to the new legislatures have been functioning successfully from the day on which the new constitution came into operation.

In the other provinces, Congress ministers, some of whom were not so long ago in prison for deliberate defiance of law, are now in office directing the policy and administering law. And British and Indian members of the civil services and police force, who were instrumental in imprisoning them, are now working happily under them. Has that not been worth doing?

"And let me take this opportunity, the first that I have had since the recent crisis, of giving public expression to the gratitude of His Majesty's Government to the Princes and people of India for the swift expression of their loyalty to the Crown. With traditional fealty the Princes of India placed their services and the resources of their States at the disposal of His Majesty; while Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, now one of the great self-governing provinces in India, which he proudly and justifiably described as the sword arm of India, declared that he and his people would stand by us through thick and thin."

It is only congenital or wilful blindness which can describe the functioning of the new legislatures in the Panjab and Bengal—particularly Bengal, as successful. Why, in Bengal ask even the Muslims what good the Fazlul Huq Cabinet has done even to the Muslim community. Providing a very few men with fat jobs and buying over a few opponents cannot be held to be synonymous with doing good to the community. It is an indisputable fact that there is great discontent in Bengal. As for the successful working of the legislatures in the Panjab, let the "Black Bills" alone bear witness. The rest of India perhaps does not fully understand what these Bills mean. Raja Narendranath's article on the subject in our next number will convince those who do not know.

As for the Congress ministries working the constitution, does not Lord Zetland know that their object is to strengthen the nation for overthrowing the British-made constitution? They have provisionally accepted it, but only because they want to use it as a weapon for enabling them to successfully convene a constituent assembly in order that a constitution may be framed for a free India by Indians themselves.

Lord Zetland has spoken only about the provinces. What about the central government? What of the government scheme of Federation? Has not the Government of India to make mighty efforts to persuade (or prevail upon by pressure) the requisite number of the princes to accede to the Federation? Is not the Muslim League opposed to the Government scheme of Federation? And above all, has not the news of the Congress President's vigorous campaign against it reached Britain? The Congress

President has repeatedly said that there will be civil disobedience if the British-made Federation is forced on India.

The placing of their services and the resources of their states by the princes at the disposal of His Majesty, cannot be even imagined to be due to the Government of India Act, as his lordship wanted indirectly to convey to his audience. It has become a habit with them ever since they became vassals of the British Crown and came to depend upon it for protection against their own subjects.

Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for India may be allowed to boast of and boost the loyalty of the princes. But why bracket "the people of India" with them? The people have not placed their services and their resources at the disposal of His Majesty. On the contrary, both in the Central Legislature at the time of the debate on the army recruitment bill and in the country at large public opinion has found unequivocal expression that the people of India are not to side with England in her wars.

As for the people of the Indian States, there is the greatest possible resentment in their minds that they have been entirely ignored in the British-made constitution of India and the scheme of federation forming part of it. They are, in a good many states, engaged in a literally life and death *non-violent* struggle for even the small amount of freedom which the people of British-ruled India have, and in consequence in several states many persons have been shot down and many more wounded and considerable numbers arrested or otherwise harassed. Surely this is not conciliation and appeasement or an indication that the people have been rendered particularly loyal thereby.

Lord Zetland certainly knows that the Government of India Act has done grave injustice to the Hindus of Bengal and far from giving them any "weightage," which as a minority community in the province they would have got if they had been Muslims, they have been given even a smaller number of seats in the legislature than even their mere numbers would have entitled them to and thus reduced them to political impotence. And he knows, too, that in the Central or Federal Legislature the Hindus of India, who are an absolute majority, have been reduced to the position of a minority. Does this make for conciliation and appeasement? Can this manufacture loyalty?

His lordship speaks of the Panjab being one of "the great self-governing provinces in India." 'Self-governing' indeed!

As for Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's declaration that he and his people would stand by the British people through thick and thin, every one who knows anything about the mercenary character of the Indian army knows that the British Government does not depend on the good graces of a provincial chief minister or any other Indian to be able to use that army for imperial purposes, and that, whatever Sir Sikandar's representative character in the Panjab, none but an ignoramus would take him to be a representative man of the whole of India.

Lord Zetland next passed on to speak of the pact with Italy, alleged to have been entered into because of the impotence of the League of Nations:

"I pass from India to Italy and to the efforts which we have made to restore the traditional relations of friendship between the Italian people and ourselves. In contracting the agreement which came into full force two days ago, we have been accused of departing from the ideal of the League of Nations. That is really not so. We are as strongly attached as ever we were to the ideal of the League, and for my part I go so far as to say that the only hope for mankind lies in the acceptance by all civilised peoples of the fundamental principle upon which the League is based, namely, that in the case of nations as in the case of individuals, the supreme authority for the settlement of disputes, must be not physical force, but law. But we have to take the League, not as we think that it ought be, but as it is in fact we find it.

"And if one thing is crystal clear, it is that the League, as at present constituted, is wholly incapable of discharging the more important of the functions originally assigned to it. The willingness of individuals to submit to the judgments of courts of law in any country is due to their conviction that in the last resort there is behind the courts adequate power to enforce their judgment. Similarly the willingness of nations to submit their differences to and to accept the verdict of an international tribunal can only be expected if they are convinced that there is behind it sufficient power to enforce its judgments.

"Unhappily it is precisely this conviction that is lacking. How, indeed, could it be otherwise with the majority of the great Powers standing coldly aloof or actively hostile to it.

"That then is the position so far as the League is concerned and it was in these circumstances that we seized the opportunity, when it occurred, of furthering the cause of peace by other means."

Whatever Lord Zetland may say, there has been a departure from the ideal of the League of Nations in the case of Abyssinia. According to the covenant of the League of Nations all League Members, of which Britain was one, were bound to come to the rescue of Abyssinia in order to maintain its territorial integrity when that was threatened. Britain and France were and are the two most influential and powerful members of the League. All along they were concerned with their own interests alone.

They may profess lip allegiance to the ideal and principles of the League; but they never took up a firm attitude when a strong nation encroached on the rights of a disorganised or a weak people. That is why Abyssinia had to fight single-handed. That is why China has been fighting single-handed. In the case of Abyssinia, the so-called principle of non-intervention actually worked against it whilst Italy all along enjoyed facilities to procure war materials.

The League has no existence apart from its members. If it is impotent, it is because its most powerful members have not taken the steps necessary to make it strong. If the ideal of the League is to be made a reality, strong nations must be prevented from aggrandizing themselves at the expense of weaker countries. But the most powerful members of the League are what they are at present are because in the past they have victimized weak peoples. Whole-souled opposition to present-day aggressors on the part of those who had been themselves aggressors in the past, cannot be expected. Their guilty conscience would make cowards of them all.

They can act sincerely and wholeheartedly for the League ideal, only by giving up their ill-gotten dependencies and colonies and making them fully self-ruling.

Lord Zetland says that as, owing to its impotence, the League could not further the cause of peace (by preventing Italian aggression on Abyssinia), Britain "furthered the cause of peace by other means." And what was this other means? Why, telling the Abyssinians that they must be reconciled to their extinction as an independent people, and the Italians that they had behaved right imperially and were entitled to grasp Britain's outstretched hand of friendship! In private life, householders can always purchase peace in this way by surrendering to robbers.

Lord Zetland on the Case of Czechoslovakia

The remaining portion of Lord Zetland's speech was devoted to Czechoslovakia. So much has been already written on the calamity which has been allowed to overtake that unfortunate country that if we were to examine his lordship's arguments in detail we should be repeating what has been said again and again. We shall, therefore, consider only a few of his points.

"And now I come to the grave crisis which six or seven weeks ago shook to its foundations the confidence of men in the peaceful and orderly progress of the world.

"Here again under the guidance of the Prime Minister we sought to and succeeded in solving the problem of resort to reason as becomes civilised men and not to force. And here again we have been most unwarrantably attacked. We are told that we have lowered the prestige of England."

Does Lord Zetland really believe that giving Germany what Herr Hitler wanted has promoted the cause of "the peaceful and orderly progress of the world"? The cause of peace suffers as much, if one gains his object by threat of war, as, if one gained it by actual warfare.

His lordship thinks that there has been no pusillanimous surrender to dictators and that, therefore, there has not been any lowering of British prestige. We cannot speak of other countries from personal knowledge. But we know, people in India now think poorly of British chivalry and valour, and hence there has been loss of British prestige in this country. And from Dr. Goebbels's bantering and contemptuous tone whenever he speaks of Britain we guess Germans do not think very highly of British power and prowess.

His lordship proceeded to observe :

"We had no commitment of any kind towards Czechoslovakia; we were under no treaty obligation to them."

It is immaterial whether Britain had any particular commitment towards Czechoslovakia in particular, or was under any treaty obligation to the Czechs. For, according to the covenant of the League of Nations, League members, of whom Britain and France were the most powerful, were bound to safeguard the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, another member of the League. Many well-informed publicists hold that Britain *had* commitments towards Czechoslovakia. But as we have said, it is immaterial whether she had any towards Czechoslovakia in particular.

Lord Zetland continued :

"There was a time when we hoped that a solution might be found in a measure of autonomy for the Sudeten Germans within the Czech State. But events were moving too fast. Every offer that Dr. Benes made came too late. It was a case of the Sibylline Books over again. With every bid that he made he found that the price had risen against him."

Why did the price rise with every bid that Dr. Benes made? Obviously because the pro-Hitler Sudeten Germans knew that Herr Hitler had his battalions to back them. It was not a case of peaceful negotiations between two parties, both appealing to the arbitrament of

facts and reason, but a case in which one of the parties from the very beginning had the armed might of Germany behind it and acted under Germany's incitement.

His lordship stated :

"The state of Czechoslovakia was admittedly an artificial creation of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. The territory with the German population numbering, when the issue came to a head, three and a half millions, was included in it at the suggestion of the French for admittedly strategic reasons."

There is no doubt the state of Czechoslovakia was created by the peace treaty of Versailles. But does Lord Zetland's last quoted assertion printed above square with the following passage extracted from new Volume 31 of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition), article Europe, page 33 ?

1. The ancient kingdom of Bohemia, which since 1526 had been merged in the Habsburg possessions, reappeared under the title of Czechoslovakia. To quote the preamble to one of the treaties signed at St. Germain :—

"The Union which formerly existed between the old Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margravate of Moravia and the Duchy of Silesia on the one hand, and the other territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the other, has definitely ceased to exist, and the peoples of Bohemia, of Moravia and of part of Silesia, as well as the peoples of Slovakia, have decided **OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL** to unite, and have in fact united, in a **PERMANENT UNION** for the purpose of forming a single sovereign independent State under the title of the *Czecho-Slovak Republic*." (Italics and thick type ours.—Editor, M. R.)

In this connection may be read again our note on page 540 of our last number in which it has been shown that the Sudeten area was never part of Germany.

Lord Zetland has said :

"Put quite briefly, the two alternatives were self-determination for the Sudeten Germans or war."

As there was no plebiscite, it cannot be claimed that the union of the Sudeten area with Germany was the result of self-determination. As the Sudeten Germans united with others, *of their own free will*, to form the republic of Czechoslovakia after the great war, it is not unimaginable that a plebiscite under international guarantee and auspices might have shown that the majority of the people in the Sudeten area (who are not all Germans) were willing to remain an autonomous part of the democracy of Czechoslovakia instead of coming under the despotic power of Herr Hitler.

As Lord Zetland professes to be an advocate of self-determination, perhaps he may avail himself of some future opportunity to explain how the Abyssinians have 'self-determined' to come under Italy's rule. And

will his lordship allow Indians, who are his particular charge, to exercise the right of self-determination ?

Towards the end of his speech Lord Zetland spoke as if the British Prime Minister had succeeded in preventing Germany from having a strategic frontier. But in reality it was not so. Herr Hitler has actually obtained a strategic frontier.

Kemal Ataturk

By the death of Kemal Ataturk the world has lost one of the greatest soldier-statesmen of this century, who was the liberator and regenerator of his country. But for his leadership in war Turkey would perhaps have fallen a prey to the land-hunger and rapacity of some European power or other and disappeared from the map of Europe as an independent country. He saved his country from that calamity, and made the "Sick Man of Europe" a hale and hearty and vigorous personality.

He could have become the Sultan of Turkey, but he made the country a republic and became its first president. He was no doubt a dictator, but a dictator of a different kind from what Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler are.

Under him Turkey ceased to be a theocratic state with Islam as the State religion. He made it a thoroughly secular state like many other modern civilized states. Under the Sultans the Quranic law was the law of the land. He abolished it and substituted for it up-to-date modern civil and criminal codes on the French and Swiss models. The theological or religious teachers of the people, those who are generally known as Mullas, Maulvis or Maulanas, ceased to have any power or influence in the state and over the people.

He abolished the Khilafat. Just as he could have become Sultan if he had any imperial ambition, so he could have become the Caliph if he had any personal ambition of a so-called religious character. But his object was of a different character. He wanted to make his nation strong, prosperous and progressive, and his country civilized in the modern sense. So he resolved to keep his country clear of any theocratic colouring and himself of any so-called spiritual glamour. Hence the abolition of the Khilafat.

His educational reforms had the same kind of object. Like the existing *maktabs* and *madrasas* of India, those institutions in Turkey were the strongholds of bigotry and obscurantism. He, therefore, abolished them and established in their stead educational institu-

tions of a modern, enlightened and progressive type.

His penalization of the use of the *fez* and his prescription of the wearing of the hat instead may be interpreted as an attempt to denationalize his people. But, as we shall see, he was a staunch nationalist. He wanted his people to feel that they were as modern and strong and progressive as the other people of Europe, and he wanted the world outside also to consider them as such, not as "interesting specimens of humanity", living in Europe indeed but unlike other Europeans.

We have said he was a staunch nationalist. His nationalism comes out very clearly in his linguistic reforms. The Turks are not a Semitic people. Turkish is not a Semitic tongue, but under the influence of Muhammadanism it had become Arabicized to a great extent by the introduction of a large Arabic vocabulary and by the adoption of the Arabic alphabet and script. Kemal Ataturk wanted to restore to Turkish its national character. With this object in view he purged the Turkish vocabulary of all Arabic words and brought back into use their genuine Turkish equivalents which had fallen into entire or partial disuse, or got new Turkish words coined as substitutes for the discarded Arabic words. The Arabic alphabet and script being unscientific and the cursive style most in use being difficult to read correctly, he introduced the Roman script instead. Literacy thus became easier and possible of achievement more quickly. The adoption of the Roman script has also made it easier for Turks to learn English, French, Italian, etc.

Kemal Ataturk's nationalism found expression in another direction. Arabic, the language of the Quran, is used in Islamic worship. For the original Arabic sentences used therein Kemal substituted their Turkish translations. For the use of worshippers mosques were provided with furniture for sitting like Christian churches.

The social reforms introduced by Kemal Ataturk were of a radical character. He abolished the purdah, the veil and the harem, and emancipated the women of Turkey. Girls were given equal educational facilities with boys and various professions and occupations were thrown open to women. Polygamy has been abolished and women have been given the right of divorce.

Kemal has industrialized Turkey, to a great extent, and improved its agriculture, too. Foreigners had become predominant in many

professions and occupations. This was bad for Turkey and the Turks in two ways. It led to the exploitation of the country by non-Turks and stood in the way of the prosperity of the Turks and Turkey. If a country wishes to become or remain really independent, it is necessary that its nationals should be the most influential men in all professions and occupations. But if non-nationals predominate in them, in times of national danger, not only is the state deprived of the whole-hearted moral and material support of large and influential sections of the professions and occupational classes, but these foreigners tend actually to throw their weight, directly or indirectly, on the side of the party endangering the safety of the country. For these and similar reasons Kemal Ataturk closed numerous professions and occupations to foreigners.

Perhaps for cognate reasons, he strictly limited the activities of those foreign educational institutions, conducted by Christians, whose direct or indirect object was proselytism; for proselytization is often attended with denationalization.

In order that Turkey may remain free, Kemal Ataturk strengthened its defences, and paid due attention to its land and air forces and its navy. The need of a fleet of mercantile vessels, too, did not escape his attention.

It is to be hoped that under his successor the forces of reaction will not gain sway and progress will be maintained and accelerated in all directions.

Indian Muslims and Kemal Ataturk

Along with the other sections of the people of India, Indian Muslims have held meetings to mourn the death and honour the memory of Kemal Ataturk. Though most of them perhaps honour him because he was a Muslim by birth and because he was a *ghazi* who beat his Christian opponents in battle, let us hope some at least among them are in sympathy with his genuine nationalism and his linguistic, social and educational reforms. We say this, because among the leading Indian Muslims who have praised him after his death there are many whose opinions and activities run counter to Kemal's reforms.

Arabic Script and Words in Some Indian Languages

In several Indian languages, including Bengali, some Arabic words have become naturalized and current—sometimes in an

altered form. Even among Hindu writers of those languages the consensus of opinion is that these and other Asiatic and European words should not be discarded. Therefore, they do not want to go so far as Kemal Ataturk did with reference to Arabic words in Turkish. What our non-Muslim writers and linguists want is that, if new words have to be coined for scientific and other purposes for use in Indian languages like Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Bengali, Hindi, etc., they should be derived from Sanskrit roots. But Muslim writers of Urdu insist upon these new words being derived from Arabic or Persian. Some Mussalman writers of Bengali school text-books go even further. Some of them have actually used in their books Arabic words in lieu of Bengali words commonly used by both Hindus and Mussalmans.

As regards script, Mussalmans in India insist upon the retention of the Arabic script in Urdu (or Hindustani) in spite of the obvious defects of that script, whereas Kemal Ataturk had no hesitation to discard the Arabic script.

Though that eminent Turkish nationalist introduced Turkish in Islamic worship, the use of any Indian language in such worship would be unthinkable in India.

Pardah College for Bengal Muslim Girls

Kemal Ataturk abolished the purdah and the veil in Turkey. But the largest and most influential section of Muslims in this country are so purdah-ridden that Bengal is going to be saddled with a purdah college for Muslim girls, as if the existing colleges which admit girls of all religious communities could not accommodate the very small number of Muslim girls who at present go in for or may be expected to go in for such education for many years to come.

In the years 1935, 1936, and 1937 there were altogether 37 Muslim girls in the I.A. and I.Sc. classes of our colleges. There are at present in Calcutta four colleges which hold separate morning classes for girl students, and they all admit Muslim girls. There are two or three girls' colleges in the mofussil also. It is absurd to think that these six or seven colleges cannot take in some 37 or 50 Muslim girls, or that Muslim purdah must needs be so strict as to prevent Muslim girls being seen or spoken to by non-Muslim persons of even the female sex.

Upholders of the purdah in this country should explain in what particulars they follow

the principles of Kemal Ataturk. Needless to say that these persons cannot possibly support Kemal's throwing of the professions open to Turkish women.

Maktabs & Madrasas in Turkey and India

Kemal abolished all *maktabs* and *madrasas* in Turkey and established educational institutions of the modern type in their stead. In Bengal, and perhaps in other provinces, too, successive reports of the education department have condemned *maktabs* and *madrasas* from the educationalist's point of view. Yet our Muslim countrymen are so fond of them that, far from their disappearance, they are perhaps multiplying. And yet their advocates must needs praise Kemal Ataturk.

The Fez

The Turkish Dictator penalized the wearing of the *fez*. Here in India, at least in some parts of it, Muslim males are fanatically fond of it and seem almost to consider it essential for them to wear it. A Muslim with a *fez* on eulogizing Kemal is an interesting sight.

The Khilafat

Among Indian Muslims there are enthusiastic Khilafatists who are equally enthusiastic in their "admiration" of Kemal Ataturk who abolished the Khilafat.

The raging and tearing campaign carried on in India in favour of the Khilafat some years ago need not be described.

Indian Muslims and Polygamy and Women's Right of Divorce

The Turkish Dictator abolished polygamy and gave women the right to divorce. Here in India, whenever any bill directed against polygamy is sought to be introduced in any legislative body, the sponsor has to exclude Muslims from its operation—so wedded they are to that institution.

As regards women's right to divorce, newspaper readers know that a certain bill introduced in the Central Legislature a few months back by a Muslim member seeks to tie down Muslim wives to their husbands even if the wives have renounced Muhammadanism and embraced a different faith in order to shake off their Muslim husbands.

The Quranic Law and Indian Muslims

It has been stated in a previous note that Kemal Ataturk introduced modern codes in the place of the Quranic law. The tendency among Indian Muslims is in the opposite direction.

"Pictures of Japanese Atrocities"

Mr. Rashbehari Bose has sent from Tokyo a letter to some Indian newspapers in which he criticizes and condemns Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders and Indian publicists in general for their attitude towards fascist and totalitarian states and their condemnation of Japan for attacking China. It is not necessary for us to comment on what Mr. Bose says about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Indian leaders. They are quite capable of defending themselves if they think it at all necessary. It is believed that Mr. Bose's only claim to speak authoritatively on Indian politics is that he is alleged to have thrown a bomb at Lord Hardinge at Delhi and then succeeded in reaching Japan. That being so, it would have been more becoming if he had not given himself superior airs and lectured to Indian leaders, *e.g.*, Rabindranath Tagore and others, as to how they ought to think and behave.

As humble journalists we have to take notice of what Mr. Bose says of ourselves. He writes :

Since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese conflict, a section of the Indians, particularly those belonging to the Congress, has persistently carried on anti-Japanese activities of various kinds. The other day a first class Indian magazine published two photos of Japanese soldiers beheading Chinese prisoners. A man with a grain of intelligence will easily understand that the photos are fake, and purposely made and circulated for anti-Japanese propaganda. As a matter of fact such photos can be had in Shanghai at the rate of ten for one dollar. If the Japanese soldiers really wanted to behead the Chinese prisoners, is it conceivable that they would first ask the Chinese to have the scene photographed and then carry out their gruesome task? A child can realise the faked nature of the whole thing. Yet the venerable editor of the Indian magazine published such photos without attempting to find out whether they could be true or fake.

In the course of his letter to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore the Japanese poet Mr. Yone Noguchi also criticized us for publishing those photographs. Our reply will be found in our last November number, pages 530 and 531.

We received *The China Weekly Review* for October 22, 1938, after the publication of our November number. It contains an article on page 244 bearing on the subject, with the caption, "Cases Where Truth Was Stranger

Than Fiction." The whole article is printed below.

So much has been published about Japanese atrocities in China that the public has ceased to be impressed. In fact many of the stories were so horrible that the public put them down as propaganda, the sort of stuff fed to the public during the late war.

This was the experience of *Readers Digest*, with regard to a condensation of an article entitled, "The Sack of Nanking," which appeared originally in the new Chicago magazine *Ken*. Following the publication of the article in *Readers Digest*, the editors received numerous letters from subscribers who refused to believe the gruesome story and put it down as rank propaganda. This caused the editors of *Readers Digest* to make further research into the authenticity of the reports. The result was a series of letters (many already published in *The Review*), from persons who were in Nanking at the time of the Japanese occupation, hence were in a position to testify to the accuracy of the original reports, and more.

In this case "truth was stranger than fiction," meaning that the stories of the eye-witnesses were far worse in their descriptions of horrors than were the second-hand hearsay reports originally telegraphed over the world.

The same thing is true with regard to pictures of Japanese atrocities. Practically every important newspaper office has pictures of Japanese atrocities which the editors refused to print, simply because they were too horrible to believe, or for fear the reader would be so disgusted as to cease reading the newspaper which published the pictures. However, some papers did print the pictures, particularly the picture magazines which made a feature of the horrors. But recently an entirely new series of pictures have appeared which no paper has published. We refer to the pictures showing bodies of Chinese women who have been raped and desecrated by Japanese soldiers.

But how about the proof—that these atrocities were the work of Japanese soldiers?

The proof is provided by the pictures themselves, for practically all of them show Japanese soldiers standing about the bodies of their victims. In one case several Japanese soldiers are sitting about the body of a Chinese woman and one of the men was shown wiping blood from the bayonet of his rifle, after having put an end to the woman's suffering by a thrust through her heart.

In the case of the Nanking atrocities, where the Japanese killed some 24,000 disarmed soldiers and civilians in a mad orgy of rape and massacres following occupation of the former Chinese capital, the Japanese apparently were so proud of their work that they took pictures of each other while in the act of chopping off Chinese heads or using living Chinese for bayonet practice.

But while it is possible to imagine a Japanese soldier photographing his friend while chopping off the head of an unfortunate Chinese, or using the body of a living Chinese for bayonet practice, it is difficult to imagine Japanese soldiers photographing each other while engaged in raping activities. But here again truth is stranger than fiction. Such pictures actually exist, although none has yet been printed.

How were they obtained? The answer is simple: The Japanese soldiers took their films to Chinese shops to be developed, or the Japanese shops where the pictures were taken had Chinese employees who took copies and had them reproduced in other shops!

Traffic in Women and Children

Recently a paragraph went round the papers that for the traffic in women and children for immoral purposes which goes on in northern and north-western India and Sind the victims are found in considerable numbers in the United Provinces. So far as Bengal is concerned, it is known that some of the girls and women abducted or kidnapped here are disposed of so far away as Sind.

But in these days of inter-provincial misunderstanding and tension we prefer to speak only of Bengal's shame. Here the number of cases of abduction, kidnapping and criminal assault is alarming and shameful. In the rural areas, girls and women are ignorant and gullible. There are very many brutes in human form to victimize them for the gratification of their bestial propensities. But some of the victims are used for the purposes of immoral traffic also. All this is possible because, as on the one hand there are brutes, so on the other there is lack of sufficient understanding of the seriousness and magnitude of the evil and active courage to face it and eradicate it.

It would be wrong to assume that it was only ignorant village girls and women alone who were victimized. There is reason to believe that there are rich and 'respectably'-connected scoundrels for whose bestial gratification educated town girls and women are led into evil ways. Sometimes the names of some of these rascals pass from mouth to mouth in Calcutta and reach even places far distant from it. But somehow they remain at large, and there is no powerful organization to run them to earth and save society from putridity and peril. Such an organization is urgently needed. Cannot the Women's Protection League be strengthened for the purpose?

The following paragraphs from the League of Nations *Fortnightly News* show how widespread is the traffic in women and children:

"It is a clear sign of the growing similarity of the points of view concerning traffic in women and children of most of the countries in the world, that the international Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League in this domain are being increasingly ratified and that some of them are almost universally applied. Thus most of the self-governing countries in the world have become parties to such Conventions as the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and the 1923 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Obscene Publications. These figures, however, do not give a full picture of the actual geographical area in which these Conventions are in force, as they do not include a large number of colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates and mandated territories which are also bound by the

provisions of these Conventions. The most recent of the international instruments in this field, the Convention of 1933 for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age, is now in force in approximately half the self-governing countries of the world.

"The Assembly also turned its attention to the recommendations of the Conference of Central Authorities held in Bandoeng, Java, in 1937, which proposed the creation of a League Bureau in the Far East to help Governments in combating the traffic in that part of the world. It has not been possible to give effect to the suggestion of the Conference, in view of the situation in the parts of the world which would have to be covered by the activities of the Bureau. The Assembly, however, in expressing the wish that the recommendations of the Conference should be carried out as soon as possible, suggested that the Advisory Committee on Social Questions should be invited to reconsider in further detail in 1939 the proposal for the creation of such a Bureau, in order that, as stated in a resolution, the scheme recommended by the Conference may be carried out in the most effective manner."

U. S. A. National Defence Programme

The following cablegram, among others, shows that the armaments race among nations will continue for years to come:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.

The Navy department has awarded contracts for the construction of three battle-ships which are expected to cost over 150 million dollars. The contract for a fourth battle-ship has been held up pending a further study of the bids.

The contracts awarded are for ships of 35,000 tons. When they are completed the United States will have five of this size, two being already under construction.

The officials state that the armament and ammunition outlays are not included in the cost of construction which would raise the total expenditure on the three new battle-ships to 225 million dollars. They will not be ready for five years.

Mr. Snyder, chairman of the Military Appropriations Sub-committee of Congress, declared, after conferring with officials of the War department, that President Roosevelt's expanded programme of national defence will give the United States the strongest air force in the world by 1942.—*Reuter*.

Mysore Congress on Viduraswatham Report

BANGALORE, Nov. 25.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress, in course of a statement issued to the press states that it is emphatically of opinion that the report of the Viduraswatham disturbances and the Government order thereon "constitute a travesty of truth and justice and that the Committee has only functioned as a costly machinery of the Government for generally confirming the Government communique on the incidents and for condemning the legitimate and peaceful activities of the Mysore State Congress and for hampering the struggle for freedom in Mysore."

The Working Committee emphatically repudiates the charge of the Ramesam Committee that a "campaign of unparalleled virulence without any regard to truth was conducted by the Congress."

It is also pointed out that the committee have ruled out discussion of political reforms as alien to the scope

of their enquiry but had nevertheless suggested the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Mysore.—*United Press.*"

Likely Move to Crush Indian States People's Agitation ?

BOMBAY, Nov. 25.

There are persistent rumours in the city that a set of ordinances calculated to crush the movement for responsible government in States are likely to be promulgated by the Central Government shortly.

This is believed to be a sequel to the recent change in the attitude of the Central Government towards the agitation in States from non-intervention to active sympathy with the Princes.—*United Press.*"

If the rumours be true, the Central Government cannot be praised for wise statesmanship. Repression may delay the people's triumph, but it cannot crush them. It can only make the Central Government and the Princes concerned more unpopular than they are already.

Conflicting Rumours About Rajkot

BOMBAY, Nov. 25.

It is also stated that the provisions of the Princes' Protection Act, so far as it applies to Rajkot might be stiffened. In this connection, it is stated that the Government of India do not look with favour on the growing volume of agitation in Rajkot.

Negotiations for a compromise, however, continue and Mr. Anantrai Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar had a discussion with the Rajkot Dewan and Sir Patrick Cadell recently on the present situation in Rajkot when he is understood to have advised the latter to send for Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.—*United Press.*"

Biharis Owning Land in Bengal

A Bihar daily writes :

"Nowhere in Bengal is the Bihari or the Oriya permitted to acquire rights in land and neither is commonly employed as an agricultural labourer."—Part I, p. 143.

So in nationalist Bengal, served by super-nationalist papers like the "Patrika" and the "Hindustan Standard," Biharis and Oriyas are not allowed to acquire rights in land, are not allowed to engage themselves even as agricultural field-labourers, although in Bihar, Bengalis may purchase lands, acquire Zamindaris, start business concerns, using the resources of the province, and for employment to posts of non-coolie and non-menial classes indent their kith and kin from outside, ignoring even their old co-nationals, speaking the same tongue and proud of the same culture as their own.

The passage quoted by the Bihar paper is from Part I of the Bengal Census Report for the year 1921.

The sentences which immediately follow the one quoted by the Bihar paper from the 1921 Bengal Census Report, are :

"A possible exception to this rule exist (s) in the Dinajpur and Rangpur districts where there may have been as many as 30,000 Biharis found employed as field-

labourers but not more. The rule does not apply to Santals, etc., who are willing to take up vacant and comparatively unfertile lands on the outcrops of the Old Alluvium in West and North Bengal and have been allowed to do so."

Mr. W. H. Thompson, I.C.S., superintendent, census operations, Bengal (1921), perhaps used the words 'permitted', 'rule', 'exception', 'allowed', etc., in a Pickwickian, or rather a 'Thompsonian' sense which we whose mother-tongue is not English cannot understand. He has not told us who did not permit some and allowed others, nor who made the rule or the exception. There is no rule in the legal sense preventing Biharis or Oriyas from acquiring land or working as field-labourers in Bengal.

After saying that 30,000 Biharis were employed as field-labourers in Rangpur and Dinajpur, he adds the words, "but not more". Did he want or expect *all* or most of the field-labourers in Rangpur and Dinajpur to be Biharis to the exclusion of Bengali field-labourers ?

When he says that in Bengal neither the Bihari nor the Oriya is *commonly* employed as an agricultural labourer, and adds that in Dinajpur and Rangpur 30,000 are so employed, it is quite easy to understand that where there are sufficient numbers of Bengali field-labourers to do the work, Biharis are not employed, but where the former are not sufficient in number Biharis are employed, as for example in Dinajpur and Rangpur. There is nothing unusual in this.

Mr. Thompson has not told us why what he found in Rangpur and Dinajpur, and what the Census Superintendent in 1931 found in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia, should be considered an 'exception' to the 'rule'.

Examples may be given of Biharis acquiring land in Bengal. One will suffice. The Maharajahdhiraj of Durbhanga owns extensive Zamindari property in the district of Bankura. It was acquired within living memory. If a big Zamindari can be and has been acquired, small plots also can be and have been acquired. It is not necessary to compile a list of smaller Bihari proprietors of land in Bengal. The following passage from the Bengal Census Report, Part I, of 1931, page 99, will show that thousands of persons from Bihar have acquired land in Bengal and settled there who are "now returned as native born" :

"Bogra in this way received colonists from Bihar during the middle of the last century. The decay of Jessore and parts of Nadia is similarly attracting settlers from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. In these three districts the figures of immigrants are by no means

the same as those of other than Bengalis since a considerable proportion of the population in these districts, whose ancestors were introduced during the last century, is now returned as native born although of course retaining its aboriginal race. Thus taking only four of the groups originative in east Bihar, (which implies that there are other groups originative in Bihar,—Ed., M. R.) viz., Bhumij, Munda, Oraon and Santal, the figures in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia are 12,272, 4,863 and 8,295, whereas the total immigration from Bihar and Orissa is, respectively, only 9,920, 3,627 and 6,623. In such areas as Burdwan, Rajshahi and the Chittagong Divisions, conditions* exist which definitely encourage even the immigrant to some of the industrial areas to bring his family with him."

It is to be hoped that it will not be contended that the Bhumij and other settlers in Bengal whose ancestors came from Bihar are not Biharis by lineage. Should that be wrongly contended however, it is to be hoped that in any case the Maharajadhiraj of Durbhanga and the Rajput and Bhumihar Brahman Zamindars owning Zamindaris in Bengal will be admitted to be genuine Biharis.

In Bengal there is no law which can prevent any non-Bengali from acquiring land. And that is quite right from the human and nationalist points of view.

Transfer of Land Under Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act

We have said and shown in the foregoing note that there is no law in Bengal preventing non-Bengalis from acquiring land in this province. Not being lawyers we have done so after consulting a leading advocate. We have no detailed knowledge of the tenancy laws prevailing in different parts of the province of Bihar. We do not know whether they are similar to the Bengal laws. A friend has drawn our attention, however, to the sub-sections of section 46 of the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act (Amendment Act, 1938), which is Bihar Act II of 1938, printed below.

46. (3) An occupancy raiyat, who is an aboriginal or a member of a scheduled caste, may transfer his right in his holding or a portion of his holding by sale or exchange to another aboriginal or to another person who is a member of a scheduled caste, as the case may be, and who is resident within the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situate and with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner by gift or will to a near relative without limitation of residence.

(4) (a) An occupancy raiyat, who is not an aboriginal or a member of a scheduled caste, may transfer his right in his holding or any portion thereof to any person who is resident within the local limits of

the police station area within which the holding is situate by sale, exchange, gift, will, mortgage or lease.

One of the objects of these sub-sections appears to be to prevent land passing out of the hands of the aboriginal and scheduled caste people owning and cultivating it into the hands of those who are not cultivators. That is a good object. But it may sometimes be that an aboriginal and scheduled caste would-be purchaser, living just outside the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situate or at some distance, may offer the highest price for it; and he may also be a cultivator himself. Why should the vendor be deprived of the pecuniary advantage of selling it to such a man? The Bihar Government has published lists of the aboriginals and the scheduled castes residing in Chota Nagpur. Do the lists include the Bengali aboriginals and Bengali scheduled caste people resident in or outside Chota Nagpur who are cultivators? If they do, they are not open to criticism. If they do not, the discrimination requires to be explained and justified.

Bengal Bill to Gag Press & Public Speakers

In our last October number we criticized the "Bengal Official Records Bill" which was published in an extraordinary issue of the official *Calcutta Gazette* on September first last. The Official Records Bill of which the text has been published last month appears to be substantially identical with the one published in September. Some of the sections of this bill are printed below.

Definitions :—2. In this Act the expressions "newspapers," "news-sheet" and "press" have the meanings assigned to them in section 2 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

Prohibition of unauthorised publication of official records :—3. Whoever publishes in a newspaper or news-sheet or otherwise, by words or signs, written or spoken, communicates to one or more persons any unpublished official record relating to any affairs of State or any matter derived therefrom or any comment thereon except with the previous permission of the Provincial Government or any authority empowered in that behalf by the Provincial Governments obtained in such manner as the Provincial Government may by notification prescribe, shall be punishable with imprisonment which, may extend to one year or with fine or with both.

Explanation 1.—An official record communicated confidentially to any person before publication is an unpublished official record within the meaning of this section.

Explanation 2.—Where an offence under this section relates to publication in a newspaper or news-sheet, the editor thereof, the author of the offending matter and the keeper of the press on which the newspaper or news-sheet was printed are severally liable under this section.

* Obviously "the conditions" include the availability to the immigrant of land to settle in and cultivate.
—Ed., M. R.

After a person has been convicted and sentence of imprisonment or fine or both has been pronounced on him for an offence under this law, he must not think that he would not be subjected to any additional punishment for practically the same offence. For, section 4 runs as follows :

Information regarding an offence under section 3 to be given. 4. (1) On demand by an authority empowered in this behalf by the Provincial Government, it shall be the duty of any person convicted of an offence under section 3 to give in writing all information in his power relating to such offence.

(2) Whoever fails to give all such information as aforesaid or gives any such information falsely shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year or with fine or with both.

One consequence of this section will be that if the person convicted declines to disclose the source of his information, additional punishment will be inflicted on him; and if he betrays his informant or informants and says how and from whom he obtained the official secrets made public by him, which would be against the canons of journalistic honour and convention, the official or officials concerned will be punished.

Sub-section (3) of section 5 lays down that trials under the proposed law may be held in camera, which is objectionable :

5. (3) In addition and without prejudice to any powers which a Court may possess to order the exclusion of the public from any proceedings, if in the course of the trial of any person under this Act or of an appeal against a conviction thereunder application is made by the prosecution, on the ground that the publication of any evidence to be given or of any statement to be made in the course of the proceedings would be prejudicial to the interests of the State, that the public shall be excluded during any part of the hearing, the Court may make an order to that effect, but the passing of sentence shall in any case take place in public.

One can understand that the unauthorized and premature publication of military plans, army manoeuvres, and the like may injure the State and the public and may, therefore, be penalised. Another kind of official information to which we are just going to refer must also be kept secret in the interests of the State. In paying a compliment to the trustworthiness of Indian officials, high and low, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, a former Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech in 1913 :

"Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes. it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret

improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

It is not the divulging of official information only of the kinds indicated above that the Bill penalizes. If passed into law, it will enable the Government to punish the divulger of *any* kind of official information which the Ministry or other officials may wish for their own convenience and interest to keep secret. It will not be necessary for the prosecution to prove that its divulgence has injuriously affected the interests of the State or the public.

No doubt the bill gives the Provincial Government power to exclude certain records from the operation of the proposed law :

Power to exclude certain records from the operation of this Act :—8. The Provincial Government may, from time to time by notification in the "Official Gazette," exclude any official record or class of official record from the operation of this Act.

But it can scarcely be expected that the Government will be in a hurry to exclude such official records as the public may be particularly interested in having a knowledge of betimes.

Let us give a few examples of the kind of official information whose unauthorized publication was and in future will be in the public interest, but which the Bill, if it becomes law, will certainly penalise hereafter.

Lord Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal was subjected to severe criticism in a minute by Sir Henry Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam. The former ordered that that minute should not be published. But it was published by Surendranath Banerjee in defiance of that order in his *Benqalee*. He thereby promoted public good. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* also published secret official information on several occasions, relating, for example, to Kashmir, Gilgit, Bhopal, etc., thereby serving the public but incurring the wrath of 'the powers that be.' In recent times the *Hindusthan Standard* has done quite the right thing by publishing two successive drafts of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M.L.A., in his speech at the Calcutta University Institute on the 1st September last read out extracts from a secret report of a Press Officer of the Government of Bengal and the following extract from a Note of the Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq :

"In my opinion we should at once undertake legislation to compel newspapers to reserve two columns at any rate for the publication of Governmental matters. If we cannot give them sufficient matters to fill the two

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columns, they will still keep the unutilised portions vacant in order to show that these columns have been reserved entirely for Government publications. It is on these conditions we can allow the press to function in our country."

The extracts read out by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose have not injured either the State or the public. On the contrary, they have warned the public of possible dangers ahead, and have warned the Chief Minister also that the public will not submit to such legislation. But if the Bill becomes law, no one will be able to publish such things hereafter without running the risk of being punished.

Responsible Government in Bhavnagar ?

The Bombay Chronicle has published the following telegram :

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

BHAVNAGAR, Nov. 22.

Dewan Anantraybhai Pattani and Nanabhai Bhatt of Daxinamurti arrived here today after long talks over political matters with Mahatmaji at Wardha.

It is understood that Anantraybhai as arbitrator of the Rajkot State and Nanabhai as representative of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad saw Mahatmaji and Sardar Patel and discussed the Rajkot problem in detail.

A scheme of Responsible Government in the administration of states is under preparation by His Highness Krishnakumarsinhji and the Dewan.

According to the scheme limited powers are to be granted to one special council of people with a limited field of Responsible Government to be introduced as an experiment.

This Scheme of Responsible Government is likely to be officially announced in the first week of December.

If any ruling Prince tries to do good to his people, we have every desire to be appreciative.

We do not want to be censorious. But it is much to be desired that those among our ruling princes who wish to rule like statesmen will bear in mind that their people have come to know what rights the nationals of other lands and even of British-ruled India enjoy, that they have become restive, that they are as intelligent as foreigners, and that this is the age of the aeroplane. So whatever rights, important or otherwise, these princes wish to confer on their people should be given to them quickly and irrevocably, not at a snail's pace and experimentally.

Progressive Tendency in Mayurbhanj

Mayurbhanj is the premier Indian state in Orissa. It is pleasing to note that it is not making history in the way that Dhenkanal, Talcher and some other Orissa states have been

unhappily doing, but has decided to move forward. An extraordinary issue of the *Mayurbhanj State Gazette*, dated the 23rd November, 1938, announces that

It is the intention of the Maharaja to bring the people of Mayurbhanj into closer touch with the State administration; and it is expedient, as a step in that direction, to constitute regular representative organizations in order to enable them to formulate local opinion in all matters concerning the well-being of the people in general and serve as mediums of communication of such opinion to the State authorities.

In accordance with this intention of the Maharaja a Praja Sabha will be constituted in each of the four sub-divisions of the State and in the municipal town of Baripada, with not less than 50 per cent of elected members, and not more than 50 per cent to be nominated by the Dewan. In the sub-divisions the adult male population will form the electorate, that is, there will be adult male suffrage, and in Baripada, the capital, the registered voters of the municipality.

7. A Praja Sabha may, at any duly convened meeting, consider all questions affecting the well-being of the people, including matters relating to : (a) education, (b) public health and medical relief, (c) water supply, (d) agriculture, (e) communication, and (f) grievances of a general character, deserving consideration of the State authorities.

Though it is not a stride but a step that Mayurbhanj has taken, it is definitive and a step in the right direction, which should logically and naturally lead to other progressive developments.

Go-ahead Orchha

His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha has taken steps to stop child marriages by introducing a 'Child Marriage Restraint Act' in his state. Offences under this Act have been made cognizable and the lowest age limit for marriages is 14 for girls and 18 for boys.

His Highness has also introduced from the same date the Unequal Marriages Act, according to which persons having 20 or more than 20 years' difference between their ages cannot marry. Non-observance of this rule would be an offence.

Another measure of reform deals with the right of all women to divorce their husbands under special circumstances.

The work of survey and settlement of the state is nearing completion and it is hoped will end in giving considerable relief to his peasantry. In the meantime large arrears have been remitted and facilities for the extension of cultivation have been enlarged.

By an Agricultural Relief Act introduced some two years ago, agriculturists were given adequate relief against attachment of their property under civil decrees. But as a further measure of relief, His Highness has recently ordered that from Dec. 1, 1938, all execution of civil decrees against the agriculturists will be held in suspense for three years, after which the position of the agriculturists will be reviewed.

An amendment to the provision of the Civil Procedure Code has been made with a view to enable the executing courts to fix easy instalments even in those cases where instalments were not fixed at the time of decree. Under the old law the courts could not do so without the consent of the decree holder.

Tikamgarh, the capital of Orchha state, had for three years past its own municipal board, but since July 1938, it has been made an entirely non-official body, consisting wholly of elected members with an elected chairman of their own.

Responsible Government in Oundh

The Raja Saheb of Oundh has been perhaps the first among the rulers of the smaller Indian States to grant to his people the right of responsible self-government. He has been long known to educated India as a cultured patron of learning and literature who donated one lakh of rupees for the critical edition of the Mahabharat which is being published by the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona. He is also an artist who is illustrating this edition himself. To physical culturists he is known for his Suryanamaskār system of physical exercises.

Who Is A Cultivator ?

If the owner of a small piece of land drives the plough himself and tills it and grows and harvests some crop without the help of any hired labourer, there is no difficulty in saying that he is a cultivator. But, though he may not hire anybody to help him, he receives the help of his family.

When the holdings are larger, if the owners belong to the cultivating class, they may personally take part in some of the agricultural operations, but generally most of the work is done by field-labourers, who are most often paid in kind and some times in cash. Some owners of big holdings belonging to the cultivating class do not, however, themselves drive the plough, use the spade, or ply the hoe or the sickle. But perhaps they, too, are considered cultivators.

In the socialist view it is the man who cultivates the soil who is its rightful owner. It is not our intention to support or oppose that view. What we want to say is that if that view were literally interpreted, it is only the peasant owning a small plot of land which he can himself till and of which he can reap and garner the harvest himself without the help of anybody else, who will be entitled to be the rightful owner of his holding. Proprietors of bigger holdings must then be deprived of what they cannot themselves till and utilize. Thus the whole country must be cut up into very

small and uneconomic holdings. In countries like the United States of America, Soviet Russia, etc., agricultural operations are carried on on a large scale and according to the latest and most improved scientific methods. Tractors and other machinery are used. It is in these countries that the yield per acre is very high. The yield in India is very low.

If the yield in our country is to be increased—and it ought certainly to be increased, the literal interpretation of the word cultivator must be given up and larger holdings and large scale farming must become the rule. We are not proposing the expropriation or extinction of the small peasant-farmers. They must be taught to combine and co-operate and turn their holdings into big collective farms. And in these big farms tractors and other machinery may be used. Some of the landlords themselves may become farmers.

Landlord "Peasants"

We have said above that some of the landlords may themselves become farmers. In fact, if they want to save themselves, body and soul, and save their families, they must turn "peasants". For socialism is in the air. And whether one calls oneself a socialist or not, every intelligent and right-thinking man must admit, at least to himself, that parasitism is bad and leads to degeneration, and that self-reliance is good and makes for virility and a fully developed personality. It would, therefore, be a blessing for the owners of landed estates as well as to the country if they turned 'tractor-peasants' and cultivated some of their lands themselves.

To this year's January number of *The Modern Review* Professor Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji of the Lucknow University contributed an article on "Educated Unemployment and Large Scale Farming." In that article he has described how an educated young man drives his own tractor and cultivates his own farm of some thousands of acres at village Hariharpur in the district of Manbhum. He is his own mechanic also. Some of our big landlords try to become pilots of their own aeroplanes. That is good. Some have other hobbies. Why not make large scale farming a hobby? If our young landlords or landlords' sons had the hobby of being their own tractor-drivers and cultivated their own farms, it would be a *productive* hobby. And they could claim to be peasants, too!

German-speaking Austrians. In Poland are some 4,500,000 Russians, 70,000 Lithuanians, 2,000,000 Jews, and almost a million Germans. These are only a few cases out of many in Europe.

There are also three million German-speaking Swiss in Switzerland.

There is no knowing when Herr Hitler will find it necessary and convenient to demand self-determination for at least the German-speaking population in the countries mentioned above.

Mahatma Gandhi on The Jews in Germany and Palestine

In the course of an article on "The Jews" in *Harijan* Mahatma Gandhi writes :

"My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became lifelong companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

"But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?"

The Jews of many countries, though not of all, may answer : "Because we are not allowed to make that country our home where we are born and where we earn our livelihood."

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.

"The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French.

We do not think that Palestine can be said to belong to the Arabs alone in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. For, Palestine was the ancient home of the Hebrew race, and even after the dispersion there has been a small Jewish population in Palestine for centuries—how many centuries we cannot tell offhand. As a religious

group the Jews of Palestine are an older community than the Christian and the Muslim Arabs. We do not defend Britain's action in Palestine. We think the only right course would be for the Arabs and the Jews to come to an agreement between themselves. There are many countries inhabited by different racial or religious groups where the groups are not artificially prevented from growing bigger. We do not see any just reason why the Jews in Palestine should not be allowed to grow more numerous.

We wholeheartedly support Mahatmajji when he says that a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred should be insisted upon.

But we cannot appreciate his questions,

"If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will?"

Englishmen have their national home in England. Many Englishmen reside in other parts of the world, and many of them were born there. Many of them have homes in more than two countries. Nevertheless they say that England is their national home; and it is a fact that they can return to England whenever they like. But nobody ever imagined that for these reasons they could be justly asked : "Would you relish the idea of being expelled from the parts of the world where you resided? Or do you want a double or triple home?"

We do not remember to have read that Herr Hitler ever exploited the Jewish cry for a national home for justifying the expulsion of the Jews from Germany. But now that Gandhiji has unintentionally given a sort of a cue, the Germans may take advantage of it.

Gandhiji adds :

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity.

If there ever could be justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is, therefore, outside my horizon or province.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared

Society whose activities range over two provinces, shows how economically its affairs are managed. It has been in existence for the last 30 years, is doing very valuable work in rural areas among the backward classes, and is thoroughly reliable. It desires to raise the number of schools to 300. It can utilize to the best advantage big as well as small donations and subscriptions, which may be sent to its treasurer Srijut Satish Chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

U. P. Bengali Children Not To Learn Mother Tongue ?

From some resolutions passed by the United Provinces Bengali Association, published in newspapers, we learn that the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, United Provinces, have deprived "the Bengali candidates of the facility of learning their mother tongue," and that the High School and Intermediate Board of Ajmer and Merwara has recently introduced Bengali in the High School and Intermediate Examinations. The U. P. Bengali Association has drawn the attention of the Hon'ble Minister of Education, U. P., to the decision of the U. P. High School and Intermediate Board of Education and requested him not to give his assent to it. The request of the U. P. Bengali Association is reasonable. If Bengali children in U. P. learn Bengali and through Bengali, they thereby do not in the least stand in the way of other children receiving education in and through their mother tongues. Society in India is so constituted at present, that Bengali families settled outside Bengal must keep up social relations, e.g., in the matter of marriage, with those resident in Bengal. It is necessary for Bengali children, therefore, wherever they may reside, to know Bengali. If it be necessary for entering public services or the professions of law, medicine, etc., for Bengali youth to learn any other provincial language, they can certainly be asked to show that they know it. But the first stages of education of all children should be in and through their mother tongue.

What the Ajmer-Merwara Board has found practicable and necessary should certainly be practicable and necessary in U. P.

Importation of Arms by China

China had been hitherto receiving arms and other war materials from Europe and America by sea-routes, the steamers landing their cargo in Chinese ports. But since the fall

of Canton, that is no longer possible. France has stopped allowing the transport of munitions along the Haiphong-Yunnanfu railway in French Indo-China, owing to the Japanese threat to occupy Hainan, an island vital to the French, only 200 miles from Haiphong. So China wants to import arms through Rangoon port, to be carried overland across Burma to Central China. The cargo-ship *Stanhall* has already reached Rangoon. A section of the Burmese object to this as inviting trouble. They want Burma to remain strictly neutral, following the policy of non-intervention. Most probably Japan, too, has directly addressed the British Government on the subject.

We read in an editorial article in the *China Weekly Review* of September 24 last that "General Chiang Kai-shek has supplies of ammunition, arms and fuel for another year of war stored in well-guarded depots in Szechuan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Yunnan." It is also said in the same article,

Come whatever may in Europe--the Chinese say--this country is in a position to continue resistance on a major scale until next spring. By that time, Russia may be ready to strike or Japan may become involved in a war with Britain and France.

But neither Britain nor France is in the mood or in a position to fight Japan. It cannot be guessed what Russia may do in the near future. But it is clear that China will have to depend more and more on Soviet Russia for the supply of arms.

Soviet Russia's Military Strength

According to *Toronto Star Weekly* of Toronto, Canada, Soviet Russia is more than a match for any nation. That is why, when some persons in some European countries threw doubts on the adequacy of her armed forces, a responsible Russian statesman challenged any country which liked to take up the gauntlet to try her strength.

The figures given by the Toronto paper are based on official Soviet figures, the *World Almanac*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book* and *Whitaker's Almanac*. Condensed from that paper, the facts are :

Despite the facetious description of the Red Army as that with the most living soldiers and the greatest number of the dead generals, military authorities of the world are unanimous in conceding to it the position of the greatest defensive weapon ever forged by one nation. Russia's army consists of nearly 2,500,000 men constantly under arms, backed by a trained reserve of 18,000,000 and a further partially trained and readily mobilisable reserve of 13,000,000.

This terrific potential man-power is trained to operate the world's largest air force, and 23,000 sailors are trained to man the world's largest fleet of submarines.

Early this year the number of Russia's first-line aeroplanes was estimated at 6,000. When Hitler took Austria Stalin ordered the air-force to be increased to 10,000 first-line planes. That means that Russia has about 40,000 fighting aeroplanes either ready or under construction; for in military parlance 'first-line' planes means the number of machines ready to fight, backed up by from three to four reserve planes to replace the wastage of war in the first months of a conflict until heavy construction gets under way.

In 1934 Russia's navy consisted of 20 destroyers, 112 submarines, 130 fast torpedo boats, a few mine-layers and mine-sweepers, survey ships and training vessels, and three pre-war battle-ships, four light cruisers of the same age and two modern fast cruisers. Actually since then Soviet authorities have said that their naval arm has been quadrupled, and foreign authorities have more than once called the Soviet submarine fleet the most powerful in the world.

The mechanisation of the Soviet army is as far ahead of that of Italy or Germany as it is in strength.

Mahatma Hans Raj

The death of Mahatma Hans Raj is a great loss to the Panjab and the Arya Samaj in particular and to the whole of India in general. He was one of the three great leaders of the Arya Samaj to whom in its earlier days it owed its progress. To the work of the Arya Samaj and its D. A.-V. College he devoted his energies during the greater part of his active career with rare devotion. The College owed its reputation, progress and prestige above all to him during the earlier part of its history. Great self-sacrifice marked his character and career. Besides being a great educationist, he was an enthusiastic social reformer. He has been rightly styled one of the makers of the Panjab.

Keshub Chunder Sen Birth Centenary

In our article on Keshub Chunder Sen in our last number we wrote that his birth centenary had been already celebrated in London. Since then there have been elaborate celebrations of the centenary in Calcutta by the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj, by the Indian Journalists' Association, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Bengal's premier literary society. During the celebration there was a pilgrimage undertaken to Keshub's ancestral house in Colutola where he was born, headed by Srijiut Hirendranath Datta, president of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Tributes were there paid to Keshub by him, Sir Jadunath

Sarkar and others. At one of the meetings Srimati Sarojini Naidu delivered an eloquent address on Keshub's work for women. Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered a thoughtful speech at another meeting. Besides lectures, divine services, and an exhibition of manuscripts and various mementos of the great religious teacher and reformer, his Navavidhan Samaj has published during the celebrations many leaflets, booklets and books in Bengali and English, including the monumental Bengali biography of Keshub Chunder by Upadhyāya Gour Gobinda Ray in three volumes.

The centenary has been celebrated in Hyderabad (Sind), Lahore, Dehra Dun, Patna, Rajahmundry, Bombay, Madras, Dacca and other places. The celebrations were very elaborate in Madras. The Calcutta celebrations will be resumed and conclude in next Christmas week.

Cawnpore will celebrate the centenary on the 17th and 18th instant.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Articles on Emerson

The name of the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America is held in great respect in India as that of a lifelong and eminent friend of this country. He is particularly well known to the readers of *The Modern Review* for his many very valuable contributions to its pages. During the last year or so of his long life—he was past ninety, he was engaged in writing a book on the great American author Emerson. He did not live to finish it. But he finished parts of the work in the form of separate papers or articles. His surviving daughter Mrs. Gertrude Sunderland Safford, who is herself a noted scholar and litterateur, has kindly sent these to us at our request for publication in our *Review*. We will begin to publish them from the next January number, in which will appear the article on "Emerson and His Friends, the Children." It will be found delightful and elevating reading.

"A New and Better Bible, For All"

In Dr. J. T. Sunderland's article on "A New and Better Bible, for All," published in this number, it is written:

"The world is getting a new Bible,—a Bible far more interesting, far more intelligible, far more fresh and human, in every way far more valuable than the old. From what source does it come? Wholly from the

careful and thorough scholarship of our time,—mainly from what scholars call the higher biblical criticism.”

Dr. Sunderland's popularly written scholarly work on “The Origin and Character of the Bible” (Indian edition) is an up-to-date work embodying the higher biblical criticism. Many of our college students and others read the Bible. They will find this book interesting, informative and educative.

All-India Inter-University Debate in Calcutta

The first session of the All-India Inter-University Debate, arranged by the Calcutta University Law College Union, was held at the Senate Hall, Calcutta, on the 26th and 27th November last. It aroused great public interest. Many of the speeches made were high-grade both as regards delivery and arguments. Thirty-eight students took part in the competition. Of them 18 came from such centres as Patna, Cuttack, Jubbulpore, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad, Lucknow and Lahore. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Speaker, Bengal Assembly and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, presided over the function. Mr. H. D. Bose, Mr. S. N. Banerji, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. T. C. Goswami formed the panel of judges. The subject of the debate was the motion “That India should be no party to future wars.” Miss Kalyani Gupta was declared to be the best speaker among the competitors. The full list of winners is as follows :

First—Miss Kalyani Gupta (Punjab University).

Second—Mazhar Ali (Punjab University).

Third—Jolly Mohan Kaul (St. Xavier's College, Calcutta).

Fourth—Purnendu Kumar Banerjee (Presidency College, Calcutta).

Fifth—J. C. Mathur (Allahabad University).

Sixth—Sadhan Chandra Gupta (Post-graduate Department, Calcutta University).

Miss Gupta received a gold medal, and Mr. Mazhar Ali a silver medal. The Sir Asutosh Trophy for the best team went to the Punjab University, represented by Miss Kalyani Gupta and Mr. Mazhar Ali.

Miss Kalyani Gupta, who spoke against the motion, is the daughter of the distinguished artist Principal Samarendranath Gupta of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, and a grand-

daughter of the veteran journalist and litterateur, Mr. Nagendranath Gupta. As a debater she had already won her spurs in an All-India debate held in Delhi in June last in addition to the laurels she had won at Lahore. Besides being an accomplished debater she is a brilliant student, and is now studying for her M.A. degree.

Mr. Mazhar Ali, who supported the motion, is also a reputed North India debater and has won several prizes in All-India debates. He also is an M.A. student.

Maulana Shaukat Ali

In the natural course of things Maulana Shaukat Ali was expected to live many more years. Only recently he had said, like a cricketer that he was when young, that he expected to pile his century. But he has gone to his rest before completing even three score years and ten. In him the Muslim community has lost a stout-hearted champion. During the palmy days of Non-co-operation, he and his more gifted and brilliant younger brother Maulana Mohamed Ali were Mahatma Gandhi's most enthusiastic lieutenants. He was a most prominent protagonist of the Khilafat Conference. Though the Big Brother, as he came to be known, had ceased to be a Congressman, he wanted to work for Hindu Moslem unity according to his lights. He was a man of a heroic character. Internment and imprisonment could not deter him from doing that on which he set his heart.

European Politics

The political situation on the continent of Europe has been undergoing such rapid changes that a monthly reviewer must give up the ambition of inditing any observations which may not appear antiquated when published.

Purge and Persecution of Jews in Germany

West and East have alike condemned Germany's treatment of the Jews in the strongest language. What is required in addition is such support to the cause of the Jews as would stop their spoliation and persecution in Germany and their practical expulsion from that country. It should be possible for a union of all countries which are not anti-semitic to bring such pressure to bear on Germany as may result in her adopting a sane and humane

attitude towards the Jews. If unfortunately that be not practicable, the next thing which all countries that are condemning Germany should at once do is to announce how many German Jewish refugees they can receive and treat like their own nationals. Mere condemnation of Germany is not of much help to the Jews.

Dr. Goebbels' Tu Quoque

Britain's and the United States' condemnation of Germany's treatment of the Jews has called forth recriminations from Dr. Goebbels, which may be summarized in brief as *Tu Quoque*, "Thou Too."

All the world knows that lynching continues to disgrace the American soil, that every year some Negroes fall victims to mob fury in America, and that the Negro race is not yet treated there on a footing of perfect equality with the whites. All these are not and cannot be defended. They are condemned. But it must be said at the same time that American law and collective social practice as regards the whole Negro race do not approach in brutality and devilry the German so-called law and collective social practice concerning the Jews.

We are aware of the imposition of collective fines, of wholesale reprisals and of wholesale humiliation of some community or communities in some places, in our country, for the real or fancied offence of individuals. It is unnecessary to revive their dark, painful and disgraceful memory. They have been burnt into the soul of our people. And no Indian can think of justifying or glozing over them. But they are not comparable with what Germany has done and contemplates doing to the Jews.

And even if it were admitted that other nations had behaved as wickedly as or worse than Germany, two blacks do not make one white. No brute, no devil can be entitled to consider himself an angel, because there are or may be other brutes and devils.

Food For Republicans in Spain

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's appeal for sending food to the Government party in Spain should meet with response in all provinces—even in flood-stricken Bengal and Bihar. As in these 'civilized' days food, too, is liable to be considered contraband of war and ships carrying food to be seized or sunk by belligerents, perhaps the Pandit has thought of some

comparatively safe means of sending the food collected to the party in Spain fighting for the cause of democratic freedom.

Items From The Provinces

Prohibition, amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, improvement of labour conditions in factories, and education, are some of the principal subjects engaging the attention of many of the Congress ministries.

Prohibition is making progress in several provinces, *e.g.*, Madras, Bihar, United Provinces.

In the United Provinces and Bihar *Kishans* (peasantry) and landlords are at loggerheads.

Labour strikes in several provinces and states give indications of discontent among the workers. How far and in what centres discontent is due to economic causes, and how far and in what centres it has been roused by labour leaders from political motives, cannot be ascertained without examining the details of each case. It is very much to be regretted that there was shooting on the occasion of the one-day strike in Bombay declared by way of protest against the Trade Disputes Bill.

In the educational sphere the Vidyamandir Scheme in the Central Provinces is being given effect to. The mass literacy drive in Bihar and U. P., and the popular free libraries in the latter are noteworthy. There are student troubles in Bihar, Bombay and U. P. The U. P. Ministry have resolved to deal firmly with strikes in educational institutions.

In Bihar the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga has moved in the Patna University Senate,

'That the Senate do adopt Maithili as an additional subject for the Matriculation examination and as an optional subject for the I.A. and B.A. examinations, and as an independent subject for the M.A. examination.'

In his speech he quoted high authority to show that Maithili is an independent language with literature of its own, and urged that it has been recognized as such by the Calcutta and Benares Universities and that, according to his estimate, its speakers number 1½ crores.

The Ministry in Sind ought now to work with full vigour. Prof. Ghansham, leader of the Congress party in the Sind Assembly, has made out an unanswerable case for effecting an immediate reduction in the fat salaries of the officers of the Indian Imperial Services.

The Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province must be declared a failure, unless they

can prevent plundering and kidnapping raids on border localities like Bannu.

The Congress President's visit to the Panjab and his addresses there have been rousing much enthusiasm.

Delhi may have an individuality of its own. But when the Assembly is in session there, local affairs are thrown into the background. At present the Income Tax Bill is being hotly debated there. In spite of the protest of Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, Dr. P. N. Banerjee was able to show that there had been 'indecent hurry' in the deliberations of the Select Committee.

The latest issue of the ministerial *Bengal Weekly* claims "Government concern for Aborigines," detailing "measures for improvement." Details have been given in it of two pottery factories started and worked by 42 ex-detenus, with Government help and encouragement.

The convicted political prisoners of Bengal should be released without further delay.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq's baseless charges against the Congress ministries have been again denied and refuted by those concerned.

Dacca University intends to include military science among its subjects of study.

The Assam Ministry has been gaining fresh supporters. The decision of the ministers to accept only Rs. 500 a month shows their superiority to the Saadullah team.

It is unfortunate that oppression and repression in some Orissa States have diverted public attention from the good things begun, done and contemplated by the Orissa Cabinet.

The anti-Hindi agitation in Madras, now carried on by women, too, with babes in arms, continues to be met with repressive steps, which have earned the unenviable distinction

of being approved by the Bengal ministerial organ.

Indian States, Princes to Combine ?

In opening the informal conference of the ruling princes and their ministers in Bombay on the 28th November last, His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar said :

"We are meeting today at a crucial juncture in the history of the country. Issues of life and death importance await decision and demand of us a carefully planned and concerted action. The need for the States standing together was never greater than it is today."

How auspicious it will be if the princes take concerted action to strengthen themselves by conferring on their people those civic and political rights for securing which the latter are engaged in a non-violent struggle with the moral, and partly with the material, backing of the people of British India—particularly of Congressmen.

Bose Institute Anniversary

Yesterday was celebrated with due solemnity the first anniversary after the death of Sir J. C. Bose of his Research Institute founded by him 21 years ago. The short lecture prepared for the occasion by Rabindranath Tagore which was read on the occasion is printed on another page.

General Strike in France

The threatened general strike in France was to have commenced on the 30th November last. If it actually began, it cannot but have serious repercussions in other countries also. Some Indian students have gone to Paris from London to study the technique of the general strike.



OPPORTUNISM WITH NO PRINCIPLES

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

HAVE we come to the pass where reason and justice must stand aside and brute force be the determining factor in the lives of nations and peoples? In his broadcast address, on 27th September, the Prime Minister said: "If I was convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it should be resisted." Lord Halifax, speaking at Edinburgh on Monday of this week, said that whatever might be said to justify the German action with regard to Czecho-Slovakia, the German claim "was in fact advanced and pressed under an overwhelming show of force which was impossible to reconcile with the spirit of what we believe must be the basis of international relations." Hitler a week ago said that "their success was possible only because we were armed and determined to stake our force if necessary" and his henchman, Goebbels, the next day told the world "we did not want a war, but we were ready to fight had we not got what we wanted."

Preparations are now going ahead for the new session of Parliament and it is confidently asserted in many quarters that the whole of this country may be, if not conscripted, at least enrolled in a national register, not for peace but to decide what their work is to be if and when war comes. There is no doubt that in many ways we were very badly prepared should war have come last month. Trenches were dug in all public parks and indeed the work is still going on. Immediately of course the war profiteer rose in our midst and sandbags that were vitally necessary for the protection of the people rose in a single day from 2d. to 10d. in price.

At a meeting this week of Air Raid Precaution Officials, along with Naval, Military, and Air Officers, Mr. Eady, Deputy Secretary of State at the Home Office who is the Administrative Chief of the Air Precautions Department, made some appallingly frank admissions and not even under the cloak of secrecy. The Home Office, he said, "had no illusions at all about the state of unpreparedness of the country to receive a sudden air attack" and this Government official went on to tell his audience that the regulations issued by the Air Raid Precautions Department were "probably the sloppiest regulations that

were ever produced by any Government Department." He stated further that "the people who are known as the governing classes of this country had done very little to help Local Authorities' A. R. P." These damaging admissions, if they had come from members of the Opposition, would have been denounced as wild and unpatriotic. Coming as they do from the official responsible for Air Raid Precautions, we can only take them as another example of the Englishman's love for washing his dirty linen in public.

The Prime Minister is credited with being extremely anxious to bring into force the Anglo-Italian Agreement by 15th November. He is also anxious to get a friendly understanding with Germany. Italy has certainly withdrawn 10,000 of her so-called volunteers but at the same time she has supplied Franco with thousands of guns, which are of very much more use in Spain than were the men she has withdrawn. Russia is still ignored and Lord Winterton, a member of the Cabinet, even went out of his way to say that Russia was not in a position to fulfil her obligations to France and Czecho-Slovakia. This of course was denied by Russia at once, but I have seen no apology from Lord Winterton nor any endeavour on his part to substantiate his statements. On the other hand we have the assertion of Captain Liddell Hart, the Military Correspondent of the *Times*, that:

"The Russian army is more powerful than that of 1914 . . . her huge Air Force a far more potent menace to a potential Nazi aggressor."

And Lord Londonderry, on pages 99 and 101 of his recent book *Ourselves and Germany*, quotes Herr Hitler as saying to him that Soviet Russia has become the greatest military power, that she is enormously strong militarily as well as economically, and has "the strongest Army, the strongest Tank Corps, and the strongest Air Force in the world." There are of course not a few people in this country and in the Government who would like to see Great Britain linked with the Fascist countries, but that is certainly not the view of the great mass of the people.

Mr. Lloyd George, making his first speech since the crisis, also asserted that the Russian

Army is the greatest army in the world so far as numbers are concerned and so far as its Air Force is concerned. The French Army he declared to be today the best army in Europe. He pointed out only too clearly the steps by which we had given up our leadership in the world—Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. We were told on every occasion that the Government was preserving peace. We now see (what the Government refused to admit at the time) that every concession to violence brought nearer the menace of war—until we stood on the brink of the abyss. A few years ago most of the nations of the world were ready to follow our lead. Now today, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, it is doubtful if we could even get two to follow our lead. The weaker nations of Europe are not now looking to France or Britain for help; they are flocking to Berchtesgaden to ask the German Dictator to protect and shield them:

"They are there pleading for mercy. To that extent our leadership is being followed."

We are now in a state of peace that is no peace. The Prime Minister has merely achieved a postponement of war to be fought under much less favourable circumstances than before the betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia. With every surrender to force peace is put further into the background. The whole work of the late Arthur Henderson for disarmament and peace was thrown to the winds when the National Government took office in 1931. China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, were all loyal members of the League of Nations. At the last General Election Mr. Baldwin and his supporters pledged themselves solemnly to "*steady and collective resistance to aggression*" in any part of the world. History shows how little that pledge meant to them. They have sneered at collective security. They have undermined the League of Nations until it is now helpless. And they boast that they have brought us peace. Hitler also can claim to have brought peace to many thousands of his opponents in Germany—the peace of the grave.

Without raising a finger we have allowed Abyssinia to be put under the despotic sway of Mussolini and now the Prime Minister is reported to be ready to accept still further humiliation by bringing the Anglo-Italian Treaty into force and so recognising the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia. So does the Tory Party humble this once proud nation in the dust.

"Peace in our time" is what the Prime

Minister said he brought from Munich. Peace—and gas masks. Peace—and trenches in the public parks. Peace—with guns and armaments of all kinds being piled up at a rate never before imagined. "Shame and dishonour"—Yes. But peace—No.

The only way in which peace can be secured is by making a collective stand against violence and lawlessness. Instead of giving in to brute force time after time, a world-wide peace conference should be called to discuss and remove all legitimate grievances and to try to evolve a new system of political security and economic opportunity which will remove the reasons for and fear of war. The peoples of the world, of every nation, desire peace. Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to make a constructive effort to solve by discussion those economic and other problems that lead to war. Unless this is done there can never be peace in our time, or in any other time, and we shall go on from shame to shame and from dishonour to dishonour.

What, I wonder, does the Prime Minister think of the words of his brother, the late Sir Austin Chamberlain, when Foreign Secretary, in 1931:

"It is quite inconceivable that any British statesman, looking at the way in which the Nazis have brutalized their fellow-German opponents and their own Jewish population, could think for a moment of asking anybody to hand over to Nazi rule a single square mile inhabited by a single human being of non-German race."

It was left to Neville Chamberlain to do what his brother thought was "inconceivable" and hand over tens of thousands of innocent people to a fate worse than death.

And of course the Prime Minister cannot even now claim to have a united party behind him. Lord Cecil, on 20th September, wrote that:

"It is not suggested that Herr Hitler has convinced the Government that his demands are just. He has simply stated to Mr. Chamberlain that that is his will and the Cabinet have decided to submit. Submission to Herr Hitler means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force, and that the hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned."

And Mr. Eden, two days later at Stratford-on-Avon, said:

"Do not let us delude ourselves. The truth is that each recurrent crisis brings us nearer to war. The British people know that a stand must be made. They pray that it be not made too late."

The Archbishop of York, on the same day, said that:

"Many of us are profoundly alarmed at the apparent long-continued lapse of our policy towards an opportunism

which stands on no principles under the impact of forcible aggression elsewhere.”

“Opportunism which stands on no principles” is a good description of the methods of our National Government ever since it came into office in 1931. How far will it be allowed to drag us down?

President Roosevelt in a broadcast address two days ago expressed the universal view that the peoples of the world are longing for an enduring peace.

“It is our business,” he said, “to utilize the desire for peace and build on principles which are the only basis for permanent peace”:

“It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by fear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by the sword.

“There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be replaced by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force.

“There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the dispersion all over the

world of millions of helpless, persecuted wanderers with no place to lay their heads.

“There can be no peace if men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, and to worship God.

“There can be no peace if economic resources, which should be devoted to economic reconstruction, are to be diverted to intensified competition in armaments—to a competition which will merely heighten suspicion and fears and threaten the economic prosperity of each and every nation.”

Do these words mean anything to our rulers? And, if they do, will they act so that the foundations are laid of a real peace and not merely, as during the past few years, of putting off the evil day until a stand must be made for principles and under circumstances ever less favourable for such a stand? On the answer to these questions depends not merely the peace of the world but the very foundations of civilization.

London,
28th October, 1938

POEMS

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

JUNGLE CAT

The night creeps up with jungle stealth
To arch her sable back
Against the roofs and chimney-pots
And rub a velvet track.

She captures all the silver mice
That, gnawing through the sky
Are pounced upon and held for toys
Before they scamper by.

She rolls the world between her paws
And lifts a wary tail
When rustling leaves move in the wind
Or stars begin to fail.

She prowls along the fence of dreams
And loiters with a yawn...
Until annoyed by barking dogs
She springs away at dawn.

ETUDE

There is a quietude in cedar trees—
They stand so valiantly and tall,
Like stalwart guards at perfect ease
Against a studded wall
Of stars.

Their giant branches build a phantom bridge
For cavalcades of dreams to march
Across the night and touch the ridge
Until they span and arch
The universe.

A NEW AND BETTER BIBLE, FOR ALL

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

THE WORLD is getting a new Bible,—a Bible far more interesting, far more intelligible, far more fresh and human, in every way far more valuable than the old. From what source does it come? Wholly from the careful and thorough scholarship of our time,—mainly from what scholars call the higher biblical criticism.

The Bible of the old view, of the old limited knowledge, was preeminently, if not wholly, the book of the Jew and the Christian, to whom it was believed to have been given as a special miraculous revelation. The Bible of the new view, while not losing its interest or value to the Christian or the Jew, becomes a world-book, of world interest and world importance, to a degree that the old was not and could never be. Our present task is to show how this is so.

Perhaps our purpose can be best accomplished if we ask and attempt to answer the two following questions: First, just what is the so-called "higher criticism"? Second, just what light does it throw upon the Bible?

To the first question the brief answer may be made: The higher criticism is simply literary and historic criticism or study applied to the Bible; it is simply careful, unbiassed, scholarly investigation.

In some respects it is unfortunate to use the word criticism; because some minds understand it to mean something negative and destructive. When we speak of biblical criticism, such minds think at once that we are finding fault with the Bible, "tearing it to pieces", "destroying" it. This is a wholly mistaken idea. True criticism is not necessarily negative; it is as likely to be positive as negative. It does not necessarily destroy; indeed it may not be destructive at all; its effect may be wholly constructive.

It is easy to see this when we consider criticism as applied to other books. For example, when we speak of Shakespearean criticism, nobody understands us as meaning efforts to destroy or to injure Shakespeare. Rather we are understood to mean efforts to find out all that is possible about the priceless book of dramatic writing that comes to us from that great poet. All literary criticism is simply the study of literature in the light of all the knowledge we can get bearing on the

literature in hand and helping us to understand it better.

Apply this to the Bible. The higher biblical criticism is the application of all the principles of careful literary and historical study to the Bible, with a view to getting the fullest and truest possible understanding of the Bible's origin and development—the sources from which its various books came, their writers, their dates, the purpose of their authors in writing them, and whatever else can help us to understand their meaning, their value, and their place in the world.

This brings us to our second and still more important question: How does the new knowledge which comes to us from this study affect the Bible? In other words, what new views of the Bible does it give us? The following answers are offered.

First, literary and historical scholarship shows us that the Christian (or Christian and Jewish) Bible does not stand alone. It is not the only sacred book of mankind; it belongs to an important family. There are many religions in the world. Most of those which are highly developed have sacred literatures. Sacred books do not come into the world arbitrarily—they come naturally; there are laws that govern their origin and growth. Just as he who would know one science must know other sciences, so he who would know one sacred book must know other sacred books. The best works that are being written on the Bible today are being written in the light of knowledge of other sacred books also; and it is wonderful how much larger and more luminous this method of study makes religion, and revelation, and God.

Second, the Higher Criticism shows us that, properly speaking, the Bible is not a book; it is a literature. It is a collection of sixty-six different, and, for the most part, wholly independent and unrelated books, bound together. And their being bound together no more makes them one book than binding together sixty-six books of your library or mine would make them one. They were written in three different languages, in half a dozen or more different countries, and some of the books nearly a thousand years

later than others. They were written by writers of as widely different characteristics and qualifications for writing as we can well imagine,—kings, peasants, courtiers, keepers of cattle and sheep, scribes and learned men, men without learning, men of widely different views on many subjects, men differing greatly in moral character and piety.

These sixty-six books differ, too, in the widest degree in their subjects, aims, purposes, style, literary quality, moral quality, religious quality. Some are histories, some are partly historical and partly legendary, some are poetry; some are predictions of the future, some are sermons, some are collections of the proverbial wisdom of the time; some are biographical; some are romances (as Ruth and Esther); some are letters or epistles. It will be seen then what I mean when I say that the Bible is not a book but a literature,—an exceedingly valuable collection of ancient Hebrew literature,—on the whole the best part of the literature produced by the Hebrew or Jewish people during the one thousand years and more that they lived in Palestine before they were driven out and dispersed over the world.

Third, accurate and careful scholarly investigation makes it clear that every book and every fragment of a book which enters into this literature came into being naturally—from human causes, which in nearly all cases we can trace as clearly as we can trace the causes which produced Homer's *Iliad* or Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates*, or Cicero's *Orations against Catiline*, or Thomas Paine's *Crisis*, or Keshub Chunder Sen's *New Dispensation*. Christians have been accustomed to think of the books of the Bible as dropping, so to speak, from God out of heaven; as coming into existence for reasons that God knew, but not such reasons as have operated in the production of any other books. But all this is a mistake. There never were books in the world whose origin could be more clearly traced to natural human causes than the books of the Old Testament and the New. Scholarship has brought to light these causes, and some of them we shall see as we go on.

Fourth, the Higher Criticism shows us that a surprisingly large number of the books of the Bible are anonymous as to authorship; and not only anonymous, but composites—that is, books not composed by any one author, but compilations, books which show the hand of more than one writer, and often of more than one age, and which have grown by succes-

sive edittings and successive additions. Today in our Western World a man writes a book and sends it out over his own name. As a result nobody feels at liberty to change it or to add to it without due announcement of the fact. But with the Hebrews and other ancient Oriental nations it was different. Most ancient writers seem not to have put their names to their writings. Ideas were common property, and writers felt at liberty to add to or change books to an extent that our notions of literary ethics would not justify at all. As a result, we know the names of only a few of the writers of the Bible, and a large number of the books show that they have come from more sources than one. Thus the Pentateuch (or the Five Books of Moses, so called) we find was not written by Moses, or by any single author, but was many centuries in coming into existence.

Many of the prophetic books show additions by later hands. The Book of Isaiah comes from two (if not from three or four) different writers, living more than 150 years apart; and the Book of Zechariah contains matter from three different prophets.

The Book of Psalms is the national hymn book of the Jewish people, which was more than 500 years in growing. It contains five distinct collections of hymns, which were formed at different times, in some cases probably a century or more apart. But at last all five were brought together to form the book as we now have it. Nor do many, if any, of the hymns come from David. Few were written within two or three centuries of David. Some were written as late as a century or a little more before Christ. Thus we see that the history of Israel for more than half a thousand years was rich with spiritual singers.

The Book of Proverbs bears the name of Solomon. It may have begun in a small way with him, but certainly it was several centuries in coming to be what we now have, namely a collection of the aphoristic wisdom of the Jewish people.

The Gospels grew, and show layer after layer of added material. The Book of Acts and the Apocalypse (or the Book of Revelation) both show imbedded documents, and more than one revision and addition.

Fifth, Biblical scholarship makes clear to us that the books of the Bible are not chronologically arranged; I mean, they do not stand in their places in the order of their composition. This is important to be borne in mind; otherwise we shall be confused when trying to trace the order of events in Jewish history,

and the development of the Jewish religion and civilization.

Genesis, which stands at the beginning of the Old Testament is really one of the later Old Testament books. So with the books which immediately follow Genesis—that is, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. They are all late in date. The prophetic books stand well on toward the end of the Old Testament. Naturally, therefore, we think of them as late in origin. A few of them are, but some of them are the very oldest books of the Bible. In the New Testament the Gospels stand first. But they were not written until after the Epistles of Paul. And one of the Gospels, that connected with the name of John, bears evidence of being one of the latest of all the New Testament writings, not having come into existence probably until well on into the Second Century.

Now, of course, from books all in such disorder as regards their age, it was impossible to obtain any correct conception of the historical sequence and progress of the people or the religion with which they deal, until we could get the disorder straightened out, and could discover the relative dates of the books. At last, however—thanks to the patient and persistent labor of the scholars of the past hundred years!—we have found out, approximately at least, the dates of most of the writings of the Old Testament and the New. As a result, we are at last able to trace with much clearness and with substantial certainty the progress of the Israelitish people, both in civilization and in religion, from their low condition as portrayed in the books of Joshua and Judges, when they had just arrived in Palestine, a band of only recently liberated slaves from Egypt, on and up through the various stages of their development, until they reached their final maturity.

Sixth, Biblical scholarship shows us that not all parts of the Bible have equal value; indeed that different parts have different historical value, different literary value, different moral value, different religious value. And this means that the modern doctrine of the Bible's infallibility, inerrancy, perfection in every part, is not supported by scholarship.

The Bible nowhere makes the claim of infallibility. Even if it did, the facts as scholarship bring them to light regarding the origin, growth, preservation and contents of its various books, would not sustain the claim. Even if any one book of the Bible made the claim of inerrancy, or of being God's perfect

word, as possibly the Apocalypse or book of Revelation at the end of the New Testament may be said to do, this would apply only to that particular book, not to the Bible as a whole or to either Testament as a whole: for each book of both testaments was written absolutely by itself, with no reference to any other, and there was no gathering of the books together into a collection or canon until long after each separate book was written. So that no claim, of any kind, that any book may make for itself, can justly be extended to cover any other book, much less all other books, in the Bible.

The fact is, the modern idea of the absolute infallibility and perfection of the Bible in all its parts, is something which was unknown to the ancient Jews, unknown to any Bible writer, and unknown to the early Christian Church. It did not come into existence until after the Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century. The Roman Catholic Church did not hold it, and does not hold it now in any such rigid form as Protestants have taught it. It was not held by Luther or Calvin. It rose during the century after the death of these two great reformers. The cause that gave rise to it was the need felt by the Protestants for an authority—an infallible authority—to offset the infallible authority which the Catholics claimed to possess in the Church. The Protestants having denied that the Church was infallible, were seemingly left with no infallible standard at all. In self-defense, therefore, they seemed compelled to set up the Bible as such. This they did; and from that time on the absolute and infallible authority of the Bible, appears as a central doctrine among orthodox Protestant churches. This was its first appearance as held by any considerable body of churches in Christendom.

Seventh, the larger and better Biblical scholarship of our time shows us—what it is immensely important for us to understand—that the Bible is the literary record of a great and remarkable Evolution, the evolution, through the period of a thousand years, of the civilization and especially the religion of the Hebrew people.

The Hebrew people did not begin their career high up, but low down. Their early conception of God was crude. Their moral ideas were imperfect. Many of them were idolaters. Intellectually they stood upon a plane not so high as that occupied by some of the peoples around them. Morally they were—

probably a little above their heathen neighbors, but not much.

From this low condition they rose, slowly, painfully, with many relapses, up and up, through struggles, through vicissitudes, through the hardships of war, the hardships of peace, the hardships of oppression, through the bitter experience of reaping the harvests of their own mistakes and sins, up and up, to the condition which we see at the time of the great prophets, and later at the time of the birth of Christianity. And what is the Bible? It is the outcome of all these thousand years and more of Hebrew history and Hebrew life. It is the literature of this marvellous evolution. It reflects, as it could not but reflect the thought of the people in all stages of their development. Some of it represents their earlier and lower and cruder religious and moral ideas; some of it, their religious and moral conceptions farther advanced. In Isaiah, and the greater Psalms, but especially in Jesus, the development reaches its height; the evolution is completed.

Do we not see how much more intelligible the Bible becomes in the light of this thought? More important still, do we not see from what a crushing load the Bible is relieved by this thought? Under the old conception, that all parts are alike the equal and perfect word of God, men were obliged to defend as divine inspiration the stories of the swimming axe, the talking ass, and the sun and moon standing still at human bidding, the command of Jehovah to Joshua to slaughter men, women and innocent children, the imprecatory psalms, and everything else found in the Old Testament, no matter how unreasonable, unhistoric or immoral.

Was there no way of relieving the Bible of this burden, too heavy to be borne? None, except for men to open their minds as, at last, under the influence of growing knowledge, more and more persons are doing, to the fact that not all parts of the Bible are equally valuable, but that some parts come from the child-stage of the ethical and religious development of the Hebrew people, and therefore in later time are to be laid aside as outgrown, as manhood always drops the appurtenances of its childhood.

It cannot be overlooked that thus far in its history the Bible has been a book exerting both a good and an evil influence among men. Doubtless its influence for good has been greatest; yet there is no evading the fact that it has been used as an arsenal of defense for many of

the worst evils that have ever cursed the world. It has been estimated that the single scripture text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" has caused the death of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of innocent human beings. Such books as Joshua, the Judges, and Chronicles, full of the records of cruel and inhuman wars, have been responsible in no small degree for keeping alive that terrible war-spirit which has wrought such havoc in Christendom during nearly every century since Christianity began.

The Bible has been extensively used as a bulwark of slavery. Polygamy has always appealed to the Bible for support. Were not Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David and Solomon, polygamists? Yet these men are represented as special favorites of God. Tyrannizers over women have gone to the Bible for texts wherewith to justify their tyranny. So have wine-drinkers for texts to defend their use of intoxicants. The Bible teaching that the insane are possessed of devils caused those poor unfortunates to be treated in the most inhuman ways for centuries. Inquisitions, persecutions and oppressions of all kinds have made their constant appeal to the Bible in support of their crimes against humanity. The Bible has been used as perhaps the most effective of all fetters to bind the human mind. There is hardly a science that has not had its progress blocked seriously by texts from the Bible. These are all facts which have their place in history, and to which we cannot close our eyes.

What is the explanation? Why has it been possible thus to turn the Bible into an instrument of evil in so many ways? The explanation lies largely in the false belief regarding the Bible that has been in so many minds in Christendom,—the belief that it is all and in every part the inspired and perfect word of God and therefore an authority binding upon all men for all time. If they could have understood that it is a human book, a record of the experience and growth of a people from very low ethical and religious standards on and up to conditions higher and better, and therefore that much of it has long been passed by and ought to be laid aside, its power for evil would largely have been taken away, while its power for good would have remained.

The principle of evolution or growth applied to the Bible, as intelligent scholarship is beginning to apply it, gives us a new Bible, stripped of these evil influences which attached to the old, and at the same time enables it to retain all the influences for good that it ever possessed. In its light we see that the low

conceptions of God and the imperfect morality of certain parts of the Old Testament simply mark the child-stage, ethically and religiously, of the Hebrew people. They show us the beginnings of the development. They let us see the low moral and religious plane from which the Hebrew people rose to what they afterward became. The Bible literature is at once the record and the product of that remarkable advance by which the crude polytheism of the slaves of the Exodus at last developed into the pure and noble religion of the better Psalms, of the Second Isaiah and of the Sermon on the Mount.

Finally, and not less important than anything that has gone before, the larger and better Biblical scholarship which is coming to our day, shows us that the Bible is not primarily a book of theology; but that centrally and above everything else it is a book of religion and life.

Grievous mistakes have been made in the past in the use of the Bible and are constantly being made today. Men are forever going to the Bible for texts, for texts to prove something, to bolster up some doctrine, to support some theological theory or dogma, as if the book were a theological treatise, a doctrinal text-book. The truth is, it is at the farthest removal from a theological treatise or doctrinal text-book. If it had been a collection of texts out of which to build theological speculations and dogmas, the world would never have cared for it, indeed the world would never have heard of it. It has lived and attained its great place among men because it is a book, not of theology but of life, and of that religion which grows out of life. This life quality in it is what gives the Bible its permanent interest and its priceless value.

The Bible is full of experiences of real men, the thoughts and deeds of real men, the hopes and fears of real men, the burdens and discouragements and problems of real men. It shows us the young man in his actual life, the old man in his, the poor man in his, the king in his. On its pages are smiles of joy and tears of sadness; the mother with her children, the shepherd with his sheep, the fisherman with his boats and his nets, the farmer sowing and reaping his grain, the woman drawing water from the well.

It paints the quiet joys and sweet securities of peace, the hurry, the rush, the glory and the horror of war; the laugh of childhood, the idyl of courtship and marriage; the tragedy of death; the poet singing his song, the

historian writing his chronicle, the priest ministering at the altar. It portrays with wonderful distinctness and power the evil-doer, hardened in his evil-doing, or repenting in shame and sorrow and turning to virtue; the prophet fighting against the wrongs and wickednesses of his time, as we have to fight against the evils and wrongs of ours; the lonely soul feeling out after God, and finding the divine hand in the darkness, just as men feel out and find today.

This is what the Bible is, when rightly understood. It is a book of life; a truly human and therefore a truly divine book; a book born out of what was most real and living in the experiences of a people for a thousand years. This is why the Bible lives, and will live; why it finds human hearts, and will continue to find them forever. This is the secret of its undying power.

What is needed is a study of the Bible that shall recognize all this and bring it all out into clearness, as the newer biblical scholarship does. When once we get such a study, when we stop going to the Bible for dogma, and begin to go to it for life; when the veil falls from our eyes, and we cease to look upon it as a strange far-away, mysterious book, unlike anything else in the world, with meanings that elude us; when we come to understand and feel the naturalness of it, the beating heart of it, the genuine humanness of it, then it will no longer repel us; then we shall be drawn to it, as we are drawn to Shakespeare, as we are drawn to Homer, as we are drawn to Burns, only still more strongly, for, while it is as fresh and living as any of these, it is greater than all of them. It is greater because it is more many-sided, it occupies an incomparably more central place in the world's history, it deals with the highest concerns of man, the things of the moral and spiritual life, and it speaks to man with a directness, an insight into the human heart, and an inspiring power greater than that of any other book known to the western world, if not to the whole world.

From the considerations now set forth it will be seen what was meant in the beginning by saying that the higher criticism (our new and larger biblical scholarship) is giving us a new, a more intelligible and better Bible,—one that is far more truly a world-book than the old has ever been, or can ever become.

There are men who, knowing little about the biblical scholarship of our day, call it negative and destructive. The fact is, it is fundamentally positive and constructive. It is

destructive in no sense except that it aims to destroy old, false conceptions in order to make way for truer ones. The scholars who are giving us our new light on the Bible are not iconoclasts;—for the most part they are earnest and devout men. They are men who in other things are trusted and honored; why should they not be in this? They are men who love and revere the Bible, and who have faith enough in it to feel sure that truth can do it no injury. It follows that to reject the higher biblical criticism is simply to turn our backs on both piety and intelligence.

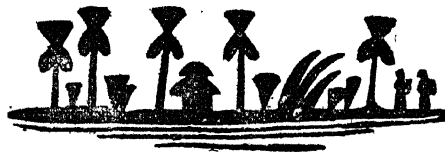
That the new, larger and more reasonable view of the Bible which modern biblical scholarship is giving us will sooner or later find general acceptance in the world, I believe, is as certain as any future thing. Of course it will have a hard and long battle to fight, particularly in Christian lands. Christian dogmatism is against it. The teaching and prejudices of many Christian centuries are against it. It wins only among minds that dare to think. But among such its victory is certain. Truth and reason are on its side. Already it is accepted by practically all independent and unbiassed scholars, Christian and non-Christian. It is only a question of time when thoughtful men generally will follow where scholarship and reason lead.

Does anyone fear that this larger and more rational view of the Bible will take away from the book some of its moral or spiritual value? On the contrary, it leaves undisturbed every truth that the Bible ever contained, every moral precept, every spiritual principle, every inspiring word, every noble thought about God, or man, or duty, or life,—everything that has power to feed the soul's hunger; every word of comfort or hope or trust; every call to courage; everything that is calculated to lift man up nearer God, or bring God nearer to man, or draw men nearer to each other as brothers, or make life more divine.

Nor is this all. The new thought not only keeps all that is valuable in the Bible, but it does more. It teaches that God is larger than the God of the Christian or of the Jew. He is

the God of the whole world. Inspiration is not limited to a single people of the ancient time. It is a reality of all time; it is a reality of today. God's spirit moves in the hearts and consciences of men in all lands and ages. Revelation is too large a thing to be confined to a single book. If the Bible contains precious revelation of God's truth, so too are there other precious revelations,—in the starry heavens, in the blossoming earth, in history, in art, in science, in the mother's love to her child, in the child's answering love as it looks up in the mother's eyes, in all the experiences of the deep heart of man. There is true revelation in the other great sacred books of the world outside the Bible, which have been bread of life to so many millions of the human race; and in the great seers, thinkers, poets, teachers of the things of the spirit whom God sends to every age,—the Buddhas, the Platos, the Dantes, the Savonarolas, the Luthers, the Miltons, the Wesleys, the Channings, the Brownings, the Emersons, the Rammohuns of the world. Through all these prophet-souls God speaks his word—his word which cannot be bound, his word which cannot be shut up in any one book or in all books, his word which is as large as all truth.

To sum up all that we have been saying: The outgrown Bible of tradition, credulity and ignorance, whose supposed infallibility fettered reason and hindered moral and religious progress, is being superseded by the new Bible which the scholarship and unbiassed inquiry of our day have given to the world. This new Bible is literature and not dogma; in it incredible stories are recognized as legend; impossible chronicles are recognized as myth; unworthy views of God and low moral standards are seen to be simply the imperfect conceptions of an early age. This Bible reveals the growing ethical perceptions, the rising spiritual ideals, the deepening God-consciousness, the marvellous, thousand-year-long religious evolution of an extraordinary people. Thus interpreted in the light of scholarship and intelligence, the Bible will never lose its interest, its greatness, or its moral and religious power among men.



BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA A LESSON FOR INDIA

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS

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IN my article on "British Foreign Policy" written on April 17, 1938, published in the August number of *The Modern Review*, I pointed out that the British Government under the leadership of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain was working for isolation of Soviet Russia and conclusion of a Four Power Pact of Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. The British Government agreed to dismemberment of Czechoslovakia to please Germany. It has been suggested that the British Government agreed to this dishonorable policy, for the purpose of preserving World Peace. But the fact is that the British Government, owing to the world situation, did not take the risk of being involved in a world war, which might be to the greatest disadvantage to the British Empire. The very existence of the German-Japanese-Italian anti-communistic pact, (see my article on the subject in the January number of *The Modern Review*), which is nothing less than an offensive and defensive alliance in practice, has played a very important part in Herr Hitler's great diplomatic victory in acquiring the Sudeten German territory by partitioning Czechoslovakia.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of Germany's strong military position, strengthened by the annexation of Austria. This was further strengthened by German-Hungarian agreement arrived at during the recent visit of Admiral Horthy of Hungary to Germany. In fact Czechoslovakia was surrounded by Germany, Poland and Hungary; and it had no possibility of securing any support from Russia unless Rumania allowed the Russian army to pass through Rumanian territory. France could not aid Czechoslovakia effectively without attacking Germany in her western frontier, where German *Siegfried Line* would be able to resist the French invasion without great difficulty. But the existence of the Rome-Berlin axis created a condition greatly disadvantageous to France, which wished to be sure of British support in case she was faced with a German or Italian attack.

Let us examine France's position in world politics: (1) In the Far East France could not maintain her position in the face of Japanese hostility; and Japan as a virtual ally of Germany might jeopardise French interests in the Far East. Therefore France's position was not secure in the Far East. (2) In Africa, France's position was precarious, because there has been political unrest in Morocco during recent months; furthermore Franco-Italian disharmony in world politics menaces French position in Tunis, which can be attacked by Italian forces under Marshal Balbo in Lybia. Italy, since the disagreement with France, on her Spanish policy, has considerable force concentrated at the South Eastern French frontier, and Italian navy and Spanish rebels might cut off, or at least disturb, French means of communications, between Africa and France. Thus France, if involved in a war with Germany, just to aid Czechoslovakia, would face unfavourable conditions in the Far East, Africa, and French southern and south-eastern frontiers. Thus the French could not dare to take a definite stand without definite promise of support from Great Britain, which of all powers might aid France in the Far East and the Mediterranean and other quarters full of danger. To be sure France had an alliance with Russia—a mutual assistance pact in case Germany attacked any of the contracting parties; but Russia with her internal chaos (numerous military and naval officers have been executed in Russia during the last few months) and Russia facing a possible attack from Japan in the Far East could not give any direct aid to France, if attacked by Italy in Africa and other quarters. Therefore French statesmen, especially M. Daladier and M. Bonnet, decided that France would not go to war with Germany unless Britain agreed to come to her aid on the Czechoslovakian issue. It is well known now that the British Cabinet refused to come to the aid of France on the Czechoslovakian issue on the definite grounds: that (1) Britain was never a party in guaranty--

ing Czech independence and (2) Britain could not jeopardise her own vital interest just to aid the Czechs, when Britain would be a gainer by isolating Russia through the co-operation of Germany, Italy and France, (3) Britain's world position has not been very comfortable, because of (a) the Sino-Japanese War, (b) Russian penetration into Sinkiang, (c) unrest in India, (d) Arab revolt, (e) as well as Anglo-Italian difficulties in Africa, the Mediterranean and in Spain.

It is needless to remind the reader that maintenance of British control over India is the fundamental principle of British foreign policy. As long as German-Japanese-Italian agreement remains in force and Britain fails to secure Japanese support in her world politics, she will not take the risk of entering into any conflict in Europe. In this connection it is most interesting to note that a Washington correspondent, in an article in *The New York Journal* of September 20, 1938, makes it clear that because of Japanese threat to British interests in the Far East, the Chamberlain government refused to take such a position as might bring about a war in Europe.

Lest there be any misunderstanding on this point I quote this article by Mr. Nixon, which explains Japan's dominating position in world politics. (It is the uninformed who think that the Chinese, aided by the Russians, would defeat Japan):

BRITISH FEARS REVEALED
By ROBERT G. NIXON
International News Service

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20.

A paralyzing fear that her own great empire would be the sacrifice of another general war in Europe led Great Britain to acquiesce in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

This amazing disclosure of the stakes wagered in the behind-the-scenes diplomatic battle over the German-Czech crisis reached high official quarters here today and was revealed to International News Service.

FEARED JAP ATTACK

In the midst of the crisis last week, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was informed by the British intelligence service of a secret plan of Japan to strike at Britain's empire in the Far East.

The bold stroke of Nippon, Washington was informed, was to be held in leash until Britain's armed strength became wholly involved in a war with France against Germany.

Then, this authoritative source revealed, the Japanese navy and strong expeditionary forces were scheduled to strike successively and swiftly at Hong Kong, Singapore, the Malay States, India and Australia.

EAST INDIES NAMED

The Nipponese, it was stated, also planned to overrun the Netherlands East Indies, where are located priceless oil lands.

In the Malay States are the world's richest tin mines. Australia would provide Japan with an unending source of food and wool and an outlet for her teeming population, it was pointed out. From India—fabulous, untold wealth and an inexhaustible source of manpower.

Only by the might of its sea power, assured by the world's most powerful fleet, has England been able to keep a hold on this vast, sprawling Oriental empire.

FLEET TIE-UP VISIONED

Japan counted, it was asserted, on a major European war involving England in Europe and tying up the British fleet in European waters to blockade Germany, keep open its immediate sea lanes for food and munitions supplies and to watch Italy.

Without a fleet free to dispatch instantly to the Far East Britain's Oriental empire would be comparatively easy prize, according to high military and naval opinion.

Britain learned, it was stated, that the Japanese fleet, in its own waters as mighty as Britain's or the United States, has been kept entirely free of the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

HELD READY TO STRIKE

Japan, the British intelligence reported, was prepared to halt its present war in China, keeping less than a half million men in China to hold the conquered lands, and, with a million campaign hardened troops under arms, its strong fleet and the Japanese nation keyed to war's effort, strike south toward the British possessions.

American naval authorities believe the huge fortifications Britain has just completed at Singapore at a cost of \$250,000,000 would be powerless to halt Japan without a fleet based there.

The plan of Oriental conquest was unfolded to the British authorities, it was reported, at the height of the Czech crisis.

NEEDED U. S. AID

Prime Minister Chamberlain weighed the possibilities, with many other factors in the European situation, it was declared, and then came to his dramatic decision to fly to Berchtesgaden for a personal interview with Chancellor Hitler in an effort to find the key to European appeasement.

Chamberlain, it was asserted, realized that only in the event the United States could be persuaded to send its fleet far into the Pacific and hold Japan at bay could Britain's Far Eastern empire be saved if Japan launched a whole-hearted effort.

But this, the Prime Minister was represented as concluding, appeared utterly hopeless in view of American determination to remain strictly neutral and hold completely aloof from the European crisis.

The lesson for India is to take it seriously that Britain, in her present position, cannot defend India without aid from other nations. For this reason, Britain to curry favour with Italy, has agreed to Italian annexation of Abyssinia. She has helped "the unspeakable Turk" of yesterday, with a loan of £16,000,000 (sixteen million pounds) so that Turkey would act as an ally of Britain in the Near East. She has agreed to make concessions to Egypt, Iraq, and other Arab States to get Arab or Moslem support against the poor Jews, who deserve world sympathy in their plight. Britain agreed to Japanese protectorate over Manchukuo and

is now really seeking revival of Anglo-Japanese Alliance, so that Japan may be used to protect British interests in the Far East and India. This may not be believed by many but this is the actual fact.

Britain's dependence upon other Powers is primarily due to the fact that a disarmed India is not a military asset to the British Empire.



Hitler strangles the Czechs with the British Lion's Tail

—From *The New York Post*

Furthermore, Britain wishes to keep India disarmed, to keep her under subjection. A disarmed and militarily weak India cannot recover her independence nor can it maintain its independence even if it is given to the people.

It is rather disheartening and amusing to notice that Indian leaders who admire Soviet Russia, which maintains the largest standing army and air force in the world, speak of "non-violence" as the national policy of nationalist India.

Indian leaders are anxious to aid Abyssinians who fought Italians, they sympathise with Spanish loyalists who are fighting for democracy, they send Ambulance Corps to China as a gesture of sympathy; but they do not take any effective step to increase Indian national efficiency in matters of National defence!

Lakhs of rupees have been spent in the so-called Charka movement, Khilafat movement and other non-essential things, while ignoring the need of spreading military education in India. The time has come for Indian statesmen to do two things: (1) Raise a crore or more rupees of national defence fund to spread military education in India with a programme of training at least 3,000,000 or more men within the coming five years and (2) take definite steps for concluding an Indo-British military alliance which will be of great value to Britain and India.

If Britain opposes these two programmes, which should be furthered by Indian Princes as well as Indian nationalist leaders, then it would be evident to India and the world at large, that Britain wishes to keep India defenceless and at her mercy and at the mercy of possible invaders.

What has happened to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, Czechoslovakia and China, should be a lesson to India.

India cannot attain her freedom by mere nationalist agitation, debate in the legislative assembly or by securing a few jobs for Indian politicians. India must set her own house in order—and should take up the question of national defence with all earnestness. The responsibility lies with the young leaders of India.

New York City,
September 20, 1938.

EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

By S. G. WARTY, M.A.

"To us in India, Journalism is more a Mission than a means of livelihood."

—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

It needs no saying that journalists play the most important part in shaping public opinion in a country and yet it is a recognised fact that it is the one profession in the world which a man is permitted to follow without specialised studies. It is not to be denied that much of the technique of journalism has to be acquired by practice, by actual work in a newspaper office, but the journalist, if he is to prove really useful to the community and successful in the declared purpose of his profession, is as much in need of studying its principles and its subject-matter, as the engineer is in need of studying the principles of engineering, the doctor the principles of medicine and the lawyer the principles of jurisprudence.

Without a clear background of these broad, theoretical and specialised studies, the journalist who has acquired mere practice, is apt to be narrow-visioned, possessed of prejudices, full of strong and unreasonable likes and dislikes. Instead, then, of being a boon to the community which it is certainly his privilege to be, he may prove a great danger, for he may vitiate the atmosphere of thought by his wicked misrepresentations and fanciful statements, lower the public tastes, and impair the standard of morals prevailing in a community.

It is for this reason, that journalists must of all people belonging to the learned professions, be men of wide studies and liberal outlook, especially so in India, for this is a country where the printed word exercises the greatest influence and carries the greatest authority. But how can these wide studies and liberal outlook be assured, unless the journalist, before he actually embarks on his career, acquires the necessary culture that a sound general education imparts and thereafter passes through the special studies pertinent to his profession?

Is there then a need for education in journalism in India? What part can the Universities play in the matter? Would a degree in journalism be helpful and if so what should be the syllabus of studies? Such are some of

the questions which I propose to discuss in this article.

CAN UNIVERSITIES HELP?

The question of instituting degrees in journalism in our Universities in India assumed some prominence for some time but has not been systematically pursued. In England and the United States where journalism has made enormous strides, there are many private schools which propose to teach journalism, sometimes by postal tuition also, the best-known and the best-organised of these being the London School of Journalism where a systematic practice of writing is taught in various branches, article-writing, paragraph-writing, descriptive writing, story-writing, etc. In none of these schools however, is the background of a certain standard of general culture prescribed as necessary in the scholars seeking admission to the course. And besides, wide and liberal studies do not form a part of the curriculum, all that is really enjoined being practice in writing.

Few Universities there have yet introduced courses and degrees in journalism. The London University is perhaps the only University where systematic higher instruction for the degree of journalism is imparted and the syllabus of studies properly arranged. Considering that in India, journalism as carried on at present is largely in the hands of very poorly equipped persons, the gain to it would be immense if the Universities undertake the work of instruction and raise its standard, thereby elevating the profession itself and placing it in a deserving position.

If we take an illustration from the growth of commercial education in Bombay, we find that until the Sydenham College of Commerce was started and the B. Com. degree instituted by the University, the level of commercial education imparted by the various private schools in Bombay was very low, going rarely beyond what may be called the "rule of thumb." The commercial graduates, endowed with culture, are bringing a more liberal out—

look on their work and have demonstrated their capacity for pluck and initiative.

THE SYLLABUS OF STUDIES

If it is recognised that the Universities should introduce a course in journalism and a degree to mark the end of that course, what should be the special studies that the students should be made to go through? What should also be the standard of general education for the entrant aspiring for the degree in journalism?

In the Universities in India, a pass in the First Year Course in the Arts College is made compulsory for a candidate before he joins a college imparting professional education. For the degrees in teaching and in law, the necessary qualification for admission is still higher, and only after the candidate obtains the B.A., or the B. Sc. degree can he hope to join the professional colleges. It is my considered opinion that no candidate should be admitted to the special studies of journalism in a University, until he has first acquired the B.A. degree.

The journalist must be a truly educated man, with the most liberal inclinations and having a sympathetic outlook on all kinds of knowledge. To speak in the jargon of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the journalist must be a man who knows "something of everything and everything of something". His task is to deal with human beings, their ideals, their prejudices and their aspirations, by a right understanding of their psychology.

As regards the special studies for the degree in journalism, one has to take note of the fact that in India, journalism at the present day almost completely consists of political writing so great being the emphasis placed on politics. For this reason a scientific and systematic study of politics in all its practical and theoretical aspects, must form a necessary part of a course in journalism. The aspirant for a journalistic career must be intimately acquainted with the currents of economic and political thought in the modern world, the forces now at play in shaping mankind and its actions, and the problems of each country and nationality on the globe, with their historic background. The journalist must be able to take a world-view of things and to look at the problems at hand from that perspective. Says Mr. Wickham Steed:

"The ideal journalist would be one who, having mastered and assimilated the wisdom of the ancients, the

philosophies of the more modern, the knowledge of scientists, the mechanics of engineers, the history of his own and of other times, and the chief factors in economic, social, and political life, should be able to hide all these things in his bosom and to supply as much of them as might be readily digested to his millions of readers in proportion as he divined their desire for them."

PRACTICE IN WRITING

Next only to political and economic studies, the candidate must be required to study the history of the growth of journalism in the world and its present position in each country, the methods of its appeal to the public and its influence on the course of public affairs. Then again, the knowledge of the principles of newspaper organisation as developed in the course of years, will serve to impart a realistic bent to the studies and carry the student over the whole field of what may be called "Press-dom." It would be very desirable if students while thus under training, are made to visit important newspaper offices to see how the whole organisation works from beginning to end, to see how the issue comes out within the allotted time.

Practice in writing should, I think, also be attempted while under training. The first thing that a journalist has to learn is to condense elaborate news or writing into intelligible summaries to suit the limited space at his disposal, and he should be able to do so whilst running over the sheet itself with his blue pencil. He should also cultivate the practice of describing events in a picturesque yet in a truthful manner. Similarly a certain number of exercises in article-writing of various sorts must be made compulsory. The principles in regard to the reviewing of books with some practice must also be taught.

The main difference between newspaper writing and other writing is that, in the first case the length of the article is governed by the stern and imperative consideration of space, and within this limitation everything of importance must be said in interesting and intelligible manner so as never to weary the attention of the reader. A newspaper is an institution for the education of the populace by popular means, just as a school is for the education of the children, and therefore the method of its speech and idiom must not be much above their capacity to understand.

In addition to these compulsory subjects, specialisation in voluntary subjects should also be prescribed, and such subjects may profitably be Indian Politics, European Politics, Asiatic Politics, American Politics and so on. This

would necessitate intensive studies in particular subjects and make the journalist specially capable to write on his subjects at a moment's notice. Indeed it is an advantage to have men so equipped on the regular staff of a newspaper.

It should be possible for a graduate of the University to be able to imbibe so much of education pertaining to journalism within a period of two years. The study should include of course a knowledge of the law pertaining to newspapers and libel.

SOME VITAL LESSONS FROM MEXICO

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

RECENTLY when the nationalist government of Mexico declared that it would nationalize the oil industry of the country and thus take over the interest of American and British oil companies, after paying what may be regarded as reasonable compensation, the British government violently protested against such measures. The Mexican government, instead of surrendering to British demands of restitution of oil property of British nationality, surprised the whole world and particularly Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, when it broke off diplomatic relations with the government of His Britannic Majesty. In the past it was the habit of the British government to recall its diplomatic representative to express its displeasure towards a government which dared to oppose British economic and political interests; but this time Mexico turned the table on Great Britain and the latter had to recall her minister from Mexico city. The Mexican government determined to do its share that the people of Mexico should own the resources of the country and be not subject to exploitation by imperialist powers. Mexico has been so far able to oppose Britain, because she has the tacit support of the government of the United States in the matter of the oil-property controversy, and furthermore owing to the existence of the Munroe Doctrine, Britain does not dare use any form of force against Mexico. The Mexican government has also the full support of the Mexican working class and peasants in its programme of government ownership of vital industries of the land.

But the most interesting news from Mexico is contained in the following news-despatch published in the *New York Evening Post* of June 28, 1938.

MEXICO INCREASES HEALTH EXPENSES, CUTS ARMS COSTS
GENEVA, June 28 (UP).

Mexico in the period 1928 to 1937 increased its expenditures on health and education and reduced those

on armament, a study by the League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service revealed today. The publication revealed that Mexico's public debt rose from 961,800,000 pesos (\$211,596,000) in 1928 to 1,239,000,000 pesos (\$272,580,000) in 1937.

The report stated that expenditures by the Secretary of War, Marine, and Department of Mill Supplies—combined in 1935—decreased from 96,600,000 pesos in 1928 to 80,300,000 pesos in 1937, while public health expenses jumped from 6,700,000 pesos to 14,900,000 pesos and public education expenditures rose from 25,800,000 pesos to 59,400,000 pesos.

Does this mean that the Mexican government is decreasing its efficiency in the field of national defence by reducing expenditure? On the contrary, the Mexican government *has improved its defensive power immensely*, during the last few years, by systematic spread of military education among the youth of the land and the workingmen. The Mexican workingmen are the back-bone of the present government. They are, through the national labour union, organized into a national militia, which is ready to supplement the regular army in upholding the government. This new organized labour military force costs the government very little; and it is not only an asset to the government but it is a factor in preventing the reactionaries from coercing the progressive elements in the government.

Indian nationalists now running the provincial governments and aspiring to control the Federal Government of India of tomorrow should have a definite programme of spreading military education and increasing the power of national defence and at the same time reducing the burden of heavy military expenditure which primarily aids British Imperialism. Mexico shows the way for India.

New York City,
June, 28, 1930

THE VINE FESTIVAL IN ITALY

By SANTIMOY MOULIK

THE autumn in Italy offers a spectacle of wide contrasts to that in other countries of western and northern Europe. "The light that loses and the night that gains," as Swinburne describes the English fall, heralds a period of darkness and drizzle, of bare trees and slippery roads. In the Scandinavian countries and northern Germany, the autumn is the worst season which has neither the fascinating twilight of summer nor the romantic snow-shine of winter. In Italy, however, the autumn is the best season after the spring; it is the season of harvest festivals, of outdoor games and excursions in the cool and delightful atmosphere that follows the trying heat of summer. In spite of the falling leaves and occasional drifts of cold wind from the Appenine valleys, the sky is always blue, just that blue which one usually finds on the canvas of Giotto and other 14th century Italian painters. Under these skies and in the limpid light of clear and sparkling days, the Italian peasants celebrate their harvest festivals of which the Vine Festival is the most celebrated and the most picturesque.

In a bright and busy atmosphere on a charming September evening the ninth annual session of the National Vine Festival was inaugurated in Rome this year under the auspices of the National Dopolavoro Institute, in the Basilica of Massenzio on the famous Imperial Way that connects Imperial Rome with the Colosseum. The stalls were arranged with a decorative style which is typical of the Italian festive occasions. These stalls exhibited the best varieties of grapes produced in the different grape-producing centres of the country. High above were the brooding vaults of the Roman basilica, which under the decorative effect looked like the vineyards of the Agro Romano, sheltered as if from the wind by aqueducts, and provided with miniature rustic sheds made for the occasion to complete the rural scene. Gaily and colourfully dressed maidens, in the costumes of their respective native provinces, were in charge of tempting the visitors to buy their grapes. It was a scene which one sees on the streets of Rome during the entire month of October.

Round and about the stalls were constructed also small inns where one could find wine

and sausages, pastry and ices, providing some place of gossip to the visitors. For the visitors were also organized a special orchestra and vocal concerts performed by distinguished musicians and artists of Rome.

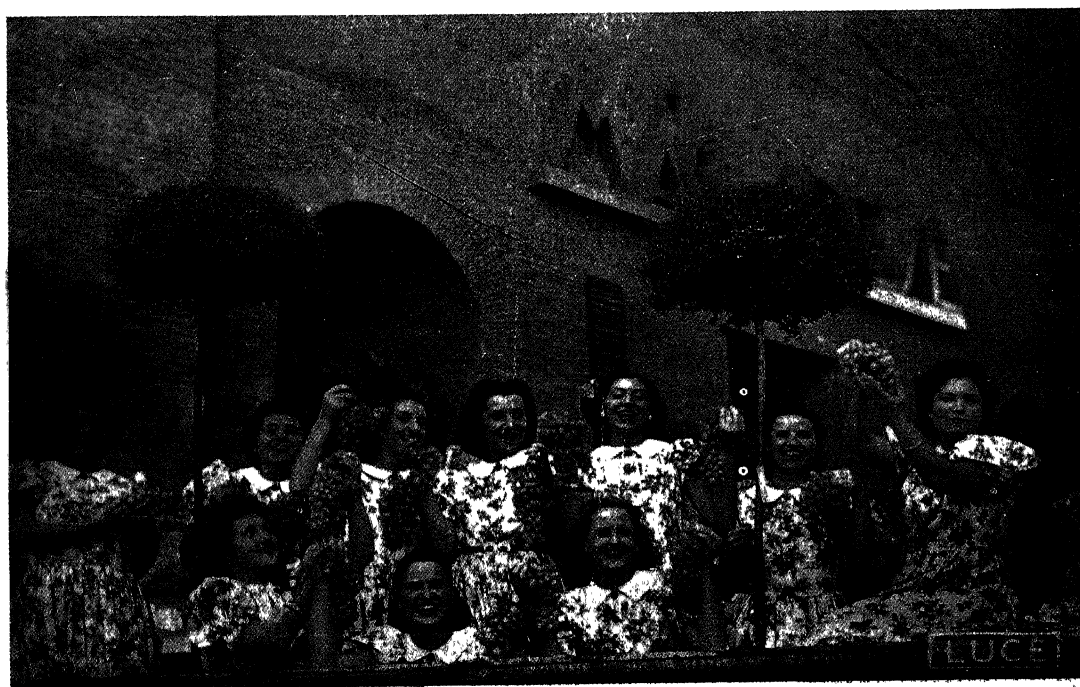
The visitors were further allowed to buy bottles of wine at reduced rates at the Exhibition and to bring them out, if they desired, of the basilica without paying any tax.

The Corporation of Rome, which takes a very important part in the organization of these exhibitions, offers every year a prize to the grower of the best type of grape exhibited. This year the prize was won by a farmer of Tivoli, about fifteen miles from Rome and famous for its excellent vineyards. Fancifully the farmer named his product "L'Uva Dux" (Duce Grapes). Of these, I am sure, sixteen would make a seer. Other varieties were named as follows: Regina, Pizzutello, Zibibbo, Moscato, Panse, Precoce and Maccarese, etc.

The National Dopolavoro or Afterwork Institute also plays a large part in the organization of and in imparting colour and grandeur to this exhibition. This Institute, as is well known now, was established to offer facilities for amusement to the industrial and agricultural workers of Italy. More generally it was designed in the lines of a social welfare institution which could effectively deal with the problem of how best to employ the leisure hours of the workers consonant with the ideals of social justice and national vigour. It has offered a great impetus to the revival of artistic, sportive and intellectual life of those classes of the people for whom otherwise such pursuits remained a luxury. It itself sets on foot new movements in the field of sport, travel, culture, social welfare and the arts, ranging from music to drama, from Thespi's Car to the Radio and Cinema, from fine arts to home-crafts. All its efforts are to compensate the monotonous and unpleasant industrial life of the masses by means of offering facilities of joy, recreations and various diversions, making popular the festivals of the patron saints, triumphal cars, mystery plays and above all, the folk festivals and folk dances. In the spirit of its mission, the Institute this year organized a procession of decorated cars loaded



"Long Live Grapes"



Maidens from the Italian province of Maccarese
displaying their products



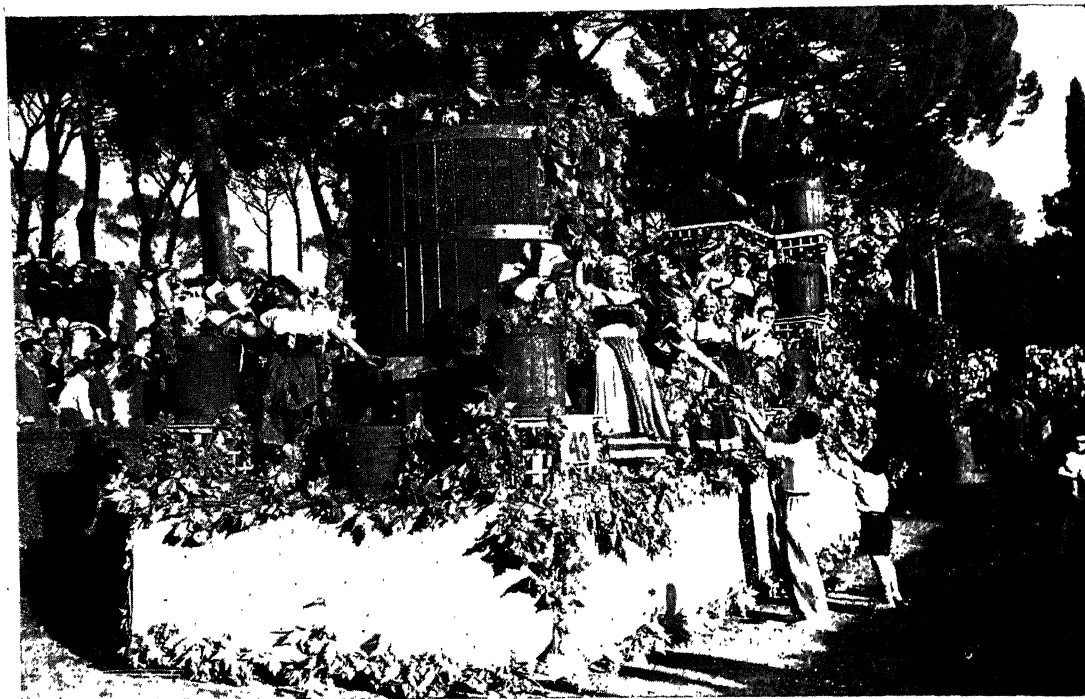
A typical stall at the Vine Exhibition in Rome



The inauguration of the Vine Festival in the Basilica of Massenzio in Rome



Top : Gaily dressed maidens celebrate the Vine Festival
 Bottom : Fascists celebrate the National Vine Festival



TOP : Distribution of grapes
BOTTOM : Procession of the Queen of the Vine Festival

with grapes and maidens in the Piazza di Siena, a pine-covered amphitheatre in the heart of Rome's public park, the Villa Borghese, which presented the spectacle of a mixed atmosphere of rural harvest festival and the urban carnival.

There is an economic side as well to this merry festival. The Government seeks to encourage the domestic consumption of grapes which not only brings more money to the

farmers but also improves the health of the citizens. The propaganda for the increasing consumption of grapes is a very familiar thing now in Italy, and those who are in charge of this propaganda may deserve the best congratulations for the results so far achieved. The consumption of grapes has increased by leaps and bounds in Italy during the last ten years, and the figure is always on the increase.

Rome.

AT THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE

By M. MANSINHA

THE little English town of Stratford-on-Avon where Shakespeare was born, is now completely changed from what it must have been in the Poet's time. Things that one meets with now in the streets of Stratford could not have been dreamt of even by the gigantic imagination of Shakespeare. The electricity, the wireless, the ubiquitous motor car with its nasty petrol smell, the new houses with modern amenities but with a thoughtless uniformity that makes one get sick of their sight—these have changed Stratford from an Elizabethan village into a modern town, but I personally believe the changes have been for the worse. They have destroyed the sylvan charm and peace of the beautiful Avon Valley as far as they can.

But fortunately for the lovers of nature as well as of Shakespeare neither coal nor iron has been discovered near about Stratford. And that is the one reason why the destruction of nature has not been so complete and enough of natural charm of the place still remains to give the modern visitor an idea of the environment in which the extremely sensitive imagination of the boy Shakespeare must have collected those impressions of nature which later on made his poetry so vivid with concrete and realistic imageries. For, travelling from the North of England, while I passed through Birmingham and Sheffield and the country round about them on my way to Stratford, I could realise at once what the fate of Stratford-on-Avon might have been if anything to gratify the greed of the Capitalist had been found there. For man's hand has not created uglier places than the industrial towns of England and Mammon's servants are too coarse to

possess any respect for Shakespeare's memories to have spared his birthplace from the process of rape on nature which is associated with modern industrialism.

II

It is curious to know that although this small town of England has been attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists from all parts of the world, the common Stratfordian is rather indifferent to the associations of the Poet's memory. As soon as I got down at the railway station of Stratford I got into the company of two ladies with whom I began to talk. I said to them, "You must be proud of being the citizens of Stratford where Shakespeare was born." "No," replied one of them, "We don't feel it at all. We are rather frightened of him—he becomes a terror to us through his plays from our school-days!"

There is a cinema-house at Stratford; perhaps the only one for many miles around. And an English clergyman informed me that many from the country come to Stratford to see the films and never bother about the theatre where the great plays of Shakespeare are produced. On Sundays the lawns along the Avon become a veritable beehive with visitors with hundreds of motor cars parked along the roads. I came to know that most of these people are mere hikers and holiday-makers and don't care twopence for Shakespeare! One morning, while walking round the memorial theatre I got talking with a boy. I asked him by the way who Shakespeare was. And he replied that he is the man who has written a lot of letters! And he asked me if I had gone to the Picture-house where the film, "Mickey

Mouse" was being shown, for, in his opinion, that was ever so much nicer than the plays staged in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre!

III

Shakespeare worship was really begun by Goethe in the last century. Since then English scholarship has left no stone unturned in resurrecting Shakespeare tradition from the



The sleep-walking scene from *Macbeth*

oblivion of the past and revitalising it. And any student of Shakespeare must be amazed at the success they have achieved. Every little thing connected with the name and the life of the Poet has been unearthed from the graveyard of time to both satisfy and whet all the more the curiosity of Shakespeare lovers. Thus has been discovered the curious incident that the Poet was witness in a legal case or that a Londoner had appealed for police-protection against Shakespeare and two other gentlemen who had threatened his life! These little incidents far from explaining the mysterious genius of the Poet have intensified its mystery. For we are amazed at the fact that a man who was so commonplace and ordinary in his worldly life could produce the phantasy of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* or the marvellous introspection of a *Hamlet*.

Like the incidents of his life that have come to light, the house where he was born, the school where he was taught and the place where he spent his last days stand in bold contrast to his magnificent creations. For these Shakespearian relics are but little more than primitive. Shakespeare's father was not only a prosperous tradesman but was at one time the Mayor of Stratford. And on his mother's side the Poet was still more fortunate. But both the birthplace and Mary Arden's house are far from giving one the idea of their inhabitants being very well-off. In these Elizabethan houses the floors are covered with rough stones without mortar or cement, the roofs are supported by rough-hewn timbers and the houses are so low that one runs the risk of striking one's head against the ceiling if one is not mindful enough. There were holes in the walls instead of glass-windows, family boxes went without iron hinges as those things were unknown and wooden trenchers were used for plates in the days when Shakespeare wrote his magnificent plays. I was all the while wondering how such a miracle as a Shakespeare came out of such crude environment.

Of all places connected with Shakespeare's name the Grammar School at Stratford where he was educated as a boy interested me most. The history of this school is nearly five centuries old and the successive generations of young Stratfordians have sat and heard their lessons in the same room, where Shakespeare sat and heard his, for the last three centuries and they are still doing the same. In Shakespeare's days, of course, the school was a small affair with 30 to 40 boys. To meet the new conditions the school has been greatly extended, but the ancient class-room is carefully preserved. It is on the upper storey of an old Elizabethan house that looks ramshackle from outside, but is really still strong and solid. To the right-hand side of the Headmaster's platform a brass plate tells you where Shakespeare is said to have sat as a student. It is at the top of the first bench, which indicates that the boy Shakespeare must have been a brilliant student to occupy that position.

As is the English custom, the names of other boys besides Shakespeare who have gone out of this school and made names in the wider world are written in letters of gold on wooden boards hung on the walls of the class-room as the finest incentive to the ambition of the successive batches of students. I looked

over the lists and to my surprise found the names of some who have joined the Indian Police, Medical and Civil Services! And just opposite to the Shakespeare-plate there hangs on the opposite wall another brass plate dedicated

"To the memory of Ralph Reynolds Garlick, Senior District and Sessions Judge, Bengal, some time a member of the school . . . who died at the post of duty by the hand of an assassin at Alipore, July 27th, 1931."

A few yards up, across the street are the ruins of New Place, the biggest house in Stratford in his time which Shakespeare bought and

of its being a substantial building. In the middle of the courtyard there is a well, exactly as we have in our homes in India. Superstition has turned it into a wishing-well, so that lady-visitors often walk round this well three times with their particular desires in the hope of being fulfilled. A few yards from the well there still stands a mulberry tree which is said to be an offshoot of the original Shakespeare tree.

Right next to the ruins of the New Place is Nash's House where Nash, Shakespeare's grandson-in-law lived and died. Nash seems to have been a famous citizen in his times for it is recorded that Elizabeth, Shakespeare's grand-daughter and later Nash's widow had the honour of once receiving in this house the Consort of Charles I, King of England. This house is now converted into a Shakespeare Museum, where the visitors are shown along with other things a pair of kid-skin gloves and a brooch as the only personal relics of Shakespeare that have survived destruction.

IV

It was Garrick, the famous English actor who first suggested to set up a permanent playhouse at Stratford as the most fitting memorial at the birthplace of England's greatest playwright. But the suggestion took nearly a century to turn into a fact. It was left to a citizen of Stratford, Mr. Charles Flower, who took up the proposal in right earnest and set up a Memorial Theatre in 1869. Unfortunately that theatre caught fire in 1926 and was half destroyed. The present Memorial Theatre was completed in 1932 and was opened by the Duke of Windsor, then Prince of Wales.

The Memorial Theatre now stands right on the bank of the Avon in the midst of beautiful parks and grassy lawns. But in ugly contrast to its charming natural surroundings this modern building looks like a factory from the outside. Some say it looks like a gas-factory, and I imagine rightly so, as every evening when the plays are on, the audience, and more so the actors and the actresses, do let a huge amount of carbon dioxide gas out. But its ugly exterior is amply made up for, however, by the comforts and conveniences it provides inside for the audience. It seats nearly 1,200 spectators and for all classes of the audience provides comfortable air-cushioned seats. And the builders have so cleverly brought the service of acoustics to their service in building this theatre that even the faintest whisper on the stage is clearly audible at the



Romeo and Juliet in the balcony scene

lived in after he retired from the stage in London and returned to his native place, rich and famous. After Shakespeare the house changed hands many a time till it came under the possession of a clergyman named Francis Gastrell in 1759. But the unfortunate priest had no peace for the inquisitive crowds who wanted to look round Shakespeare's house. As the easiest way of stopping this annoyance that blockhead of a minister pulled the entire house down and in his devilish vandalism even cut down the spreading mulberry tree which Shakespeare had planted with his own hand. Now the visitors only see the foundations of the New Place which testify to the tradition

farthest corner of the auditorium. As I sat up in the balcony far away from the stage I have personal experience of it. Wood panelling is the only decoration of the interior of the theatre, for which all parts of the British Empire have contributed their peculiar timbers as tributes to the memory of the great English poet.

The theatre gives performances of Shakespearean plays from April to September every year which covers the Shakespeare festival. The festival reaches its peak on April 23rd, Shakespeare's birthday, when ambassadorial representatives of all nations come down from London and hoist their



The writer in front of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon

national flags in homage to the great poet at his birthplace, and starting from his father's house in Henby Street march in a reverent procession up to the Trinity Church, where the poet lies buried and which stands a little away from the Memorial Theatre on the bank of the Avon.

Every year the governors of the Memorial Theatre select eight of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare and perform them every week over the six months from April to September. The performances as I saw them this year were not very remarkable, but to the foreigners who have never seen a Shakespearian play on

the stage, they give a fair idea of its real dramatic qualities. As is not unknown to students of Shakespeare in India, the Elizabethan stage was absolutely bare without any kind of modern stage devices. The dramatic effect of the plays entirely depended on the poetry of the passages, the high-sounding bombastic declamations of the actors and the histrionic art whatever it was. The modern stage is something that Shakespeare could have never dreamed of. The accompanying pictures of the well-known scenes from *Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth* will give the readers an idea of how far the modern stage has been successful in bringing reality on to the stage. But I personally believe that all these mechanical devices add little to the proper appreciation of Shakespeare's plays, the real worth of which lies in their magnificent poetry. But this poetry was rather overshadowed, as I found, by the stage devices and the declamations of the actors. And I was shocked also by the crude buffoonery and drunken vulgarity of the comic scenes of certain plays. In the book one does not often feel the grotesque atmosphere of these scenes, but on the stage they sometimes came to me as a shock and altogether changed my opinion as to the artistic worth of such a play as the *Twelfth Night*.

For the last two years the governors of the Memorial Theatre have arranged a Shakespeare Conference extending over a fortnight during the Festival season and have decided to continue it in future. During the Conference days eminent Shakespearian scholars deliver lectures on Shakespeare's art in general and on the plays of the evenings in particular. This year the general subject for discussion was "Shakespeare at Work" and Shakespeare scholars like Professor Dover Wilson of Edinburgh and Dr. Harrison of London University were among the many speakers. But the small audience consisted mostly, as I could judge, of school mistresses who were busy taking notes of the lectures, thus giving the whole thing an atmosphere of a school room. There were three Indians, including myself. I also met a Chinese litterateur—a novelist and essayist in Chinese—who told me that he is at present translating some plays of Shakespeare into Chinese for which he has been sent by the Chinese Government. He also informed me that he met Tagore in China during his Chinese tour and has translated some of Tagore's poems into Chinese.

LADAK, THE HIGHEST INHABITED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

BY SUBODH CH. GANGULI, BIDYARATNA, B.L.

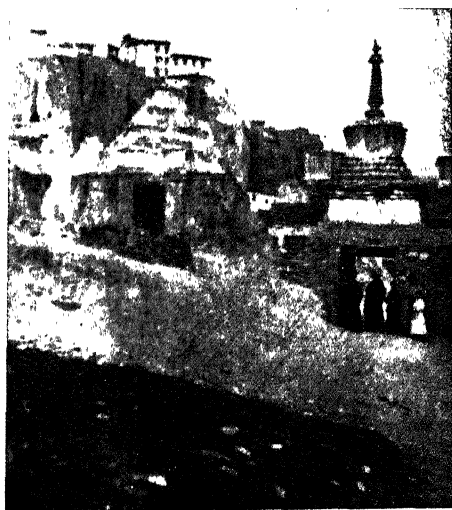
MANY people have visited the beautiful valley of Kashmir, the Switzerland of Asia and immortal in its glory all the world over. The wild grandeur of the snow-capped mountains which surround the soft loveliness of the valley with its winding rivers, unruffled lakes and immense forests of deodar and pine, all so happily and exquisitely combined, has led poets of all times to claim for Kashmir the name of an earthly elysium. But few have cared to pay a visit to the wild and lovely region which comprises the frontier districts of Ladak, the land of Markhar and Ibex and of Buddhist Lamas and their wonderful monasteries called Gumphas.

The native state of Kashmir with an area of 84.5 thousand square miles is the biggest in India. It has a population of 36,65,000, three-

the probable routes to be followed and proposed length of stay with dates. From Gunderbal through the Sind valley, we started along the Treaty High Road. The route, 144 miles long, consists of 14 marches from Srinagar and is fit for ponies. But it is impassable before the month of June. The shaggy black Yak is the only means of transport.

After leaving Srinagar and the Dal Lake, the round winds-up through beautiful fields of golden candy tuft, under the giant deodar forest of the Sind valley to the Zoji-la.

The whole valley lay beneath us and we could follow for miles the sinuous reaches of



The monastery in the village of Lama Yoru

fourth of which is Mahommedan. It is divided into four districts (i) Kashmir, (ii) Jammu, (iii) Ladak and (iv) Gilgit. On account of the strategic position of Gilgit, the British Government have of late taken it into their own hands.

In our application for a permit to go to Ladak, to the British Joint Commissioner, Ladak, Srinagar, Kashmir, we had to mention



Ladakian women in their picturesque costume

the Jhelum and the other rivers that bring fertility to this flat land from the surrounding mountain snows.

Gradually trees become scarcer until turning a corner where the trees presented a picturesque scene. Here we felt a shivering cold on account of a blast of cold wind. There was still snow on the top of the pass. Our ponies made their wandering way. The beauty of Kashmir was left behind, in front lay a vast expanse of sand, rock and mountain ranges. The track led through valleys between barren

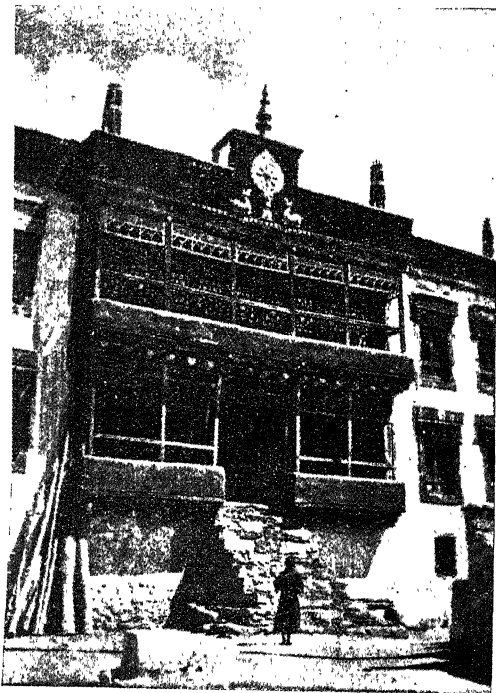
hills and sloping plains—through primitive villages of stone and mud. Away from the villages, grass became almost scarce but occasionally there were vegetation where a spring or tiny stream trickled down the heights above.

The view at night was of magical beauty. The far snows gleamed in the moon-light; the plain stretched out dim and blue as if into infinite space. From this height it almost seemed as if we were gazing down on some other world.

One has to pick one's weather carefully to cross a Himalayan pass in winter and spring and one must hurry over quickly; for the sud-

images there were lamps burning in ghee as also incense. Small dishes of food were offered by pilgrims.

After leaving Spittack on the Indus, two days' march from Lama Yoru the long straight road seemed to stretch across an arid plain of sand before the lowest fringe of green was reached. We came here at noon and we could not find any water, for the available water was



The door of the Shankar Monastery, Leh

den fierce winds that often spring up are then very formidable and sometimes destroy travellers with their deadly cold.

We passed the little monastery village of Lama Yoru lying in a fertile valley between the hills. Rows of memorials to dead Lamas stretched along the way. At the gate of the monastery, a large prayer wheel is seen inside. We entered some temples very dimly lighted. There were the images of Buddha and the rolls of prayers and sacred writings stacked upon shelves around the walls. In front of the



The track led through valleys between barren hills and sloping plains

melted snow and it is only about 4 o'clock in the afternoon that the snow water from the mountains reaches Leh. During the day-time, streams are mere trickles but in the evening all the footpaths become rushing rivulets.

The western Himalayas with an average height of 17,000 feet above sea-level divide the State of Kashmir into two portions—different in climate and other physical respects and the people, different in race and religion. To the south of the range there live the Aryans while to the north live the people of Mongolian stock.

In Ladak, the people are Buddhists and though subjects of Kashmir, Grand Lama is their real lord. Ladak has an appearance practically of Tibet, the same strange scenery and climate, the same language and dress.

In Kashmir there is a regular rainfall and



The shaggy black Yaks is the only means of transport in the ice

the summer months there are refreshed by the water stored by the heavy winter snow-fall. It is no wonder therefore that it presents a beautiful land of green verdure and radiant flows. But these mountains intercept the clouds from the south, crossing India from the distant seas. This causes the black waste of Central Asia where practically there is no rain-fall, and even the winter snow-fall is not sufficient. It is therefore a cloudless region, always burning or freezing under the clear blue sky.

Ladak is the highest inhabited country in the world. There is cultivation of crops at a height of 15,000 ft.

Our road wound up through the outskirts of the town and we came up to a picturesque bazar. The many brilliantly tinted wares displayed in front of the low flat-roofed houses and shops, and the Tibetans strolling about lent colour and romance to the picture. We eventually reached the Dak Bungalow, and thus came to Leh, the Capital of Ladak at a height of 11,500 ft. above sea-level.

The Ladakians live a very dirty life. They never take bath in their whole life nor do they light a lamp at night. They have mostly wooden houses; only the poor who cannot afford to have them build earthen houses. They consider themselves fortunate to have a guest. They offer him food but do not speak to him lest he might take offence and curse them.

The women's costumes are very picturesque,

the head dress of cloth studded with turquoise, is elaborate in proportion to the wealth of the woman's husband. Large ear-rings and massive necklaces, bracelets of chastened silver or brass are the usual ornaments.

There is no purdah in Ladak. Women can own land in their own right and the rich ones choose their husbands. There is no fortune to be made in Leh; the men have to wander far to find grass for their cattle. They go trading to countries. Their flat Mongolian features and yellowish skin together with their pig-tails give them a Chinese appearance.

The varying effects of light are very beautiful especially in the evening when the setting sun paints the picture with hues which gradually fade from glowing shades of richest rose to purple shadows.

The King of Ladak is an incarnation of the first priest-king. His kingdom is under the rule of Kashmir. He lives in the village of Stock, quite near to Leh, and as he only draws the revenue of that place he is very poor and has never been to Srinagar. He visits Leh once a year and stays in the castle built on ledges of rock.

We went up to the castle one day through a labyrinth of dirty passages; after climbing several ladders and steps we reached a courtyard used for religious dancing. This natural fortification has a commanding view of the

desert and surrounding country. Higher above it is the monastery "Gumpha" situated on the highest point of the hills overlooking Leh.

Two Lamas live in the Gumpha. There is a room; the idol, too big to be brought up so high and through the door, was made where it stands. There are the wheel of life and rows of images each with a lamp in front which is never allowed to go out.

At Leh the two main trade routes from Yarkand and Chinese Tibet converge and then continue as one road upon which no vehicle ever runs.

At last one day we stole out of the sleeping city before dawn, out into the desert and over to the mountains of Kashmir and covered the return journey along the same route on ponies and reached a more civilised world.

SANCTUARIES FOR ANIMAL AND BIRDS IN CEYLON

By H. C. R. ANTHONISZ

SANCTUARIES for the safeguarding of animals and birds in Ceylon are very necessary, owing to the unlimited facilities for poaching. Moormen and Singhalese villagers are the chief offenders; no animal or bird escapes their attention.

We have so far provided 11 sanctuaries, 8 for animals and 3 for birds. These sanctuaries have watchers and helpers to see that no poaching goes on.

It has been necessary to create these sanctuaries owing to poaching by day and at night by the aid of electric torches.

The poachers shoot anything edible, but chiefly go in for deer and elk. The flesh of these animals find a ready market and a rich harvest is derived from the sale of their flesh, either fresh or dried.

Yala in the Southern Province and almost bordering on the Eastern Province is the oldest and most important of these sanctuaries. It was at first put in charge of Mr. Engelbrech, an repatriated Boer prisoner. He got this place into good order. He was a marvellous man. He died a few years ago. Elephants, wild buffaloes, leopard, deer, elk, pig, peafowl, etc., abound here. They are not afraid of man and one can come across herds of 400 to 500 deer

here. The mouse deer which is not a protected animal, is a pretty spotted little thing no bigger than a big hare. It's eyesight is defective during the day and it does its feeding chiefly during the night. It's hoofs are pretty and jewellers mount them in gold and sell them as ornaments.

Some people erroneously call it the "moose deer"; this of course is a huge animal, the biggest of the deer tribe and its habitat is in cold countries, such as Canada, New Zealand, etc.

The bird sanctuaries are frequented by wild ducks, pigeons, blue coot, painted storks, flamingoes, the Ibis pelicans and various members of the crane, besides teal, cotton teal, dub, chick, etc. Those of the duck tribe, flamingoes and a few others, come in during the north-east monsoon, when the lagoons and tanks get filled with rain water. They are abundant from November to mid-January.

I do not know the conditions prevailing in India but I learn that no sanctuaries have been established there. It is then I think, very necessary, to have a few large preserves, well protected, otherwise game is bound to disappear in time.



A CHINESE STATESMAN'S MESSAGE TO YOUNG ASIA

By DR. TONG SHAO-YI

Ex-Premier of the Republic of China

[NOTE:—The *New York Times* of October 1, 1938 reported the tragic death of the Rt. Hon. Tong Shao-Yi, the First Premier of the Chinese Republic and co-worker of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It was reported that the seventy-eight year old veteran elder statesman of China was hacked to death by a so-called Chinese patriotic *axe-man*, who suspected him to be pro-Japanese. These men entered the home of the retired statesman on the false pretence of presenting him a scroll in recognition of his patriotic services to China. Once in the house, the ruffians hit the unarmed and unsuspecting old man on his head with an axe! What chivalry!]

The late Tong Shao-Yi was one of the greatest Asian statesmen with the vision of Asian Independence to be attained through Sino-Japanese and Indian co-operation. At one time he was anti-Japanese and supporter of the late Yuan Shi-kai; but after he became the Premier of the Chinese Republic, he realised the necessity of peaceful development of China, which could be possible through friendship between China and Japan. During the World War, he, like the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was opposed to China's entry into the World War on the side of the Entente Powers. In 1917 he incurred the displeasure of the British authorities in China and the British Government by writing the *Introduction* to a booklet *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?* by Dr. Tarakanath Das, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai. This essay may be regarded as his *Message to Young Asia*; and the following is the full text of it.]

The future of Asia depends upon the ability of the Asiatic people to assert their rights politically. Political weakness of Asia has been the cause of many troubles and wars during the last century and half. Asia as a whole except Japan, affords for the strong Powers unbounded natural resources, cheap labour, markets, defencelessness and inefficient governments which give every incentive for aggression. About the modern imperialism among the Great Powers, Mr. Walter Lippman in his book *The Stakes of Diplomacy* rightly says:

"It is not enough to say that they are *expanding* or *seeking markets* or *grabbing resources*. They are doing all these things, of course. But if the world into which they are expanding were not politically archaic, the growth of foreign trade would not be accompanied by political imperialism. Germany has expanded wonderfully in the British Empire, in Russia, in the United States, but no German is silly enough to insist on planting his flag wherever he sells his dyestuffs or stoves. It is only when his expansion is into weak states—into China, Morocco, Turkey or elsewhere that foreign trade is imperialistic. This imperialism is actuated by many motives—by a feeling that political control insures special privileges, by

a desire to play a large part in the world, by national vanity, by a passion for ownership, but none of these motives would come into play if the countries like China or Turkey were not politically backward."

Political backwardness is not inherent among the Asiatic people, though it is the current opinion among the western students. China in the past had her bright periods of history, her glorious days of Imperialism. In the field of culture and civilization China contributed her full share when she was politically strong. India of Asoka and Akbar was far ahead of any of the European countries of those ages. It is by contact with the Orient that Europe learnt many useful things for her present civilization. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his excellent work *The Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* has very rightly said:

"The darkest period of European History known as the Middle Ages is the brightest period in Asiatic. For over a thousand years from the accession of Gupta Vikramaditya to the throne of Pataliputra down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the history of Asia is the history of continuous growth and progress. It is the record of political and commercial as well as cultural expansion—and the highest watermark attained by oriental humanity . . . It was the message of this orient that was carried to Europe by the Islamites and led to the establishment of medieval universities. In describing the origin of Oxford, Green remarks in the *History of the English People*: 'The establishment . . . was everywhere throughout Europe a special work of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers like Abelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad'."

Professor Holland in his great work *European Concert in Eastern Question* has conclusively proven that the European Powers acted in concert to destroy Turkish supremacy. All the European Powers kept silence when all the treaty obligations were violated during the Turco-Italian War and the Balkan Wars. To us it is quite clear that the Great Powers work unitedly to extract certain concessions from China. Mr. Millard in his book *Our Eastern Question* says:

"Great Britain endeavoured definitely to outline her own and the spheres which she conceded to other Powers,

in response to a reciprocal attitude from them. That Great Britain's position and her predominating vested interest in Central China and Kwantung would be respected and that she in turn would respect Japan's position in South Manchuria, Russia's position in North Manchuria and Mongolia, France's position in Yunnan and Germany's position in Shantung, was clearly demonstrated in agreements and by various acts."

Among other things the Concert of the Great European Powers have had one motive before them—exploitation of Asia and Africa to their advantage. This aggression of Europe in Asia can be stopped for the good of Asia and Europe by a solid Asiatic unity not merely from a cultural standpoint but also from a political standpoint. This stupendous work of political regeneration of Asia by an Asian Concert has great moral and ethical aspects. There cannot be effective peace as long as one nation or a group of nations looks down upon the other as inferior and tyrannizes. Friendship and fellowship can be established on equal footing. Japan's demonstration of military strength forces the so-called superior nations to shake hands with her, though with great reluctance. Political assertion of Asia will make Europe and America more tolerant and respectful towards human rights.

Because Japan is politically strong, she is able to develop her country politically and culturally. China is struggling to be free and she should accept co-operation from any quarter that is truly friendly. Japan is China's disciple of the past and all-far-sighted Japanese believe that *Japan without China and India, is in the long run, without legs*, I would say that China without Japan and India is without legs. The fulfilment of Indian aspiration depends upon a strong united Sino-Japanese Alliance. Those Japanese and Chinese statesmen who are conscious of the real interests of both nations are not suspicious of one another. But it has always been the case in the world's history that only a few people can detect the true situation, while the mob misses the right perspective of difficult problems. So the masses of China and Japan and especially the jingoists of both countries, whether consciously or unconsciously, are acting against their own highest interests by distrusting one another. To our regret we find that the *anti-Japanese feeling in China is being fanned to flames by those outside interests which do not want to see China and Japan united*.

About Indian unrest Mr. H. Fielding Hall, a British Civil Servant in Burma, has spoken in his book *The Passing of Empire* (1914) in the following way:

"The discontent has not passed, nor will it, nor can it pass. It is deep-rooted in the very nature of things as they are now. It is not local, nor is it confined to one or two strata of society, nor is it directed to one or two acts of Government. It is universal, in all provinces and all classes, directed not against this act or that act, but against the Government as a whole . . . This discontent is not sudden. It has grown slowly for many years. It is not local; in one province it may be more apparent than in another, but it is universal. It is not temporary, but increases. So much is admitted by those who know . . . India feels uncomfortable and clamours for anything she can get. The Indian Government gives her what it can, offering profoundest condolence, which is sincere, and for the rest sitting upon the chest . . . Man is gregarious, and he is so made that he cannot fully develop himself except in larger and again larger communities. To reach his full stature in any way he must develop in all ways. He must feel himself part of ever greater organism, the village first, the district and the nation and finally humanity. But in India all this is impossible. Except the village there is no community that exists even in name, and we have injured and almost destroyed even that. Thus an Indian has no means of growth. He cannot be a citizen of anything at all. Half his abilities and sympathies lie entirely fallow, therefore he cannot fully develop the other half . . . It is the slowly growing consciousness of an energy that has no outlet, of a desire for advance in every direction, that causes unrest. In some ways the educated classes feel it most. Elsewhere they see men of their class cultivating their patriotism, increasing that sense of being and working for others, of being valuable to the world at large, showing capacity for leading, ruling, thinking, advancing in a thousand ways, while none of them is for them. They want to express the genius of their races in wider forms than mere individuality, but they are not able to do so. They want a national science and literature and law, they cannot have it. No individual as an individual can achieve anything. Not till he feels he is a cell in a greater and more enduring life can he develop. But this is not for India."

Can there be anything more pathetic than the condition of the people of India, one-fifth of the population of the whole world? The cause of the three hundred and fifteen millions of the people of India is the cause of Asia and of Humanity. Japan and China, if far-sighted, should not be unmindful of the problems of the people of India, because a strong, free India will be a source of strength to them.

We have been tired of hearing that Japan is a menace to Asia. Now comes a Hindu scholar, Mr. Taraknath Das, well-versed in world politics, who tries to show that Japan is not a menace to Asia with Asian supremacy, but rather, that Japan is a menace to European aggression in Asia. Some western author has recently said: "Japan is an international nuisance and she may easily grow to be an international peril." We, however, do not look at a rising Japan in the same spirit. We wish only that China and India be equally strong, that Japan hold her own on the Asiatic conti-

ment against European aggressors. Then the international nuisance, charged to Japan, but really traced to other outside forces, will cease to exist in Asia. The awakening of Asia is the most outstanding feature of the present age. The future of Asia is bright and glorious if the new spirit of Asia be rightly directed in co-operation with all the Asian people. We hope, though we may not live to see fully accomplished, that Japan and China and India

will work unitedly, standing for Asian Independence against all outside aggressions.

Shanghai, China,
19th of December,
5th Year of Republic of China.

This essay was written some twenty-one years ago. The world situation has changed greatly since then. But it still remains true that friendly understanding and co-operation between *independent* China, *independent* Japan and *independent* India, if and when possible, would be a blessing to Asia and to the world.—Editor, *M. R.*

WHAT IS KARNATAK ?

Is It A Kanarese-Speaking Province ?

By SHAN. RA. SHENDE

KANNADIGAS have achieved their object of getting through the legislatures the resolutions recommending the creation of a new province for Karnatak. The flat refusal of the Governor of Bombay at Bijapur to do so and the negative answer by the Secretary of State for India, have not, in the least, discouraged them, but on the contrary they are thinking of taking a deputation to England to convince the people and authorities there. Even Mahatma Gandhi is not silent in this matter, as he is engaged in drafting a scheme for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic bases and therefore Karnatak has bright hopes, in the near future, of having a separate administrative unit for it even though the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajgopalachariar has recently disfavoured this move of the Kannadigas.

II. BOOKS UNDER REVIEW

And this makes one anxious to know which tracts of land will go to form that province and whether it will be a purely Kanarese-speaking one. Though it is clear that this has to be determined by a Boundary Commission, it is equally clear that the Commissioners will mostly rely upon the information supplied to them. The readers might well be aware that for twenty years the people of Karnatak have been vigorously carrying on movements in different forms for this purpose with influential and representative bodies behind them and have published books giving elaborate informations, descriptions, charts, maps, and statistical

tables to make out their case clear and strong. These books had been furnished to the legislators and officials concerned and must have been in the hands of M.P. and the British Cabinet Members. The latest book, namely, *A Case for Karnatak Unification*, published by the All Karnatak Unification League, Belgaum, at the time when resolutions for the creation of the Karnatak Province were tabled in the Provincial Legislatures provides an inquisitive reader with a table with names of the parts they desire to get included in the would-be province.

Since the members of the Boundary Commission will certainly weigh the information supplied to them in a book-form by such a body as referred to above and rely safely and mostly upon it, it is intended here to test the same to find out whether it is virtually a Kanarese-speaking Province.

III. DEFINITION OF A LINGUISTIC PROVINCE

In the first place it is necessary to give here what a linguistic province should be. A linguistic province can only be of tracts of land containing contiguous towns and villages with a clear majority of the speakers of the one and the same language the authenticity of which can only be ascertained with the help of the language figures for the same from the latest Census Reports.

But since the Census Reports do not only not provide us with the language figures for towns and villages but not even those of the

Talukas we have to make use of the figures of districts only. The 1901 Census has given these figures of some of the Talukas and the writer shall have to use these wherever necessary.

The books published so far on this subject show in a table 13 parts (8 districts and 5 Talukas) which the writers desire to get included in the proposed province. This table gives only the numbers of total population but does not provide with the figures of speakers of different languages in use there. Had the table contained language figures of those parts it would have been very easy for the reader to judge which language is predominant there and whether these parts can really be called Karnatak. The writer of this article has, therefore, collected these figures and given in a table printed at the end of this article.

IV. DO THESE PARTS DESERVE INCLUSION IN KARNATAK ?

Now let us examine each division serially in the light of the above principle and the figures in the table and find out how far the claim of each one is valid to be included in Karnatak:—

(i and ii) The districts of Bijapur and Dharwar show without doubt a clear majority of the speakers of Kanarese. These therefore deserve to have a seat.

(iii) As regards the district of Belgaum the majority of the people in Eastern Talukas speak Kanarese while the Western Talukas show predominance of Marathi. The figures given below are from 1901 Census as these are not available from that of 1931.

| | Population | Kanarese | Marathi |
|--|------------|----------|---------|
| (a) Belgaum Taluka .. | 1,05,528 | 38,564 | 48,956 |
| (b) Chandgad „ .. | 32,034 | 951 | 30,378 |
| (c) Khanapur „ .. | 81,908 | 26,609 | 48,643 |
| (d) Chikodi „ .. | 1,86,400 | 92,547 | 78,713 |
| (e) Belgaum Town: proportion of numbers of speakers of Kanarese to that of Marathi is 2 : 3. | | | |
| (f) Athani Taluka : A group of villages is predominantly Marathi speaking. | | | |

Evidently the first three Talukas and a little less than half that of Chikodi cannot be claimed by Karnatak. 1/3 of the district must necessarily be left to Maharashtra.

(iv) The Eastern Talukas of the Bellary District will have to be handed over to Telugu and the western ones can go to Kanarese. The proportion of the speakers of these languages is 3 : 5 in this district. No Taluka language figure is available. 3/5 of this District shall have to be ceded to the Andhra Desha.

(v) In the South Kanara District Kanadi, Marathi-Konkani and Malyali have nearly the same strength. Tulu, which is the local language,

is double in numerical strength to that of each one of the above. Tulu has no script nor literature of its own, while Kanadi is, by chance, endowed with official favour and has been made the vehicle of instruction. This resulted in Tulu having succumbed to Kanadi.

The position of the four languages is as follows:—

Kanarese is spoken in the North-Eastern part while Marathi-Konkani has a hold towards North-West. Malayalam has made a home in the south and Tulu has spread in the whole of the centre of the district. The language figures of 1911 and 1931 show that Marathi-Konkani, Malayalam and Tulu have increased in number while Kanarese is decreasing.

| Census | | Kanarese | Tulu | Malayalam | Marathi & Konkani |
|--------|---------------------------------------|----------|------|-----------|-------------------|
| 1931 | out of every 10,000 of the population | 1782 | 4928 | 2177 | 1763 |
| 1911 | | 1871 | 4281 | 1983 | 1661 |

Deserving Talukas should therefore be made over to the respective languages.

(vi) Kanadi is not the chief language in the North Kanara district. The proportion of Kanadi to Marathi is 7 : 5. The Taluka language figures for 1931 are not available and therefore those of 1901 are given below —

| | Population | Kanarese | Marathi |
|-------------------|------------|----------|---------|
| (1) Karwar Taluka | 58,540 | 12,595 | 42,551 |
| (2) Hallyal „ | 35,122 | 10,558 | 19,501 |
| (3) Supa Petha „ | 21,008 | 1,186 | 19,053 |
| (4) Yellapur „ | 28,814 | 11,975 | 9,027 |

The first three Talukas and nearly half of the fourth cannot be claimed by Karnatak. 5/12 of the district shall have to be excluded from the would-be province.

(vii) Coorg has her local languages Kodgu and Yerda and spoken by 1/3 of the population. Kanadi, which is foreign in the land, is the mother-tongue of only 6 out of 16 of the population.

(viii) In the Nilgiri district Kanadi has been registered against 1/5 of the population while Tamil and Badaga speakers share 1/3 and 1/4 respectively of the Hunban race. Each one is stronger than Kanadi. Nilgiri, therefore, cannot at all be classed as a part of Karnatak.

(ix) Sholapur Taluka contributes 1/4 of the population to Kanadi, while Marathi speakers are double the above. It is neither justifiable nor practicable for it to be classed as a part of Karnatak.

(x—xiii) Nothing can be said of these Talukas as to their place in Karnatak, since no language figures are available.

The above details show that out of the 13

parts intended to be divisions of Karnatak, the first two districts belong to it but out of the remaining 11, six districts cannot wholly be classed as parts of Karnatak; Sholapur is a non-Karnatak Taluka and the fate of the last four cannot be determined. This is the position of the Kanarese in Karnatak.

V. NAME KARNATAK A MISNOMER

From the above and some other points of view the name Karnatak as applied to these 13 parts is a misnomer:

Firstly, the districts and Talukas, which by virtue of majority of non-Kanarese languages ought to have been excluded have been linked with Karnatak. What is real Karnatak is a question to be solved.

Secondly, the total population of the so-called Karnatak, as is supposed to be, is 70 lacs (1931 Census) while Kanadi speakers will be only 50% of them.

Thirdly, the total number of Kanadi-speakers in British India is 112 lacs but only 1/3 of this i.e. 35 lacs can only find place in the so-called Karnatak and 70 lacs will have their homes outside it.

Fourthly, the language Kanadi belongs to the Dravidian stock, while its speakers hail from the Aryan race.

Fifthly, the Kanadi, as spoken in these parts being an outsider is an admixture and does not possess the grace, beauty and elegance of the classic Kannada language of Mysore, its home and real Karnatak.

Sixthly, the people of the northern part of the so-called Karnatak are racially and culturally Maharashtrians.

The book under review, which was furnished to the members of the Assemblies to win sympathy and votes when the resolutions

for creating a separate province for Karnatak were being discussed, is thus exposed and the readers will now judge the correctness of its purpose.

It is true that the component parts of the would-be province are to be determined by a Boundary Commission after giving a chance to all neighbouring languages to lay before them their say and the Commissioners will not depend upon what an interested party has said; still it is unjustifiable, on the part of such influential and representative bodies as the Karnatak Unification Sabha and the Karnatak Unification Sub-Committee of K.P.C.C. and the newly formed The All Karnatak Unification League, Belgaum, to claim what is not theirs.

VI. BASIC INFORMATION NOT WITH THE GOVERNMENT

When the Bombay Government have not, the writer has made sure, preserved the language figures of the Talukas of this Presidency collected by the Census Authorities in 1931, one will doubt what other source of information on the point of dispute the Boundary Commission will be guided by in order to lay hands on towns and villages to class these as parts of the proposed province of Karnatak and determine boundaries thereof.

When, this way, the position of the Government is insecure as regards the basic information required for the creation of linguistic provinces, there is no wonder if private efforts will prove inadequate and misleading.

The redistribution of provinces is, beyond doubt, most essential, but whether it should be done by languages or otherwise and which is the opportune time to do so, is a problem worth consideration and that, too, with a broader angle of vision.

A table showing 1931 Census figures of important languages spoken in the proposed Karnatak Province.

| Divisions | Population | Kanarese | Marathi | Tamil | Malayalam | Tulu | Telugu | Kodagu | Yerda | Badga |
|----------------------|------------|----------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| (1) Bijapur District | 869220 | 712229 | 27496 | | | | | | | |
| (2) Dharwar " | 1002677 | 863924 | 46018 | | | | | | | |
| (3) Belgaum " | 1076701 | 695600 | 273276 | | | | | | | |
| (4) Bellary " | 969794 | 538538 | 11549 | | | | 305775 | | | |
| (5) South Canara " | 1372241 | 244552 | 241890 | | 298743 | | | | | |
| (6) North Canara " | 417835 | 229566 | 158119 | | ... | | | | | |
| (7) Coorg " | 168337 | 62767 | 1577 | | 14914 | 14275 | | 44535 | 10026 | ... |
| (8) Nilgiri " | 169330 | 29967 | 1301 | 54311 | 17432 | | 9432 | | ... | 42521 |
| (9) Sholapur Taluka | 272018 | ? | ? | | | | | | | |

—Since 1931 Census does not furnish language figures of Talukas, the same are below from that of 1901.

(9) Sholapur Taluka 2,03,905, 49,414, 1,07,044.

—The proportionate rise in 1931 population over that of 1901, will be the same as regards the numbers of speakers of languages.

(10-13)—(10) The Madagasira Taluka of Anantpur district (11) Hosur Taluka and (12) Krishnagiri Taluka of Salem district, (13) Kollegal Taluka of Coimbatore district, are left unmentioned, language figures being not available.

THE MENACE OF WINGED DEATH

By K. R. R. SASTRY, M. A., M. L.

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No NATION can afford to have among its leaders political ostriches and this principle applies *a fortiori* to the weaker nationalities. A glance at the world situation will clearly reveal the dangerous potentialities therein as regards the interests of India. Today, the world is an armed camp with the principal nations vying with each other in the race for building up armaments. India is like a fattened calf already offered as a sacrifice to any nation which is strong enough to oust Great Britain from her control over this country. Her large population, her great consuming capacity, her military emasculation, her industrial backwardness and wealth of raw materials, make this country an attractive bait. It is imperative that the leaders of Indian thought should become alive to this danger and concentrate on the necessity for building up *the defensive strength of India*.

Recent tendencies in warfare have revealed that aerial strength will determine largely if not finally the results of war. The aerial strength is one which can be easily built up. It is not costly either, for aeroplanes are comparatively cheap to buy and to man. India is essentially a country where danger of aerial warfare exists and where offensive aerial measures can easily be undertaken. It is obviously impossible for Indians to build up a strong navy; a navy takes time to build up and its cost is one beyond the resources of our country. *In the air however India can offer successful resistance, if prompt measures are taken immediately to build up an air-force and to train up personnel necessary for that force.*

The danger to India can come both from the east and from the west, sending over large aircraft carriers to be based, upon one of our west coast ports. Similarly from the east,—we can imagine an enemy to capture one of our eastern ports and to erect an eastern air-port thereon. If India is to offer any successful resistance, it will have to lay out air-bases both on the west and the east which will be within striking distance of enemy locations. A fleet of two thousand aeroplanes whether from the east or the west is not too high to be imagined as being sent by the enemy. In the

Spanish war which is waged on a comparatively minor scale there are over one thousand aeroplanes on the nationalist side. In the Chinese war also, large numbers of the Japanese planes are operating in China.

In modern warfare, the use of the aeroplane is varied. Apart from such cases as reconnoitering, conveying troops and ammunition and assisting espionage, the air-arm has three uses. It assists in actual combat by bombing, and machine-gunning enemy troops, artillery positions and supportings. In the Chinese war it has been observed that this assistance vitally affected decision in many an engagement. Secondly, the air-arm is used in bombing and destroying the means of communication and transport like bridges, roads, railway lines and stations. It is easy to imagine how helpless our own country would become if our means of communication are violently disrupted. The Hong Kong Canton Railway was repeatedly bombed by the Japs from the air. The Chinese labour gangs have repeatedly repaired the lines after each attack with infinite patience and indomitable courage; but even then, the results were not entirely satisfactory. It is doubtful if the labour gangs in India will evince the same amount of discipline or courage as the Chinese. While we have more road and rail mileage than the celestials, our communications are very exposed. Except for some railway bridges, these are left absolutely unprotected. Elementary military tactics tell us that all our important arterial bridges, (road and rail) important railway stations and yards should be protected by anti-aircraft weapons and where necessary by small air-force detachments. It is obvious that any enemy attacking India from afar will first establish himself near a port and after landing troops, artillery, and ammunition, send over large bombing squadrons to confuse and paralyse the defender's means of communication. This is essential to prevent large concentrations prejudicial to the invaders and this method has been successfully employed in China and is sure to be employed here.

The third main purpose of the air-arm is—

to demoralise the civil population by violent attacks on open cities and other points of vulnerability. In theory, international laws prohibit the bombardment of open towns; but in practice this form of attack is invariably employed. Twelve years ago, the theory was propounded by the Italian General of Aviation, Douhet, who indicated in his book *Mastery of the Air*, how the civilian population of an attacked country, their homes, shops, and municipal services should become main military objectives, so that war can be carried behind the enemy's lines and the morale of the people cracked. The lessons of General Douhet are well learnt at every Military Academy. The Spanish and Abyssinian wars bristle with instances of Douhet's theory in application. These attacks have diverse objects. The principal one is to create confusion and strike terror in the mass of the civil population. After all, wars are sustained by a sort of mass psychology. The morale of the non-combatants can often be rudely shattered by a policy of "frightfulness" in war. Nothing can be more awe-inspiring than wholesale and surprise attacks from the air on the unprotected populations of cities. The bombing can be so severe that a popular anti-war hysteria can be induced in influential sections of the people and Governments can be forced to fly from their headquarters to less central localities. Diplomatic contacts can be interfered with and the reins of public control which are so vital in war may be forcibly slackened. The Italian success in the Ethiopian war was not a little due to the annihilation of the town of Harrar.

The bombing of cities has other objectives, namely, to put out of commission the cities' water and electric supplies. Since in modern cities all social utility services are concentrated in some degree, the danger of an attack on these services can be easily imagined. As the bitterness of the strife increases, nations become desperate and their moral consciousness gets blunted. This happened in the last Great War resulting in the use of poison gas, explosive bullets and unstinted submarine warfare, and is bound to happen again. In a war, all possible means will be considered to be justified by the end, which is national safety. The use of incendiary bombs has already commenced. The world is not yet aware of the full nefarious possibilities of thermite bombs. It has been estimated that a 100 lb. thermite bomb, can smash its way through five stories of a concrete building and set fire to whatever comes in contact with it. In the next war

wholesale asphyxiation of helpless city residents is certain to be attempted. What measure of success will attend this attempt, future alone can decide. It is significant that all nations exposed to this form of attack are vigorously organizing to meet it. Gas-masks for all civilians, gas-proof refuges, fire-fighting equipment and decontamination squads are being feverishly arranged. It is doubtful if all these measures will effectively neutralise the anticipated danger. The present plight of such important cities as Shanghai, Nanking, Madrid, and Barcelona tells an eloquent tale of the horrors of aerial bombardment, whose black picture has not been over-painted by writers like H. G. Wells in their prophetic romances. To the horrors of bombs will be added the plague of epidemic disease when food and water supplies are deliberately or otherwise contaminated.

The general air-arm is divided into broad categories *viz.*, the bombers and the fighters. Of course, there are special types of machines for scouting and aerial photography, transports of troops and for throwing smoke-screens. The bombers are intended for attack and the fighters for protection and defence. The former are large-size machines skilfully camouflaged, comparatively silent and capable of rising to great altitudes with heavy load and with a large flying radius. The art of aerial bombardment has achieved remarkable progress. The machines are able to climb up, fully loaded, to a height of nearly 25,000 feet, and drop their deadly missiles with a fair degree of accuracy on the targets below. A small boat like *The Panay* was directly hit at Nanking in a few minutes while steaming at some speed. Anti-aircraft devices are, alas, of uncertain utility; the ironic association of the *Archies* with them is unhappily true. For one thing, the fire is so dispersed that it is not effective; besides, the strongest gun so far made is not able to meet its mark beyond a height of 12,000 ft. (although the British claim for their 3.7's a range much higher than this figure). Since bombers usually keep above this altitude, the guns rarely do more than scare them off from short-range attack. The few bombers which have been shot down by anti-aircraft guns appear to have been surprised when flying low or while diving for a hit against a comparatively difficult target. It is also possible that they might have lost height owing to mechanical failure and then run into a withering fire.

The principal weapons against the bombers

are the fighters. The latter are comparatively small machines, usually manned by two (a pilot and a fireman) and capable of very high speed and effective gunnery. The latest models are said to travel at nearly five miles per minute. These monoplanes are supplied with powerful machine guns which spit fire fore and aft at a terrific velocity. The chaser planes are built not only to stand severe aeronautical strain but to be able to manoeuvre with ease and rise rapidly into the air in a few seconds. Their cruising range is limited and they cannot carry much load but they are essentially built for swiftness of attack. It has to be remembered that bombing planes are never sent out without an escort of fighting planes to ward off attack. The strength of the air escort varies with the anticipated opposition. Where the defenders are known to have no air equipment, no escorting will of course be necessary as for example in the bombing of the villages in the Indian frontiers, in the French Morocco, and in Palestine. The fighters are also employed in ground engagements as a supplementary means of attack when countering a comparatively ill-equipped foe. In Palestine and in China, it has been reported that enemy infantry were frequently machine-gunned from the air; and in the latter stages of the Great War, the German means of communication were seriously jeopardised by air raids.

The use of air-power has nowhere exploded the old theories of warfare as in naval strategy. Hitherto, nations measured their strength on water in terms of the weight of their flotilla and the range and the size of their guns. Although Great Britain has had to climb down from the ambitious pedestal of "a two-power standard" in naval equipment, yet till the twenties she was considered to be invulnerable at sea. The rapid improvements in aerial science have caused great misgivings to the protagonists of big ships. For one thing, the last war proved inconclusive as regards the utility of capital ships. The battle of Jutland was an anti-climax to the vaunted potency of Britain's senior service. The advent of the air-fleet arm caused such a furore in naval circles that committees were appointed to decide the future of dreadnaughts. The outcome was naturally inconclusive but it was recognized that the battleship, though essential was not unassailable by air-craft. Over-deck

protection consequently became a matter of vital concern. The tendency is at present to armour heavily the vital parts of the ship exposed from the air. In addition, all the heavy vessels carry naval planes either in their own bodies or auxiliary carriers, to ward off bombers. It is doubtful however whether the big battleship is now sufficiently impervious to aerial attack. The big ships offer such large targets that to hit them is not difficult. In the Spanish war, evidence of this superiority of the air-arm was forthcoming in the attack on the German pocket battleship *Deutschland*, which was subjected to fire unexpectedly by two Red bombers and heavily damaged in spite of vigilant anti-aircraft action. The Nationalist warship *Espana* is claimed to have been sunk by Republican aeroplanes in a similar fashion. It can be taken as established fact that the superiority of the battleship no longer remains uncontested. Even if efficient anti-aircraft guns be carried, these cannot be effective against bombers which, regardless of their own destructive power, dive on to the deck of a ship with terrific speed and impact.

If this be the situation with armoured dreadnaughts, the case is much more serious as regards merchantmen. They are absolutely at the mercy of hostile action from the air, as the destruction of many trading vessels in the Spanish war has proved. In a future war, the countries dependent on sea-borne supplies of foodstuffs and munitions will be set at serious disadvantage as their mercantile arrangements are certain to be paralysed by indiscriminate air attacks. *England especially is faced with a crucial problem.* In the last Great War, she was still ruling the waves in most of the world, as Austria had no navy worth the name and the German grand fleet was bottled up in the Kiel Canal. She was therefore able to extensively import war materials and provisions, and to transport troops from the Dominions, India, and from America, till the German "U" boat organization was perfected. In the latter years of the struggle submarine inroads played such havoc with British supplies that the Allied position became critical in 1917 and there was talk of a separate peace. Only the entry of U. S. A. with her immense shipping resources into the war and the development of the anti-submarine contrivances (e.g. the famous "Q" boats) saved the situation.

THE ANDHRA PROVINCE AGITATION

By C. NARAYANA MURTHY, B.A., B.L.

THE advantage of linguistic division of India is an accepted doctrine. The Congress Working Committee silenced the agitation in the Andhra Desa by its resolution. The Andhra Maha Sabha at its twentieth session held under the presidency of Sir S. Radhakrishnan on the 8th and 9th of October has passed some resolutions and has given a new orientation to the plan of action to be pursued in future. It is convenient to examine some of those resolutions at a later stage of the present article and we shall proceed to study the problem before Sir Radhakrishnan took the lead.

Dr. Pattabhisataramiya, a member of the All-India Working Committee and President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, besides some others, presented the case for the immediate formation of the Province on 24th July, 1938. Sree Rajagopalachari in his tour of the Andhra area encountered ugly demonstrations at Guntur on 16th July. Dr. Pattabhi, though he was in Masulipatam on the 22nd of July and addressed a public meeting, thought fit to condemn the demonstration made on 1st August, '38, in his Gokhale Hall speech at Madras in the following words: all Andhras should hang their heads in shame. In that self-same speech he defended the mighty results achieved by the Deputation and the concrete effects of the Andhra agitation. He said that though he did see the superfluity of the Deputation after the speeches of the Premier delivered in the course of the Andhra tour he did not advise to put it off and yet defends it though the Congress was committed to linguistic distribution of Provinces long ago. We may guess the reason with correctness. Mob-emotion was at a whiteheat. The Beelzebub he had raised could not be called back. If he did not dance to the tunes of his own creation he might be regarded as unfaithful to his own people. Individual conviction was therefore sacrificed. The Deputation went and therefore it had to be defended. That the Congress resolution was no more than a command to shut up has been emphasised by Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao in his speech at the Andhra Conference as the Chairman of the reception committee:

"The Working Committee gave the assurance that the Congress supported the action of the legislatures of Madras and Bombay. But was that assurance necessary? The principle of linguistic provinces has long been accepted and acted upon by the Congress. Indeed an Andhra Province was for Congress purposes a territorial unit. Thus the important part of the resolution was that which called upon the people to desist from further agitation which might divert the attention from the main issue. I take it that the issue here meant is that of independence."

Therefore the Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee had to pass a resolution to save its face: "appreciating the sympathy" of the Madras Government at its meeting on 12th August, 1938.

With the session of the Andhra Maha Sabha on 8th October a new orientation has been given to the Andhra agitation. What was yesterday floundering in the gutter is today elevated to the Empyrean. What was yesterday a street-brawl is today a cultural and political agitation of the noblest magnitude. The Philosopher-Patriot has done what Dr. Pattabhi with his masterly mind which wanted to be all things to all people and be the same to himself all along did not do. Dr. Radhakrishnan's Presidential address is a fine piece of restrained criticism. See these:

"We cannot improve the country faster than we can improve ourselves. Our leaders and managers of public opinion have a great responsibility. They must not contract men's outlook, confirm their prejudices or inflame their passions. . . . Our leaders have been influential in the Madras Government from the year 1920 down to the interim Ministry of 1937, except for a short interval. They were and are patriotic Andhras and for some reason, which I am not able to understand, they demanded a Province when out of Power and took no steps to accomplish the idea when in power. . . . I can understand the mood of disillusion and chagrin in which the Prime Minister found the Andhra districts during his recent tour. I cannot, however, refrain from entering my strong protest against the disrespectful demonstrations that were directed against him. No situation, however charged with political acrimony, can justify a lapse from good manners. From the civilized we at least expect civility."

The important resolutions are those dealing with the Sree Bagh Pact and that making Madras as the Capital for the future Andhra Province. Of the eleven Districts (Andhra) there are five which go by the composite name

of Rayalaseema. They are Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary and Chittoor. They are economically backward, equal in area almost, with extensive sparsely populated areas which can easily absorb the overpopulated Circar Andhras, and with large mineral resources. These two contiguous parts of Andhra Desa have some substantial differences, most of them accentuated after the formation of the Andhra University. The Circars because of their economically superior position have been trying to exploit their brothers of the Rayalaseema. Even this time in the Andhra University elections not a single member was elected from among the candidates of Rayalaseema. There are very many other differences which show that there is no genuine feeling of brotherliness but an eyewash thereof and that is the Sree Bagh Pact.

The Sree Bagh Pact was signed by some self-styled representatives of Rayalaseema and the Circars. It grants some economic advantages, political representation on District basis instead of population basis, fixes either the Capital or the High Court in Rayalaseema, the choice being given to Rayalaseema. According to this "Representative Pact," it is hoped there will be no disadvantage to any. It comes into force after the formation of the Andhra Province. It is now recognised that there is a strong opposition about the representative character of the Pact. By the Maha Sabha's recent resolution fixing Madras as the Capital the Pact is impliedly overruled in part even without the intangible advantages that should take place at a remote date. As Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao of the Servants of India Society said that the Pact requires revision as it is illusory. Further he says that, that with

the growing needs of the Madras Province for ameliorating the distressed conditions of Rayalaseema with the revenues from excise source cut off, our idea of the formation of a new Province should make us seriously think. Unfortunately, Mr. Lathe stated that the Canarese-speaking districts of Madras and Bombay will not be self-supporting financially. The Tungabhadra project is partly in Canarese area and an immediate division will have to be postponed for financial reasons. So the financial position should completely be examined before the decision is taken.

At this point we may discuss the point of contact between Federation and Linguistic Provinces. As Prof. M. Venkatarangaiah of the Andhra University has suggested, all the Canarese areas contiguous may be given to Mysore, the Telegu area to Hyderabad, the Malayalam areas to Travancore if we should have ideal Linguistic Provinces in the Madras Presidency. This can only materialise with an absolutely powerful democratic Federation. That is the sort of Karnatak Province advocated in *The Modern Review* for July 1938 by Mr. V. B. Kulkarni. It is just that type of Province that is visualised by the present writer and all agitation therefore for separate Provinces should at present cease and the Congress not embarrassed. All administrative steps may be taken to this end and the census figures of 1931 be taken as the basis of computation in view of the controversy that will arise in Bi-Lingual areas. It is this lead that was given by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. The sooner it can be formed the better, says the Maha Sabha resolution. Meanwhile let differences be bridged by advocating concrete measures of substantial advantage.



INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

By NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

WHATEVER may be the limitations of Provincial autonomy, it must be admitted that its inauguration has brought about a genuine enthusiasm in the country for new endeavours in diverse directions. This is natural, for self-government always generates an ever-increasing sense of self-improvement and uplift. The history of more than a year's regime in the provinces is indeed a fair record of earnest endeavours on the part of the provincial governments for bettering the conditions of the masses and for effecting other ameliorative measures. There are, of course, limitations both financial and constitutional, but the way in which the provincial governments are trying to grapple the many problems of India's social and economic life is indeed encouraging. The conference of Industries Ministers of seven Congress Provinces which concluded its session at New Delhi only recently is an instance in point indicating the earnestness with which the provincial governments are facing their tasks.

The proceedings of the Conference as well as the resolutions passed demonstrate an eagerness for the progressive and rapid industrialization of the country. But this very eagerness, which we can easily understand and appreciate, has perhaps somewhat clouded the sense of economic realism of the members. In our enthusiasm to achieve rapidly, we must not lose sight of what is best worth achieving or of the best and most practical way of achieving it. The resolutions adopted by the Conference provide only the outlines of a comprehensive scheme of economic planning. But a strict analysis would reveal a number of gaps in the approach work—gaps which would seriously prejudice the chances of achieving an outstanding success by pursuing such a scheme. Before a consideration of these difficulties can be undertaken a short resume of the resolutions may here be given:

(1) A planning committee will shortly be appointed to undertake the preliminary work of giving effect to the decisions (a) that a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated which will provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries keeping in view India's requirements, resources and the peculiar conditions prevailing in the country and (b) that pending the submission and consideration of a comprehensive

industrial plan for the whole of India, steps should be taken to start the following large scale industries of national importance on all-India basis and the efforts of all provinces and Indian States should as far as possible be co-ordinated to that end: (i) manufacture of machinery and plant and tools of all kinds, (ii) manufacture of automobiles, motor boats, etc., and their accessories and other industries connected with transport and communication, (iii) manufacture of electrical plants and accessories, (iv) manufacture of heavy chemicals and fertilisers and (v) metal production and industries connected with power generation and power supply.

(2) An all-India planning commission will be appointed which will submit interim reports on each industry detailing therein their recommendations on the following points: (i) place or places where particular industry should be established with due regard to all relevant circumstances, such as the supply of raw materials, natural and local advantages (ii) method of organization of industry; whether it should be under complete state control or under private enterprise and in the latter case, the mode of state aid and (iii) method of financing the industry and its management.

(3) Industrial and power alcohol should be manufactured in India.

(4) All the provincial governments and Indian States should co-operate with and assist one another in matters of marketing, industrial research, compilation and distribution of commercial and industrial intelligence, expert advice and technical and vocational education.

(5) The project of manufacturing automobiles in India should be examined by the planning committee in all details.

Separately considered nothing much can be said against any of these resolutions. They focus attention on different spots in the economic field and emphasise the need for improvement or reform in regard to many of our outstanding deficiencies. But considered as component and logical parts of a comprehensive programme of economic planning for India the resolutions are open to comment. In the first place, the question suggests itself: whether the scheme of economic planning which the planning committee and the planning commission are expected to produce will cover only the industrial development of the country or whether it will embrace all the aspects of India's economy. From the proceedings of the Conference and particularly from the first resolution,* it appears that the economic

* "This Conference of the Ministers of Industries is of opinion that the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and of the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialization. As a step towards such industrializa-

planning will concern itself only with the industrial development of the country. Obviously exclusive emphasis has been laid on industrialization as a panacea for all the economic ills of the country. One should remember that the factors of India's economic prosperity are many among which industrial development is only one, albeit an important one. But that does not probably justify the formulation of a programme which covers only a part of the entire economy of the country. Agriculture as yet is the largest industry of the land absorbing nearly 70 per cent of the population. If this is not planned according to the requirements of the country or side by side with the development of other factors of national economy the results achieved are likely to be halting and lop-sided. The economic planning as envisaged in the resolutions of the Conference is thus more or less piecemeal and being piecemeal it falls short of planning in the truest sense of the term. An all-India planning commission should embrace every aspect of national economy. The problem is essentially that of effecting an all round improvement. A special pleading for industry to the neglect of agriculture or a sentimental clinging to agriculture to the neglect of industry are errors which economic analysis is prone to commit in this country and from the former error the deliberations of the Industries Ministers' Conference is not entirely free. The Bombay Committee recently formed has perhaps a clearer perception of this question than the proposed Planning Commission are likely to have if they adhere strictly to the resolutions passed by the recent conference. In this connection some observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Finance Minister to the Government of Bengal, in his address at the Ganesh Festival at Gwalior some time ago, are very pertinent. He said:

"India's policy of industrialization should be determined on the basis of the requirements of her own economic order. In certain details, India may initiate and adopt with profit the industrial methods and technique of other countries. But the main objective of our policy should be a broad-based and remunerative agriculture, succoured by flourishing cottage industries and further sustained by the development of larger industries."

tion, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated. This scheme should provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries, keeping in view our national requirements, the resources of the country as also the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the country. The scheme should provide for the establishment of new industries of all classes and also for the development of the existing ones."

It must not be supposed that this is an attempt at belittling the utility or necessity of sectional enquiry such as has been envisaged in many of the resolutions of the Industries Ministers' Conference. On the other hand, one must concede that the most essential prerequisite to successful economic planning is a careful scrutiny of every aspect of our economic life. But the planning itself is a gradual and progressive process which while abjuring the policy of drift should not seek drastic and piecemeal changes in the internal economy.

In the second place, economic planning to be successful must be in harmony with the tenor of a country's political and economic traditions and with its genius. In evolving an economic plan it is idle to look for absolute excellence. We must correlate our plans to the conditions and circumstances in our own country and not seek to graft on an unresponsive soil an alien ideology simply because it has thrived in another country. We often look wistfully to Soviet Russia as a model of successful and rapid economic regeneration through wholesale industrialization and we are so much awed by this economic regimentation that we often view only the phenomenon and not the political and economic background against which it appears. The President of the Congress in opening the Conference observed that no industrial advancement was possible until we passed through the throes of an industrial revolution. If industrial revolution is an evil, it is a necessary evil. We can only try our best to mitigate the ills that attended its advent in other countries. Furthermore, we have to determine whether this revolution will be a comparatively gradual one as in Great Britain or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. Observed the President:

"I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition."

But while one can readily understand one's zeal in the matter of the economic reformation of this country we must not mistake zeal for wisdom or allow wish to father our thoughts on such economic regeneration. A forced march towards an industrial revolution sounds well and is likely to appeal to our sense of honour and disturb our inferiority complex. But who is to force this march—the State or the people? The President looks for State initiative in this matter. But to successfully bring about an industrial revolution the State, like Soviet Russia, has to be a Socialistic State

which India yet is not. There remains private enterprise. But it has to be seriously considered, whether to expect a successful industrial revolution in India, with her traditional dependence on agriculture, her slow political evolution and her conservative traditions, through private enterprise, is within the bounds of economic realism. The industrialization of a country should be strictly correlated to its economic conditions, its resources and its political organisation. This consideration necessitated the industrial evolution being slow and gradual in England and in India it must needs be more so. To force the pace of the industrial revolution in a country which is hardly ready for the stress it must involve or to attempt to break away too suddenly from the past is not always a wise policy. If there is too wide a gap between one step and the next in the process of our industrial evolution it is not likely that our achievements will either be lasting or real. In this connection Mr. N. R. Sarker made some interesting observations in the speech already referred to which may bear elaborate quotation:

"It is my firm belief that the future can only be built on the foundation of the past and that any slavish adoption of methods or theories which have succeeded in other countries or avoidance of what seems to us the defects in their systems can hardly guarantee the best of results. It is generally a mistake to graft a new system on an existing and perhaps a completely different one. We can no doubt gradually evolve a system that will be beneficial to us. But we cannot borrow a ready-made system from other nations whose very genius differs from our own and pronounce it as the best possible and impose it on ourselves.

"It is best to recognise the necessity for continuity and for not breaking away too suddenly with the past. Nothing in our national life is so thoroughly bad that some means cannot be found of using it for a further advance and thus avoiding the dangerous interregnum between total demolition and the completion of reconstruction. Finally, it is best to rely on reality, to take the world as we find it today and not as we think it ought to be, not as we hope it will be in time to come, believing that only thus it is possible for each succeeding generation to leave it, in fact, a little better. It is an obstinate blindness to reality and a pathetic faith that it is possible to make human nature approximate to their ideal simply by wishing, and thus to dispense with the slow and painful process of evolution, which waste the noble enthusiasm and generous sympathy of so many of our more zealous reformers today. It is thus my firm belief that in evolving a new scheme of industrialization every phase and aspect of our industrial life must be taken into consideration. Cottage industries, middle-sized industries, large scale industries must all find a place in such a scheme for they have each an important bearing on our economic life."

There is, in the resolutions passed at the Industries Ministers' Conference, the stipulation that the Planning Committee will ascer-

tain what industries should be under the complete control of the State and what industries under private initiative and control. It is thus recognised that there may be a duality of control over the whole field of economic reform. It would therefore be necessary to co-ordinate these divergent authorities, for unless we are clear as to what authority will execute the plans we may evolve, our programme will not lead us very far.

Then there is another important difficulty. In order to give effect to a planned programme which the provinces may formulate it will be necessary to induce the Central Government to participate in such a programme. The States also should co-operate if any economic planning on an all-India basis is to be essayed.

In a normal course of things, the Central Government should have taken the initiative in organizing the Conference the provincial Ministers have convened and in appointing the planning commission for formulating a comprehensive programme of economic planning, but things being what they are, the initiative has been taken by other authorities which clearly points out that there may be difficulty in ensuring the sort of co-operation between the provinces, the Central Government, and the States as would be necessary to execute the plan.

It should be recognised that there are many spheres such as trade, banking, fiscal policy, railways, etc., in which the provincial authority is not competent enough to exercise full influence with the result that unless the Central Government render co-operation and assistance at every stage, no substantial results will be achieved.

The object in enumerating these difficulties is not to disparage the efforts at economic planning but merely to show that very great circumspection and care is necessary in evolving a planned programme for the whole of India. It may also be a little premature to set to the task. The Central Government is now on the point of transition and the provincial governments also have not as yet settled down and succeeded in evolving a system of inter-provincial co-operation and collaboration in all matters of economic and social importance. Just at this moment, it is doubtful whether the planning committee or the planning commission will be able to address themselves to the task of formulating an economic plan with that measure of harmony and determination which is essential for success. And even if a scheme is formulated it will lack the necessary

atmosphere and conditions under which it may be launched with any surety of success.

While, therefore, the creation of planning committees and commissions is always desirable for studying the existing conditions and evolving an economic programme for the country, it is open to question whether the conditions necessary for essaying a comprehensive plan have yet come into existence. The provinces will, for the present, carry on their individual

programmes of economic development, endeavouring all the while to secure the co-operation of other provinces and where necessary of the States and the Centre. Only when such development is well under way and the prospect of co-ordinated effort over the whole field of our economic life can be envisaged, would it be worth while and profitable to attempt the larger task of planning the economic reorganisation of the whole of India.

LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGES UNDER THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By FAZLUR RAHMAN, M. A., B. L.

Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly

THE Law of Privileges is a part of the Constitutional Law of a country. The proper functioning of a Legislature depends to a very great extent on the privileges it enjoys. Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which secures to a Provincial Legislature some important privileges and also empowers it to define its privileges in other respects, is thus of great importance. Every Provincial Legislature will soon formulate its privileges by its own Act and it is necessary that the proper scope of the Section should be clearly understood before any such legislation is undertaken. There appears to be some misconception about the scope of the Section; and to remove such misconception I have attempted an interpretation of the Section. A discussion of the subject by constitutional lawyers would perhaps have been of great advantage to the legislatures in India.

Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1935, has conferred on every Provincial Legislature the privilege of "freedom of speech." The right interpretation of this Sub-Section requires a correct appreciation of the privilege as it obtains in England. Mr. Joseph Redlich in his book—*The Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. III, pp. 48-49, has ably explained this subject in the following manner:

"By Section 9 of the Bill of Rights it was declared 'that the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament.'

"The statement in the Bill of Rights shows the limits within which the principle is to be applied; the claim made is not for absolute freedom of speech; speech is only to be independent of every authority except the private jurisdiction of Parliament over its own members. The power of Parliament to judge the acts and speeches of its members is the starting point, a condition precedent for its complete and absolute liberation from the control of any exterior authority. We can, of course, conceive a Parliament which disclaimed such an autonomous Jurisdiction, and refused to call its members to account for transgressing the bounds of usage and tradition; and again a Parliament might declare in advance that it did not insist on any standards of speech among its members and would exercise no control over them; in such cases we should be without the historic premises from which the privilege was deduced in England. The struggle there for freedom of speech was waged to emancipate the action of Parliament from all influence of Crown, courts of law and Government; it was never a fight for an absolute right to unbridled oratory, for freedom to each member to say exactly what he pleased. From the earliest days there was always strict domestic discipline in the House and strict rules as to speaking were always enforced. The House could point to its autonomous regulation of the conduct and speech of its members, and to its enforcement of its rules; its power of so doing enabled it to claim and to win for its members the right of exemption for all responsibility at common law for what they said in its debates. . . .

"We have therefore found not merely that definite rules of debate are compatible with freedom of speech; we have been led to the conclusion that they are an absolute necessity if the words of the members are to be protected from question by any other Court or authority. Freedom of speech and self-imposed rules of debate are linked conditions for the existence of true parliamentary action.

"A further consequence is the necessity for special legal provisions to secure obedience to the rule thus laid down for speech and debate. Without such sanction we

LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGES UNDER NEW CONSTITUTION

should still lack the proper foundation for the privilege of freedom from external restraint."

Three propositions emerge from the above quotation: (1) that Parliament has private jurisdiction over its own members in regulating speeches and debates; (2) that there should be legal provisions for securing obedience to the rules laid down for speeches and debates; and (3) that its members should have the right of exemption from all responsibility at law for what they may say in its debates. These propositions have practically been embodied in Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 and in Sub-Section 1 of Section 84 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Sub-Section 1 of Section 71, excepting the portion relating to the publication of the report and proceedings of a legislature, may be divided into three parts: firstly, the qualifying clause, *viz.*, "subject to the provisions of this Act* and to rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of the legislature;" secondly, "there shall be freedom of speech in every Provincial Legislature;" and thirdly, "no member of the Legislature shall be liable to any proceedings to any Court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Legislature or any committee thereof." The qualifying clause, that is, the first part of the Sub-Section, controls the second part and not the third part of the Sub-Section. This clause gives the Legislature Jurisdiction over its members to regulate their speeches. The first and second parts together secure freedom of speech to each member of the Legislature but subject him to the jurisdiction of the House, that is, to its rules of procedure. Sub-Section 1 of Section 84 of the Act gives legality to the rules of procedure made by each chamber of the Legislature so as to secure to them the obedience of its members. The third part of Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 secures to each member of the Legislature immunity from all liability at law in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Legislature or any Committee thereof.

The above interpretation of Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 is the only one which is consistent with the privilege of freedom of speech, as it obtains in the British House of Commons. Under this interpretation of law, a member will subject himself to the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Legislature if he says within it anything in violation of its rules and standing orders, but shall be completely immune from all liabi-

lity at law for such statements, and his speech, though not within the restrictive provisions of the rules and standing orders, cannot be questioned or impeached in any court of law. A reference to Section 67(7) of the Government of India Act which has recently been repealed, also confirms this view.

The other interpretation that the qualifying clause in Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 controls the entire Sub-Section, that the privilege of freedom of speech is not available to a member when he exceeds the bounds of the rules and standing orders, that for every speech that he delivers he is liable to be brought before the Court of Law where he has to justify the speech, and that neither the Speaker nor the Legislature can give him any protection, makes the privilege of "freedom of speech" absolutely meaningless and illusory. This position being completely inconsistent with the scheme of Provincial Autonomy could never have been intended by the Government of India Act, 1935. Moreover, the construction of the Sub-Section does not bear this interpretation.

But to prevent the mischief from any misinterpretation of the Sub-Section, a provision may be made in a Provincial Act, defining privileges, to the following effect:

"Notwithstanding anything contained in any law, no member of the Provincial Legislature shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court of Law for anything said or any vote given by him in the said Legislature."

This provision is within the competence of the Provincial Legislature, inasmuch as the Legislature has full power of legislating on criminal law including all matters included in the Indian Penal Code at the date of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, and also of making laws on criminal procedure including all matters included in the code of Criminal Procedure at the date of the passing of the Act. Moreover, it has full power of dealing with the laws of evidence and of judicial proceedings, of declaring what constitute actionable wrongs and of legislating on questions of the jurisdiction and powers of Courts (*Vide* items numbered in 1, 2, 5, 14 and 15 concurrent Legislative List of the Seventh Schedule appended to the Government of India Act, 1935). The fact that the powers of the Legislature in the matter of legislation on criminal law and on actionable wrongs have been limited by the exclusion of the offences in respect to matters of privileges, does in no way affect the competency of the Provincial Legislature to make a provision of law like the one proposed above, inasmuch as the said pro-

* The Government of India Act, 1935.

vision does not mean any declaration of any offence regarding privilege but means an exclusion of certain actions from the field of criminal offences and actionable wrongs.

Sub-Section (2) of Section 71 of the Act has empowered a Provincial Legislature to define its own privileges by an Act. Section 100 read with items numbered 12 and 37 in the Provincial Legislative List of the Seventh Schedule appended to the Government of India Act, 1935, has given powers to the Provincial Legislature to protect its own privileges by declaring any breach of the privilege to be an offence.

These latter powers of the Provincial Legislature have not in any way been limited by Sub-Section 4 of Section 71. It cannot reasonably be maintained that this Sub-Section by providing punishment for one kind of breach of privileges, has by implication abrogated the express provisions of law, empowering

the Legislature to declare as offences other kinds of breaches of privileges. The only limitation that has been imposed on the powers of the Provincial Legislature in the matter of protecting its privileges is by Sub-Section 3 of Section 71 which disables the Provincial Legislature from assuming the status of a Court or from vesting it with any punitive or disciplinary powers, other than the power of removing or excluding persons infringing the rules or standing orders, or otherwise behaving in a disorderly manner. A Provincial Legislature, though it cannot confer on itself the status of a court to try and punish as offences the breaches of its privileges, can however declare them as offences and empower the courts of law to try these offences and provide punishment for them (Read Section 100 with items numbered 1 and 2 in the Provincial Legislative List and item numbered 15 in the concurrent Legislative List).

Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday Celebration in U. S. A.

"For many more years to come may the shining example of the precious life of Mahatma Gandhi continue to enlighten humanity and guide man's erring steps by showing the non-violent way to World Peace and Happiness."

The above resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted in a public meeting at 3-30 p.m. on October 2, 1938, assembled to celebrate the Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi at the Ball-room of the Hotel New

Yorker, New York, under the joint auspices of the All-World Gandhi Fellowship and the World Fellowship of Faiths. On the previous day in the afternoon, a similar celebration was held under the same auspices at the Fritz-Carlton Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts. Principal speakers in these meetings were Mr. Richard B. Gregg, Rev. George Paine, Rev. C. A. Butterfield, Mr. Yusuf Meherally, Dr. Mahanam Brata Brahmachari, Rev. Gladys Grier and Mr. Kedernath Das Gupta. The subject of discussion was "Gandhi's Way to Peace."



THE POPULATION PROBLEM

By PROF. A. CORREIA FERNANDES, M.A.

THE population problem has always engaged the attention of some of the master-minds of the world from the earliest times. In the works of Aristotle and Plato we find considerable attention devoted to the discussion of the problem of happiness in its relation to numbers. In fact, what is in our days called the population problem is suggested by Aristotle in connection with his polity and by Plato in his *Laws* and *Republic*.

But the population problem in its more objective, historical and scientific aspects began to engage the attention first of Europe and then of the world since Malthus wrote his famous essays on the population problem. With him begins the first comprehensive and pseudo-scientific attempt to envisage the problem of human numbers in their various aspects and to detect and formulate laws regarding growth of population and its relation to prosperity and welfare. Since his days the population problem has been a perennial source of controversies, polemics, disputes, conferences and learned treatises.

It may interest the reader to know that the Bible stands first in the amount of commentaries it has given rise to and in the volume of apologetic, explanatory, inspiratory and critical literature that has grown round the *Holy Writ*.

The next book which has produced the largest amount of literature, apologetic as well as denunciatory and critical, is Karl Marx's *Kapital*. Shakespeare comes next, soon followed by the population problem, if in the literature on the subject, we include the innumerable and voluminous decennial censuses undertaken by all the civilised nations of the world.

In India the population problem has gained importance in comparatively recent times. About even ten years ago very few people devoted their attention to it. To-day Indian economists and demographers, provincial governments, welfare organisations, special conferences are all devoting close and concentrated attention to the problem of population. A definite movement seems to be growing in the country towards the adoption

of what is called a population policy through a widespread use of the technique of birth-control. Neo-Malthusian leagues have been started and a number of provincial parliaments have been confronted by their members with resolutions on this problem.

It is, therefore, worthwhile to understand exactly what is meant by the population problem, to determine its real nature and to discuss such measures as may be necessary to deal with it, measures not repugnant to moral principles and also to the deep spiritual nature of Indian society and to its social customs and religious traditions.

The population problem has as many aspects as the colours of the rainbow, and whenever only one of these aspects is repeated, emphasised and over-emphasised the country gets a wrong perspective of the real population problem. The qualitative aspect is as important as the quantitative. The problems of health, sanitation, low expectation of life, malnutrition, unscientific diet are so many important aspects of our population problem which are as important as birthrate and death-rate, national dividend, the growth of food-stuffs and of industries. Generally, it has become now the practice to identify the population problem of India with the rate of its increase alone, giving a subsidiary place to the qualitative aspects of the problem.

India is a vast country as large as the whole of Europe excluding Russia. But it is only one-half of the total area of the United States with a population three times as large. The growth of population of India within the last four hundred years has been as

as:

| Year | Population in Millions | Rate per cent of actual increase in successive inter-censal period |
|------|------------------------|--|
| 1600 | .. 100 | — |
| 1750 | .. 130 | — |
| 1850 | .. 150 | — |
| 1872 | .. 206 | — |
| 1881 | .. 254 | 1.5 |
| 1891 | .. 287 | 9.6 |
| 1901 | .. 294 | 1.4 |
| 1911 | .. 315 | 6.4 |
| 1921 | .. 319 | 1.2 |
| 1931 | .. 353 | 10.6 |

The same growth can be expressed in another way, particularly from the year 1872 when India had its first organised census.

| Period | Increase in Millions | |
|-----------|----------------------|------|
| 1872-1881 | .. | 48.0 |
| 1881-1891 | .. | 33.5 |
| 1891-1901 | .. | 7.0 |
| 1901-1911 | .. | 20.5 |
| 1911-1921 | .. | 3.8 |
| 1921-1931 | .. | 34.0 |

In 1935 the population of India must have stood approximately at about 377 millions assuming that the rate of increase of this population has been the same as that revealed in the last census, namely, about one per cent. per annum.

Thus we see that from 1600 to 1935 the population has increased from 100 to 377 millions. When Malthus was writing his thought-provoking lament on the law of population and the positive and negative checks which control it, the population of England was only 10 millions. Since then, the population has increased almost according to the Malthusian law, that is, has practically doubled itself every 25 years and has thus confirmed, so far as England is concerned, the Malthusian law of population. It is now about 4½ times as large as the population of England during the days of Malthus. And yet, whereas Malthus with a population in his country of only 10 millions was profoundly distrustful of the future of his country, and also of the rest of the world, on account of the threatened saturation with which he thought the world would soon be confronted, the British public today, and particularly its economists and statisticians, are alarmed not at the over-population of England, but at its threatened under-population in the coming decades. Already before the war the population of England was not increasing as fast as during the Victorian period. After the war there has been a remarkable increase in the expectation of life which has given to England a fictitious and an illusory growth of population. But the net increase of population has been negative, particularly in recent years. And as the process of elimination through old age continues the stage of depopulation which already has begun in England tends to be more and more pronounced as years roll by.

Turning to India, it is interesting to speculate on what would be our population if the Malthusian law had been in operation in India. Assuming that the population was in 1600, as Moreland states, about 100 millions

during the days of Akbar, today the total population of India should have been 6400 millions, taking a period of 50 years for the doubling of the population. Even if all the positive checks of Malthus had been in full force, the population of India under worst conditions of the Malthusian law should have been at least 2000 millions which is more than the total world's population today. It is only enough to mention this calculation to show how absurd is the Malthusian law of growth of population when applied to large and ancient countries like India. The contrast between India's and England's growth of population is, indeed, very remarkable. Within a single century the population of England has followed the Malthusian rhythm and tempo of increase. But in India a period of nearly 4½ centuries had to elapse before India could have had a growth of population which is only 3½ times its total population over four centuries back. This shows that the laws controlling the growth of population are not fixed, determinate and are not even determinable. They show the absurdity of the logistic formula.

The growth of population depends on a multitude of factors when it is not controlled by artificial, neo-Malthusian methods. Those, therefore, that calculate India's growth of population even at the rate of ten per cent. revealed in the last census have to be cautioned against this optimism or pessimism, as the case may be, about the future of India's population. The growth of eight per cent. was considered by many as a normal and natural growth. But this rate does not find confirmation in all countries or at all periods. Each country seems to have its own rate.

Let us now examine some other features of India's demography. The birthrate in India is fairly high though there are several other countries in the world which have a distinctly higher birthrate.

| Country | Birthrate per mille | Deathrate per mille | Natural increase per mille |
|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| British India | .. 35 | 24 | 11 |
| England and Wales | .. 15 | 12 | 3 |
| Federated Malay States | .. 36 | 20 | 16 |
| Palestine | .. 45 | 19 | 26 |
| Japan | .. 32 | 17 | 15 |
| Egypt | .. 42 | 27 | 15 |

| India Years | Annual number of births | Birth rate per mille | Annual number of deaths | Death rate per mille |
|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1871-1880 | Not available | — | 3,540,202 | 20 |
| 1881-1890 | .. 4,565,687 | 24 | 5,058,578 | 26 |
| 1891-1900 | .. 7,174,694 | 34 | 6,662,417 | 31 |

| India Years | Annual number of births | Birth rate per mille | Annual number of deaths | Death rate per mille |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1901-1910 | 8,591,136 | 38 | 7,657,513 | 34 |
| 1911-1920 | 8,810,018 | 37 | 8,142,364 | 34 |
| 1921-1930 | 8,345,364 | 35 | 6,347,063 | 26 |
| 1931 | 9,135,890 | 35 | 6,615,099 | 25 |
| 1932 | 9,054,506 | 34 | 5,805,666 | 22 |
| 1933 | 9,678,876 | 36 | 6,096,787 | 22 |
| 1934 | 9,288,897 | 34 | 6,856,244 | 25 |
| 1935 | 9,698,794 | 35 | 6,578,711 | 24 |

From these tables it is clear that India has what many economists consider more or less a high birthrate. It is about 35 per 1000 as against the birthrate in England and Wales of 15, and even less in France and some other countries of western Europe. On the other hand, Palestine and Egypt have a much higher birthrate.

As all are aware, the growth of population is determined by four factors: birthrates, death-rates, immigration and emigration. The last two factors are not playing any important part in India's population just now. The birthrate in India has been fairly steady from the beginning of the present century. And if this rate is maintained it is clear that the population of India at the next census will be a little under 400 millions. It is possible that this figure may be increased due to the fact that the expectation of life in India has been showing in recent times, some progress. Already we have moved from about 24 years of average to about 26 years. And this progress in general health and longevity will naturally be reflected in the coming census. The total births in British India in 1935 were a little over 9½ millions. The crude birthrate in 1935 was about 35 per mille of the estimated population as against 33½ in 1934. There is a larger number of males born in India than females. But, contrary to what happens in Europe, the deathrate among women in India being much higher than among men, particularly during the reproductive ages of 15 to 40, there is a paucity of females in India, whereas there is in the west a paucity of males. I give below a table of females per 1000 males for different countries in different periods. The table is taken from Mr. P. K. Wattal's book *The Population Problem in India*.

| Country | Females per 1,000 males (actual population) |
|--------------------------|---|
| England and Wales (1931) | .. 1,087 |
| France (1926) | .. 1,083 |
| Turkey (1927) | .. 1,079 |
| Germany (1925) | .. 1,067 |
| Italy (latest) | .. 1,045 |
| Holland (1930) | .. 1,012 |
| Egypt (1927) | .. 1,009 |

| Country | Females per 1,000 males (actual population) |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Japan (1930) | .. 990 |
| United States of America (1930) | .. 976 |
| Australia (1921) | .. 967 |
| Canada (1921) | .. 940 |

The death-rate in India is, as we have seen very high, and only Egypt can beat India's record in this direction. The death-rate in England and Wales is exactly one-half of the deathrate in India. Infant mortality occupies a very important place in our death-rate. The number of people that die in India every year is almost equal to the total population of Switzerland. The crude death-rate in 1935 was 23.6 per mille, a figure which is lower than that for 1934. Different provinces have different deathrates, but this rate among females for the age-period 15 to 40 is higher than among males. Thus in 1935, 5½ lakhs of males died between the years 15 to 40 as against 6 1/3 lakhs of females. The total deaths of children under one year exceed a million and a half which reveals an appalling condition of health and maternity life in India. This problem demands an immediate attention.

The result of this heavy deathrate among females at the reproductive age is that we get at the age of nine, in spite of the higher mortality of boys, only 59,859 girls to 61,411 boys. Such a population tendency produces many undesirable consequences. It promotes traffic in girls, leads to great disparity of age between husband and wife, and in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta where the disproportion between males and females is terrible, it creates promiscuous sexual relations, diffuses venereal infection and gives rise to many other social evils.

Another qualitative problem connected with India's population is nutrition. As is now widely recognised nutrition plays a great and fundamental part in one's life. In fact, there is some truth in the saying "Man is what he eats," though the truth of this aphorism must not be carried too far. The world has only in recent years realised the great relationship between diet, health, intelligence, work and energy. One of the great contributions which the League of Nations has made to the world's progress is its investigation of the problems of nutrition. The problem, no doubt, is extensive and tremendously complicated. But it is one which deserves far more attention than has been given to it by the world in general and by India in particular. In India, only since the

present Viceroy assumed the reins of office, interest in questions of nutrition has grown rapidly. The Indian Research Fund Association has done remarkable work in this direction and rich fruit is expected to be gathered in the near future after the present investigations that are in hand have been carried to a successful end.

In a recent note on *Nutrition Work in India* prepared by Dr. Ackroyd, the following views are expressed:

"Hitherto the view that malnutrition is prevalent in India has rested on *a priori* reasoning; on general knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the villages and the poorer quarters of towns and cities; on scattered observations regarding the existence of food deficiency diseases; on animal experiments; on the pronouncements of experts; rather than on exact data collected by systematic research. Research in India is, however, now being organized for the collection of these fundamental data, which will enable the whole problem to be defined and clarified, and vague general statements replaced by precise knowledge.

"Human nutrition research and public health nutrition work are impossible without knowledge of food values. There is at present no comprehensive table of food values available for general use in India. In 1935 a systematic survey of the nutritive value of Indian foodstuffs was begun in Coonoor, and has rapidly progressed."

Dietary surveys are being carried out by the Coonoor and Calcutta research units. And the preliminary results already show that the diet of the average villager is deficient not only from the point of view of quality, but also of quantity. But what is curious is that a greater degree of malnutrition and under-nutrition is found among the poor people of India in its towns and cities, whereas in Europe and in America urban nutrition is decidedly superior to the rural degree of nutrition. Blood examination in South India has also shown that the hæmoglobin contents of the blood in South India is on an average about 20% below European standards. This does not appear to be a physiological fact, but rather the result of a poor consumption of iron in the ordinary diet. Similarly, the basal metabolism of average Indians is lower than that of average Europeans. If the diet researches are given a practical turn and are utilised to organise a standard diet for the people of India in the different provinces, the result will be a rise in the quality of India's population and an improvement in its health. The problem of nutrition is indeed a very important problem and offers vast possibilities for India's physical regeneration.

The problem of the relation of food supply

to population is a very intricate and enormously controversial one. There are diverse opinions on the subject though the prevailing view seems to be that the growth of population and the growth of food supply not having kept the same proportion in their rise there is a lag between food and population with the result that the pressure on the soil has increased so as to create a condition of over-population and even a state of saturation. It is worthwhile to examine this view since the problem of over-population in India has been discussed more in relation to the food supply than to the total income of the country.

Generally, the view that there is a shortage of food supply and that the condition of over-population has been reached in India is held by economists and publicists like Radhakamal Mukerjee, P. K. Wattal, K. T. Shah, Ranadive and others. Official reports, particularly those issued annually by the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and investigations and researches of experts in nutrition also appear to subscribe to the view that in India a state of over-population, if not of saturation, has already been reached. The next census is expected to give us a population of 400 millions and it is claimed that this population has not got enough food supply in the country, if by food supply we mean a certain minimum number of calories, say 2,800, per diem per head, which is necessary in a climate like that of India to enable an average human being to maintain his life with a certain minimum amount of efficiency. The following is a calculation of deficiency of food supply.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|--------------|---------------|
| Total area | .. | .. | 66,41,57,589 | acres |
| Cultivated area | .. | .. | 22,58,45,734 | " |
| Fallow, though cultivated, area | .. | .. | 15,18,14,555 | " |
| Food Supply: | | | | |
| Necessary quantity of food supply | .. | .. | 810 | lakhs of tons |
| Total produce | .. | .. | 760 | " " |
| Seeds and animal food | .. | .. | 218 | " " |
| Foreign exports | .. | .. | 55 | " " |
| Deficiency | .. | .. | 323 | " " |

Another way of putting the same problem is as it has been presented by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee in his recent book *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*.

| | | |
|---|-----|------------------|
| India's population in 1931 | 353 | millions |
| India's population capacity on the basis of her food supply in 1931 | 291 | " " |
| India's food shortage in 1931 | 42 | billion calories |
| India's present population 1935 | 377 | millions |

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| India's addition to food supply between 1931 and 1935 | 30.3 billion calories |
| India's present food supply | 280.4 " " |
| India's pre-ent food needs | 321.5 " " |
| India's present population capacity 1935 | 329 millions |
| India's present food shortage | 41.1 billion calories |
| Present number of "average men" estimated without food assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration | 48 millions |

It has also been stated that of the total population 2% are over-fed, 10% have ample food-supply, 30% sufficient to eat and 58% less than sufficient.

In proof of this extensive malnutrition and under-feeding the following tables are given:

| Period | Number of Famines | Estimated Mortality |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1800-1825 | .. 5 | 1,000,000 |
| 1825-1850 | .. 2 | 400,000 |
| 1850-1875 | .. 6 | 5,000,000 |
| 1875-1900 | .. 18 | 26,000,000 |

AVERAGE EXPECTATION OF MALE LIVES IN INDIA AND ENGLAND

| Age | India | England |
|-----|-------|---------|
| 0 | 26.91 | 55.62 |
| 10 | 36.38 | 44.64 |
| 20 | 29.57 | 45.78 |
| 30 | 23.60 | 37.40 |
| 40 | 18.60 | 29.19 |
| 50 | 14.31 | 21.36 |

In every civilised country the span of life is lengthening. Many health workers are confident that before the close of the twentieth century the normal life in some western countries may reach the biblical three score and ten. But Indian expectation of life is very low.

Another way of showing the population pressure in the country is to demonstrate how there has been an important change in the agricultural activities of India. The cultivator, it is stated, is resorting to inferior cropping due to economic pressure and in many parts of the country the cultivation of major cereals like wheat and rice do not show a satisfactory increase. On the other hand, barley and cheaper millets are taking the place of wheat and rice, particularly in northern India where the poorer sections are increasingly using bread of inferior grains.

In discussing the problem of food supply in relation to population we must not forget that it is not possible for any country to keep a definite ratio of increase between its population and its cultivable area, cultivated area or even its food supply. National agricultural production will necessarily be limited by natural

restrictions. But the quantity of food alone is not the criterion to judge of the population problem. We know how England was considered over-populated with a population of only 10 millions, and today the general outcry in England is that population is not increasing at its old ratio of the second half of the last century. It may be mentioned also, in passing, that the cultivable area of England today does not differ materially from what the country possessed in the days of Alfred the Great. But so great and fundamental have been changes in agricultural technique that the same area today produces much more than even Malthus ever dreamt it would do within a comparatively brief spell of a hundred years. Again it must not be forgotten that the population problem cannot be discussed always in terms of food supplies within the same country. If that were so, then England would have been saturated with population nearly 2½ centuries ago.

But let us examine the position of food supply in India. The following index numbers show the variation of population and food supply in India.

| | Population | Food supply available for consumption (unweighted) | Excess-or-Deficit of food supply Index in relation to population Index |
|---|------------|--|--|
| Average of five years 1910-1911 to 1914-1915 (base) | 100 | 100 | |
| 1915-1916 | .. 103 | 125 | +22 |
| 1916-1917 | .. 104 | 126 | +22 |
| 1917-1918 | .. 104 | 122 | +18 |
| 1918-1919 | .. 105 | 87 | -18 |
| 1919-1920 | .. 100 | 113 | +13 |
| 1920-1921 | .. 99 | 99 | 0 |
| 1921-1922 | .. 100 | 120 | +20 |
| 1922-1923 | .. 101 | 125 | +24 |
| 1923-1924 | .. 101 | 109 | + 8 |
| 1924-1925 | .. 101 | 103 | + 2 |
| 1925-1926 | .. 101 | 113 | +12 |
| 1926-1927 | .. 102 | 117 | +15 |
| 1927-1928 | .. 102 | 111 | + 9 |
| 1928-1929 | .. 103 | 120 | +17 |
| 1929-1930 | .. 104 | 122 | +18 |
| 1930-1931 | .. 107 | 123 | +16 |
| 1931-1932 | .. 114 | 122 | + 8 |
| 1932-1933 | .. 117 | 123 | + 6 |
| 1933-1934 | .. 118 | 122 | + 4 |
| 1934-1935 | .. 120 | 123 | + 3 |

It will be seen from these tables that there is no lag between food supply available for consumption and the growth of population from 1910. The food supply has increased between 1910 and 1935 to 123 whereas the growth of population is 120 and food supply weighted is 125.

India being an exporting country, the rise in her exports is another indication of the

growth of food supplies. The following table shows the total exports of grain and pulse from 1901 to 1930 in millions of cwt. From 1930 onwards the position for a couple of years deteriorated on account of world depression. But from 1933 India has again experienced an upward trend. I have left out the period 1931 from the table as it was hardly normal in any sense of the word.

| Year | Total Exports of Grain and Pulse in millions of cwt. | |
|------|--|------|
| 1901 | .. | 43.7 |
| 1905 | .. | 67.2 |
| 1910 | .. | 78.6 |
| 1915 | .. | 48.6 |
| 1920 | .. | 29.7 |
| 1925 | .. | 61.2 |
| 1929 | .. | 50.0 |
| 1930 | .. | 52.3 |

A student of mine and myself two years ago began to work out details for a minimum vegetarian diet as we understood it from the needs and requirements of about a hundred students with fifteen servants living in a hostel on rice, wheat, bajri, jowar, pulses, gram and soyabeans. From careful tables of every-day purchases and consumption maintained at this institution, tabulated by my student and afterwards checked and corrected by myself, we arrived at the conclusion that about 22 ounces of vegetarian food are necessary for a student per day, which gave us about 12½ mds. of food grains per year. Working on this principle on the census of 1931, we arrived at the figure of 53 million tons as needed for a vegetarian diet more or less of a minimum standard but sufficiently nutritious so as to give the necessary calories and vitamins for the normal functioning of the human body. For the population of British India it was calculated that the total food requirements were about 42 million tons. Of these, about 23 to 24 million tons were made up of rice, 18 millions of wheat and jowar, and 4½ million pulses. The total present-day production of food as given by Sir M. Visveswarayya is as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------------|----|----|-------------------|
| Rice | .. | .. | 33.2 million tons |
| Wheat | .. | .. | 9.3 " " |
| Other food grains | .. | .. | 18.4 " " |
| Total | | | 60.9 |

We must take about 10 million tons for seeds and cattle and we are left with 50 millions for the population of British India whose requirements on the basis of a strictly vegetarian and none too rich diet of my friends of the hostel and on whose consumption I worked out

the figures come to about 45 to 46 million tons. Our calculation shows that there is no definite shortage of food in India even after taking into consideration exports of foodstuffs.

Comparing the calculation of food production given by Visveswarayya with that of Jathar and Beri, we get the following:

| | | |
|-------|-------|----------|
| Rice | 30.79 | millions |
| Wheat | 9.36 | " |
| Jowar | 6.18 | " |
| Bajri | 2.13 | " |
| Gram | 3.37 | " |
| Total | .. | 51.83 |

But according to Visveswarayya and some others the total food required for the population of India is about 85 to 90 million tons which gives 18½ mds. per year. Working on this basis there is a definite shortage of food in India. Nevertheless, the possibilities of meeting this shortage are very clear. If our agricultural technique could be only as efficient as that of China, then we would be able to increase our food supply in such a way as to exceed even the shortage assuming that Sir Visveswarayya's calculations are a true indication of the food shortage. On the basis of one acre per head as opposed to East's minimum of 2½ acres per head as representing the area necessary for producing enough food per man, we find that we are not very far away from this requirement. The following table gives the acreage per capita from which we see that India has not to be very pessimistic regarding the crop requirements for her population.

| Country | Crop Area: Acres per capita | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|------|
| Japan | .. | 0.36 |
| China | .. | 0.44 |
| India | .. | 0.78 |
| U. S. S. R. | .. | 4.2 |
| United States | .. | 3.3 |
| Canada | .. | 28.9 |

An improvement in agricultural technique and an effective remedy for the consolidation of holdings will create a satisfactory food position in India even on the basis of the present productivity of the land. But the possibilities of a new agricultural revolution are so great that one feels inclined to think that the dark and ominous prophecies of those oppressed with the population problem envisaged in terms of the food supply are premature and almost unfounded. The methods of distribution of wealth in the country are eminently defective and are to a very great extent responsible for the maldistribution of income and even of the food supply. That is a problem that deserves careful and immediate attention.

But as I stated before, the population problem cannot be discussed only in terms of food supply. The ability of a country to maintain an optimum population depends upon its agricultural, as well as commercial and industrial wealth. In this connection the progress made by India though far short of the total possibilities or even minimum requirements is not altogether despicable or even unsatisfactory. There has been an all round increase in the production of our industries and this increase is reflected in the increased national dividend which today is between 70 and 80 rupees per head. The possibilities of the development of industries, small scale as well as large scale, are almost immense, and will favourably react on the national dividend per capita in India. The following table shows how national dividend, though still almost insignificant when compared with countries like England and America, has moved upwards from decade to decade.

| Authority | Year of calculation | Estimate of annual per capita income (Rs.) | Index of prices 1873=100 | Income per capita adjusted to price changes (Rs.) |
|---|---------------------|--|--------------------------|---|
| Dadabhoy Naoroji | .. 1870 | 20 | 102 | 20 |
| Famine Commission as corrected by Lord Curzon | .. 1881 | 27 | 96 | 27.8 |
| Lord Curzon | .. 1901 | 30 | 110 | 27 |
| Findlay Shirras | .. 1911 | 80 | 129 | 62 |
| Wadia and Joshi | .. 1913 | 45 | 143 | 30 |
| Findlay Shirras | .. 1921 | 107 | 236 | 45 |
| V. G. Kale | .. 1921 | 84 | 236 | 35.9 |
| Shah and Khambatta | .. 1921 | 74 | 236 | 31.6 |
| Findlay Shirras | .. 1929 | 111 | 207 | 53.10 |

The danger in our industrial development consists in the multiplication of large scale industries with very little regard to the importance of small scale industries or to the inherent defects in the present distribution system. Increased production of wealth through machinery and large scale production will be only a partial remedy to India's poverty, food shortage, low standard of life and unsatisfactory expectation of life. The population problem has also to be examined from these wider, but nevertheless, more fundamental, aspects.

There is a widespread talk in many parts of India on the necessity of a population policy. The poverty of the people, widespread unemployment and under-employment, low vitality and productivity, large mortality, high birthrate are supposed to be evils which can be cured by the magic of a population policy, identifying such a policy with neo-Malthusian

methods of birth-control through an almost universal use of contraceptives.

India is teeming with population problem which do not necessarily mean the problem of birth-control. In the first place, the most obvious and the most urgent and fundamental problem today is the qualitative problem. The standard of life, of education, of sanitation, of production, of vitality has to be raised by a comprehensive system which can be done only through a vigorous and persistent state action. All the attention, energy and resources which India can at present command would be perhaps too limited to deal with the qualitative aspects of the population problem. But the task, however immense, has to be carried out with courage, imagination and knowledge. Closely connected with the general toning up of the whole level of social, economic, moral and cultural life is the problem of maldistribution which intensifies poverty and destitution in India. It cannot be denied that almost one-fourth of the population of India is below the margin of subsistence. The foodstuffs are not exhibiting a proportionate shortage. In fact, even the available foodstuffs to the extent of 50 million tons exclusive of exports can certainly produce a better system of nutrition, provided the system of distribution is modified in such a way as to bring a larger number of producers and consumers within the orbit of social justice. Besides, there are endless prospects of a veritable revolution in our agricultural technique which will give to the country a greater quantity of food supplies. This, quite apart from the possibilities of a comprehensive industrialisation of the country both on a large and a small scale.

The Malthusian law of population has been conspicuous throughout history for its non-working rather than for its operation. In India itself, we have seen how after 400 years our population is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as it was early in 1600. In the case of China the situation is still more evident. The working of the Malthusian law of population should have saturated China and produced an overflow of the Mongolian race throughout the rest of Asia. We know of several races and peoples that have disappeared from the face of the world, not through the operation of the Malthusian positive and negative checks, but from a sheer lack of moral vitality. The growth in numbers is not merely a biological process conditioned by economic factors. If this were so, the world would not have witnessed the rise, expansion, development and then a fall and

disappearance of many races, creeds and peoples. Inhabitants of the old Roman empire disappeared not as a result of any widespread operation of the Malthusian checks, positive or preventive, and so also the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and many other races and civilisations. The moral factor is important and perhaps as important as the biological factor. Only when a country is morally vigorous and economically stable does the population increase at a certain rate, but if a race is even well fed and apparently prosperous and morally and politically devitalised and sapped the increase in numbers is checked by the absence of moral fertility and the stage of depopulation gradually sets in. It is strange that the economist and the sociologist should devote hardly any attention to the moral factor influencing the growth of population or contributing to depopulation. And one great force which undermines the moral responsibility and blows to smithereens ethical principles is the deliberate use of the neo-Malthusian methods as the corner-stone of what some people call a population policy. Neither the Malthusian nor neo-Malthusian theories of population can explain its growth and movement over long periods of human history which probably goes back to some 40 to 50 thousand years.

Western Europe is now confronted with the problem of depopulation and of declining population. The tendency which had begun before the War has been recently accentuated to an alarming extent with the result that the population problem of Europe is the problem of its declining population. Even Russia had to reverse its whole population policy almost in a state of panic and officially burn its new neo-Malthusian boats. In Italy and Germany all kinds of devices, ingenious and disingenious, are being popularised for the purpose of stabilising if not increasing the rate of the population growth. The situation in France is even worse. England is also confronted with the problem of a stationary population which is really an issue of declining population. There has been a considerable growth in European longevity which has created the illusion of a stationary population in the last decennium though in reality the population in the earliest

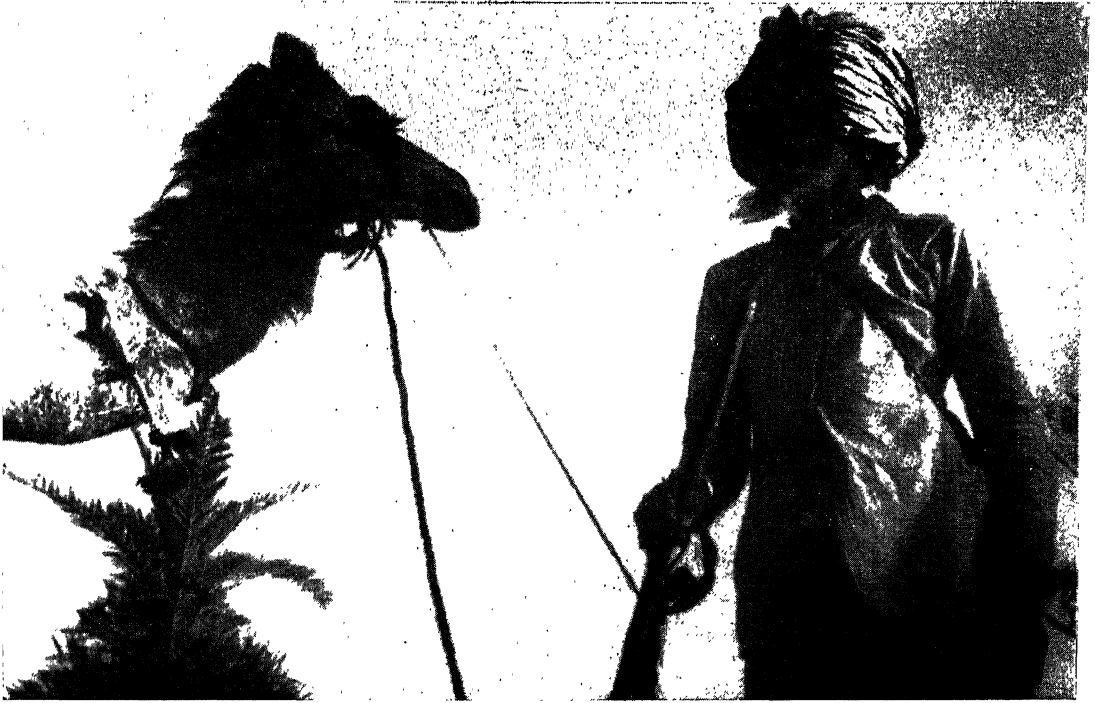
age growths has shown a marked downward tendency. In 1881 there were in England as many children as old people of 65 and above. In 1907 seven times as many children as old people. Today the proportion is three to one. And in 1965, if the trend goes on, it will fall almost one to one. Such a situation is almost disastrous. And these conclusions are confirmed by analysis of recent changes in birth and death rates in England. Thus the birth-rate has declined almost steadily from its peak to 36.3 per 1,000 in 1876 to about 17½ today. The following table is an illuminating commentary on the declining population of England.

TOTAL POPULATION, ENGLAND AND WALES
(000's OMITTED)

| Age group | 1881 | 1901 | 1935 | 1965 (estimated) |
|-------------|----------|-------|-------|---------------------|
| 75 and over | .. 336 | 442 | 908 | 1549 |
| 65-74 | .. 852 | 1076 | 2308 | 3311 |
| 45-64 | .. 3708 | 4845 | 9016 | 10811 |
| 25-44 | .. 6734 | 9252 | 12476 | 11114 |
| 15-24 | .. 4875 | 6367 | 6428 | 4967 |
| 5-14 | .. 5948 | 6829 | 6572 | 4601 |
| 0-4 | .. 3521 | 3717 | 2860 | 2149 |
| Total | .. 25974 | 32528 | 40568 | 38502 |

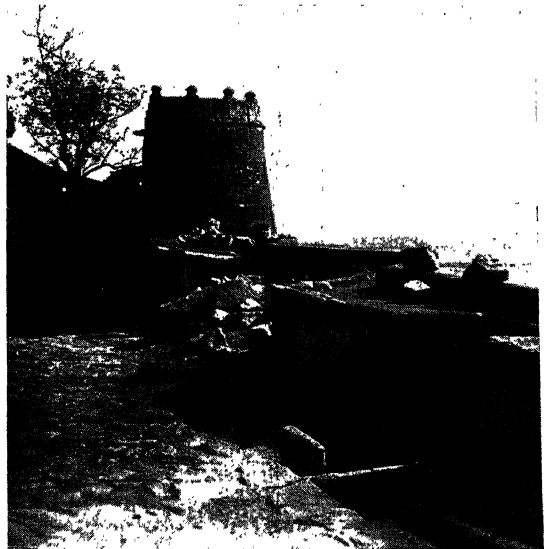
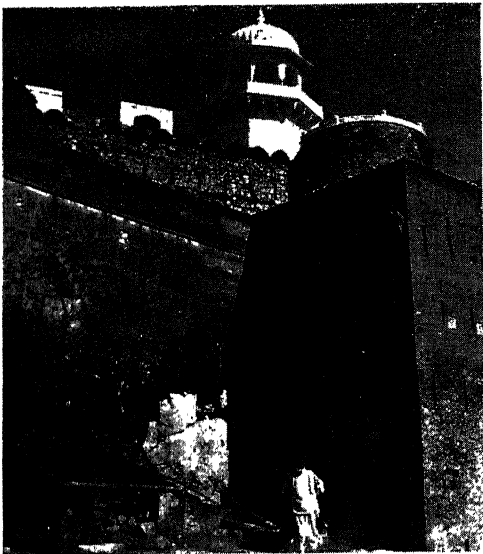
Apart, therefore, from moral aspects, the neo-Malthusian population policy if adopted in India may produce serious moral, social and even economic disintegration of consequences which today are the nightmare of European statesmen and economists. It is true that India has been seized more or less suddenly with a population problem. And the only reaction has been to attack its quantitative aspects sometimes quite irrespective of ethical considerations. But the qualitative factors are equally important as well as the modifications of external forces and circumstances economic and social which are powerfully contributing to the weakening of the standard of life. It is a problem that cannot be considered only in one aspect. It is a multiple problem demanding cool and careful study, a long view both of the past and the present and a mental attitude uninfluenced and undisturbed by panic and haste. *

THE CHARANS OF RAJPUTANA



A Rajput
Perhaps he dreams of the past history of his land

—R. R. Bhardwaj



Rajput Forts

—S. Bhatia



The wandering minstrel
He sings of the past and of Rajput martyrdom. Songs of Rajput
chivalry, dear to the people, again and again come to his lips



The Charan today —*Jayantilal Parekh*
"The Rajput war-poetry is a widow now," he sings, "the great Maru
Rag to which she was wedded is no more alive"

THE CHARANS OF RAJPUTANA

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

THE sense of race was strong in the Rajput bard, the singer of heroic *Doohas*, who called himself Chāran. "One who sympathizes and inspires is a Chāran" the etymologist would tell. The Chāran was undoubtedly such a one.

The origin of the Chārans, however, is not an easy problem of history. It seems probable that the tenth century A.D., found them scattered in various parts of North India, and that round about Kanauj, their favourite centre, they had rich colonies. Then came a time when the Chārans from far and near rushed to Sind, where in a village, called Chalkana, a Chāran of Sauva clan, was going to be a victim of tyranny at the hands of Hammir Soomra, the king of Sind. The name of that Chāran was Mammāt, and his father, Mada, in his time, had captured the imagination of the Chāran race at large. The king saw Mammāt's eldest daughter, Ubbatdevi, and fell in love with her at first sight. The king wanted her to be his bride, but her father refused to give her in marriage to him, saying: "My daughter will remain a virgin all her life, for my community calls her a goddess." And it was true. The Chārans had declared that Ubbatdevi, Mammāt's daughter, was the incarnation of Mother Hinglaj.¹ Ubbatdevi had six sisters: (1) Guli, (2) Huli or Hol, (3) Rekhyali or Rephli, (4) Ichha or Achhi, (5) Charchika or Chhachhi, (6) Laghvi or Langi or Khodiar: they all were incarnations, half or full, of Hinglaj, the Chārans believed. The king of Sind put their father in his prison, and all the sisters miraculously escaped. The youngest one went to *Tantaniadara*, a stream fourteen miles from Bhavnagar in Kathiawar, and the others, including the eldest one, reached the hill of *Temda*, fourteen miles from Jaisalmer in Rajputana. Soon came the downfall of Hammir Soomra's kingdom in Sind. The Samma Kshatriyas got it.

1. The time of Hinglaj, the premier Charan goddess, is approximately the ninth century A. D. The Charans have many goddesses, and when they say, *Nou Lakh Lovadiāl* (nine lacs of goddesses every one wearing a *Lovadi*, or a *woollen Sari*), they really mean it. And all the goddesses are said to be half or full incarnations of Mother Hinglaj alone.

Later on Kathiawar, Kachh and Rajputana became the chief centres of the Chārans. The Rajputana Chārans came to be known as *Maru* (lit. of Marwar), the Kachh Chārans called themselves *Kachhela* or *Parjia*. In Kathiawar



Devendra Satyarthi

they became *Sorthia*. One of their off-shoots was the *Tumbel*; it was called rather 'half Chāran'. Others did not accept water or food from their hands. By and by their customs differed from each other according to the countries they made their homes.

Rajputana became a *Tirath Kshetra* (holy place) to all the Chārāns, and many members of their community living in far-off places came as pilgrims to the seat of Ubbatdevi. And many of the pilgrims settled down in Rajputana at different times. They love Rajputana so much.

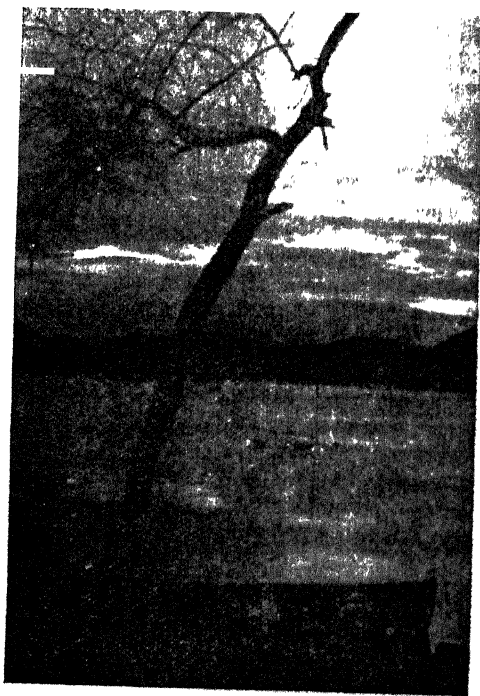
And then came the fourteenth century; on its heels came bloody warfare. Ranthambor Fort had already passed into the hands of Alauddin. Chittor Fort, too, went. Padmini, the queen of Bhim Singh, burned herself alive, along with many other Rajput women: it was their *Jauhar*. It was their last resort; they valued their honour and for it they sacrificed themselves: and thereby they inspired their men to wear yellow clothes and face the enemy heroically, rather desperately. The Chāran saw all this before his eyes. In his heart of hearts, Mother Hinglaj spoke to him: "Why are you silent, my son? My daughter, Padmini, and many other daughters of mine have played their part well in the *Jauhar*. O! why not sing of war, my son?" Every night he saw Mother Hinglaj in his dreams and every night she repeated the same words.

And there he was with his heroic Doohas: tiny, little songs sung to the great *Maru Rag*: songs of hard realities of life; songs which the Chāran loved, which everybody loved. Soon came Rana Hammir Singh on the scene, and he resumed possession of Chittor Fort. The Rajputs rejoiced. The Chāran stood and watched the scene with the eyes of an artist. Mother Hinglaj patted him on his back. He had sung successfully. The war for honour and freedom went on for centuries. It was not always a victory for the Rajputs. Sometimes they were defeated. They suffered much. The Raj family of Mewar always yearned for a united front. But it was not possible—some of the Rajput chiefs had given way. The Mewar Raj, however, did not lose ground for hundreds of years. And as the intoxication of offering their lives at the altar of freedom grew upon the heroes, the Rajput war-poetry² leaped

2. Rabindranath Tagore, *Speech before the Rajasthan Research Society*, Calcutta, Feb. 18, 1937: "The *Bhakti* literature we find in every province. Everywhere the poets sang of Radha and Krishna in a key of their own. But the literature that Rajasthan created out of her blood is unique. And it is not without reason. The Rajput bards sang extempore to the war-drum, facing the hard reality of life. It was the dance of nature, like Siva's *Tandav*, that they saw before them. Can someone today create that type of poetry through imagination? The heroic sentiment and emotion, enshrined in every little song of Rajasthani language, is the original

into life. Every song spoke of generations of brave swordsmen, who gave their everything to the cause of freedom—their bodies and souls, their hearts, their thoughts.

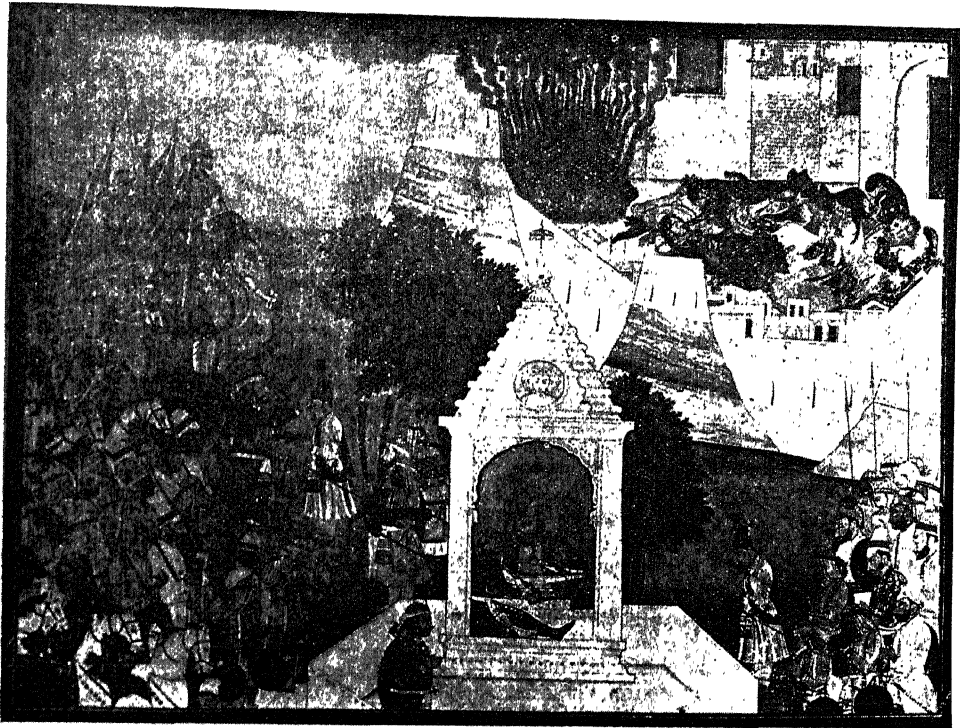
The Chārāns as a race were not all bards. Many of them were cattle-breeders; and they raised their huts in the forests, every little colony called *Nes*. Say what one may, the Chāran, even as a herdsman, helped the cause of war. He raised cows and horses of fine breeds. His one consolation was that he



The Udaisagar Lake at Udaipur

supplied pure milk and *ghee* to the heroes, and that he produced mettlesome horses and mares. Sometimes the Chāran took to the work of a *Banjara*, or travelling tradesman; and with his loaded bullock, he went from village to village.

asset of Rajasthan, and the pride of India at large. It is spontaneous, sincere and nearer to nature. My friend, Kshitimohan Sen, introduced me to Hindi poetry. Today I have got a new thing. These stirring songs give me quite a new approach to literature. Many a time have I heard that the Chārāns sang and roused the heroes. Today I have listened to the age-old poems of the Chāran. They have a force even today. India awaits a well-edited volume of the poetry of the Chāran." (Translated from Bengali.)



The Jauhar

Hamir, a brave Chittor chief, fought with and defeated Allauddin, but as he was returning with his army triumphantly, the ladies in his fort mistook it for the enemy host and rather than be taken captive they threw themselves into a burning pyre to save their honour

[From an old illuminated MS of *Hamir-Nath*, through the kind courtesy of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State.]

Most probably he kept daggers, swords and shields, too, for sale and got many a right moment to contribute some weapons to some of the poor, honorary soldiers. The Chārans at large were always landholders, and while in prosperity they took a special care to give gifts to the *Kulaguru* (the family preceptor, always a Brahmin) who preserved their lineage-accounts and certain other people whom he called friends.

And every now and then the cattle-breeder Chāran, too, produced a son who could make new songs. Poetry was in his blood. The whole neighbourhood rejoiced when a new poet appeared on the scene: his mother got congratulations from her kith and kin; the father was congratulated separately. Every now and then the sisters smiled and laughed and joked, calling their brother *Kaviraj* (lit. poet laureate).

The Chāran's person was sacred. He was

never given capital punishment, whatever his crime. The nation wanted him for many more songs. The great range of his genius impressed the Rajput Chiefs, and he was always at liberty to say anything he liked, even before the king, who took pride in patronizing him. The Chāran's first impulse was to acknowledge the gifts, the king bestowed on him, but he never suffered from "inferiority complex". The royal patronage came to him as the dew comes to the flower. As every Rajput mother's son was expected to be a swordsman, ever ready to fight for the freedom of his country heroically, so was the Chāran expected to spread the gospel of honour and freedom through the length and breadth of Rajputana. And when it was a war to the knife, the Chāran, too, took hold of sword and shield to do his bit. It is a pity that Rajput history today cannot give a full list of Chārans who rose to distinction.

Rajput war-poetry was never the monopoly of the Chāran. Some of the Rajput Chiefs and kings contributed to it. Men and women both sang extempore; women, perhaps, sang more and with a greater force. The Chāran put many of his songs into woman's mouth; woman, in her turn, composed her own songs, too. The people generally took to *Doochas*: other metres were rare. The *Doocha* metre, in its original form, belonged to the people. The people sang of love between man and woman before the fourteenth century, and now when war was declared every now and then, the main theme of the *Doocha* was heroism.

The Chāran's wife, perhaps, had her own role; she was a helping hand to the womenfolk in their song contests. None actually claimed authorship. They shared each other's creations, as they shared each other's smiles and tears. Every Rajput woman, as she roused her husband to go to the battlefield, wove a new *Doocha*. The new recruits in the creation of heroic poetry looked to the Chāran for revision and improvement of their compositions.

The songs were not generally recorded. There are no references in the songs to the Chāran keeping always a notebook with his texts put down in black and white. Had it been a tradition to preserve every line of

heroic verse, it could have been possible today to prepare an encyclopædia of Rajput heroism. The *Doochas*, old or new, only lived in memory. The text of a *Doocha* was not fixed. It varied with each individual singer. Nor did it attain at once its final form. New songs came to being with every new battle. Their authorship passed into oblivion; the sex of the original author, too, was not known. The song, in which woman spoke, did not always indicate its origin from woman; it was a fashion with the *Doocha*-singers to put many of their songs into the mouth of woman. In some cases, the final form of a *Doocha* had one line from one sex and the second from the other.

The Chāran accompanied the soldiers to the battlefield with a flag of his own. While singing, he became a new man. Poetry flowed from his lips like a stream. All the Chārans, who made poetry, might have been cast from the same mould so similar were their traditions and ideals and views. Everything they had, their bodies, their hearts, their souls, belonged to Rajputana; they wanted it to remain free, always free.

[My sincere thanks are due to Sri Raghunath Prasad Singhania and Sri Bhagvatiprasad Bisen, the founders of the Rajasthan Research Society at Calcutta, for helping me in the study of the Chārāns and their poetry. *Author.*]

ROMANCE OF COTTON INDUSTRY IN JAPAN

By M. V. DANI, B. com.

A TINY, little island country, in the Far East, hardly known by the world about 90 years ago, with a primitive form of economic activities and a primitive form of political control, emerged out of its hundreds of years of slumber, at the sight of Commodore Perry's ships, and began to view the world in a new light. The outworn institutions of feudal regime began to crumble down. Mr. S. Uyehara gives a graphic description of the state of affairs at this time. In his book *The Industry and Trade of Japan*, he says that:

"It was a time when the extremely distressed economic conditions of the country gave a momentum. The deterioration of nobles and the moral decay of the upper class were at a climax. Farmers especially were reduced to absolute misery and poverty owing to excessive taxation and their slavish position. There was then

no equality and freedom, no complete safety of life and property. Great barriers divided the classes. The common people had to kneel and bow so low as to touch their foreheads on the ground whenever they met a procession of feudal lords. The commoners had no right of appeal against unlawfulness, inhumanity and tyranny of classes higher in the social scale. It was not an uncommon thing for them to be whipped if they failed to pay heavy taxes. Bad harvests occurred in succession and plague often visited the country during the distressed period."

Awakened from this state the nation began to follow in the footsteps of the civilised Western nations, and comparatively in a very short time became marvel of the world. The Yamato race, supposed to have a slow understanding power, began studying things steadily and in a short spell of time made such a sure progress in all its economic, political, cultural

and social activities that it began to command respect from the foremost nations of the world.

The key industries of Japan's foreign trade are textiles, which constitute about half of her exports; cotton goods top the list even though Japan has to import all her raw cotton from foreign countries. This is the present position of the country in the cotton industry. The industry was absolutely in a primitive form till a little before Meiji era, i.e., 1862 A.D. Cotton was not a local product in Japan till 789 A.D., in which year seeds were brought from the continent of Asia. However till 1554 A.D., there is no record of cotton cloth being manufactured in the country. After this period cotton cloth became clothing material of ordinary people also. Long contact of the people with the silk weaving industry had given them necessary skill for the manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth. Still all these processes were carried on by hand till 1862. In that year Prince Nariakira Shimizu of Satsuma clan in Kyuyushu became interested in modern machinery of producing cotton yarn. Before his plans were matured he died. His desire was fulfilled by his son Yoshimitsu in 1867, by establishing a mill at Kagoshima. The lord started another mill at Sakai, near Osaka as he found that the first one was established at a disadvantage as regards the supply of raw material. A third mill was started by Mampei Kashima, a merchant with the government help in 1872. In this manner there was a slow progress in the industry. Dissatisfied by this slow rate the government began to encourage the spinning industry more actively and directly. They offered to import units of 2,000 spindles and sell them to the people on ten years time, without interest and to send technical experts to teach the operatives in different mills. Model government mills were established in different parts of the country. More units of 2,000 spindles were ordered and mills were established at Hyogi, Osaka, Nara, Okayama, Miye, Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Toehigi and Miyagi. The governors of the prefectures were instructed to encourage people to take interest in the new industry. Later on these government mills were leased or sold to private parties. Various type of state help was given to foster the new industry. Foreign experts were engaged. Young men from Japan were sent to various countries in Europe and America to have first-hand industrial and technical education. The industry began to make rapid progress. The position in 1894, i.e., before the first Sino-Japanese war was as follows:

| Years | Companies | Mills | Total Spindles |
|-------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| 1866 | 1 | 1 | 5,456 |
| 1871 | 2 | 2 | 7,456 |
| 1872 | 3 | 3 | 8,204 |
| 1879 | 4 | 4 | 10,204 |
| 1880 | 5 | 5 | 12,204 |
| 1881 | 7 | 7 | 16,204 |
| 1882 | 13 | 13 | 28,204 |
| 1883 | 16 | 16 | 43,704 |
| 1884 | 19 | 19 | 49,704 |
| 1885 | 22 | 22 | 59,704 |
| 1886 | 22 | 22 | 71,604 |
| 1889 | 28 | 28 | 215,190 |
| 1890 | 30 | 30 | 277,895 |
| 1891 | 36 | 36 | 353,980 |
| 1892 | 39 | 39 | 385,314 |
| 1893 | 40 | 40 | 381,781 |
| 1894 | 45 | 45 | 530,074 |

In early days Japanese cotton was used but later on as the industry began to grow it was found desirable to use foreign cotton. During this period consumption of imported cotton increased from Y170,639 in 1880 to Y19,610,760 in 1894. The relative position of yarn was as follows:

| Years | Production | Imports | Total | Exports | Used in Japan |
|-------|------------|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| 1868 | 1,500 | 12,196 | 13,696 | .. | 13,696 |
| 1871 | 1,983 | 26,561 | 28,544 | .. | 28,544 |
| 1872 | 2,182 | 43,446 | 45,648 | .. | 45,648 |
| 1879 | 2,714 | 78,571 | 81,285 | .. | 81,285 |
| 1880 | 3,246 | 95,324 | 98,570 | .. | 98,570 |
| 1881 | 4,310 | 92,421 | 96,731 | .. | 96,731 |
| 1882 | 7,502 | 84,324 | 91,826 | .. | 91,826 |
| 1883 | 11,625 | 82,135 | 93,760 | .. | 93,760 |
| 1884 | 13,221 | 70,683 | 83,844 | .. | 83,844 |
| 1885 | 15,881 | 71,385 | 87,266 | .. | 87,266 |
| 1886 | 15,568 | 82,101 | 97,669 | .. | 97,669 |
| 1889 | 67,046 | 142,703 | 209,749 | .. | 209,749 |
| 1890 | 104,839 | 106,361 | 211,200 | 31 | 211,169 |
| 1891 | 144,980 | 57,792 | 202,772 | 108 | 202,664 |
| 1892 | 204,950 | 81,028 | 285,978 | 109 | 285,869 |
| 1893 | 214,758 | 64,684 | 279,442 | 1,051 | 278,389 |
| 1894 | 292,400 | 53,143 | 345,543 | 11,796 | 333,747 |

(in bales of 400 lbs.)

Till 1890 the industry made quite a satisfactory progress. During the next three years production and exports increased and imports began to diminish. Sino-Japanese war gave a momentum and there was increase in new mills. More capital was invested in buying new machinery and in extending already existing concerns. This period did not last for a long time. As a reaction the industry again began to suffer. Due to acute financial stringency many mills were closed down. There was a danger of widespread collapse in the industry. This would have affected the general economic structure of the nation a great deal. The government stepped in to remedy the situation. In 1896 the State established Hypothec Bank:

of Japan, for the purpose of advancing long term loans, at a low rate of interest. This bank was ordered to extend extraordinary help to the industries that were in financial trouble, especially the textile industry, and to issue debentures. For this purpose ¥5,000,000 were kept at the disposal of the bank and was asked to proceed carefully, in order not to cause undue inflation and to prevent the industries helped from relying too much on the state help. The loans extended in 1898 were 2,371,000 yen. Conditions improved and the next year was found somewhat prosperous by the spinning mills. The period between 1899 and 1903 saw many amalgamations of spinning mills. Number of mills which were started after the Sino-Japanese war began to compete with each other. Mills having insufficient working capital began to suffer a great deal. This condition became acute when money market was further tight. Many means were tried to remedy the situation without any avail. Ultimately it was found desirable to amalgamate with sound concerns. This amalgamation increased number of spindles and operatives under a few heads, which could effect improvement to bring down the cost of production.

However the so-called Golden Era of the industry was found from 1904 to 1907, i.e., from the Russo-Japanese war. The war operations gave a good chance for the mills to extend their operations. The successive victory in the war opened new markets. The mills experienced a great boom and made huge profits. 11 new weaving mills, including spinning also, were started at a nominal capital of 21,500,000 yen. Twelve mills increased their capital by 11,269,950 yen. Three mills issued debentures for improvements and additions amounting to 950,000 yen. Various mills planned increases which they could effect later on. The following table shows the situation at this stage since the Sino-Japanese war:

| Years | Companies | Mills | Total Spindles | Imported raw cotton consumption Y | Average daily working spindles |
|-------|-----------|-------|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1895 | 47 | 47 | 580,945 | 24,822,097 | 518,736 |
| 1896 | 61 | 61 | 757,196 | 32,573,352 | 692,384 |
| 1897 | 65 | 74 | 970,567 | 43,620,214 | 768,328 |
| 1898 | 74 | 77 | 1,146,749 | 45,744,371 | 1,027,817 |
| 1899 | 78 | 83 | 1,189,929 | 62,210,717 | 1,170,327 |
| 1900 | 79 | 80 | 1,267,872 | 59,471,629 | 1,144,027 |
| 1901 | 66 | 81 | 1,295,598 | 60,650,362 | 1,181,762 |
| 1902 | 56 | 80 | 1,352,948 | 79,784,771 | 1,301,118 |
| 1903 | 51 | 76 | 1,381,306 | 69,518,110 | 1,290,347 |
| 1904 | 49 | 74 | 1,345,585 | 73,420,386 | 1,306,198 |
| 1905 | 49 | 78 | 1,426,594 | 110,623,183 | 1,402,931 |
| 1906 | 47 | 83 | 1,472,353 | 82,661,859 | 1,441,934 |
| 1907 | 42 | 83 | 1,540,452 | 115,641,599 | 1,500,579 |

The position of yarn manufacture and trade was as follows :

| Years | Production | Imports | Total | Exports | Used in Japan |
|-------|------------|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| 1895 | 366,689 | 48,637 | 415,326 | 11,786 | 403,550 |
| 1896 | 401,614 | 66,713 | 468,327 | 43,219 | 425,078 |
| 1897 | 511,236 | 53,636 | 564,872 | 140,116 | 424,756 |
| 1898 | 644,504 | 53,099 | 697,603 | 229,115 | 468,488 |
| 1899 | 757,315 | 27,369 | 784,684 | 341,203 | 443,481 |
| 1900 | 645,432 | 30,170 | 675,602 | 208,333 | 466,269 |
| 1901 | 660,590 | 19,982 | 680,572 | 209,172 | 471,400 |
| 1902 | 770,853 | 8,993 | 779,846 | 197,481 | 582,365 |
| 1903 | 801,738 | 3,539 | 805,277 | 307,301 | 497,976 |
| 1904 | 695,212 | 1,792 | 697,004 | 257,307 | 439,697 |
| 1905 | 905,536 | 7,405 | 912,941 | 267,383 | 645,558 |
| 1906 | 945,165 | 18,813 | 963,978 | 267,348 | 696,630 |
| 1907 | 983,482 | 5,952 | 989,434 | 226,472 | 762,962 |

(in bales of 400 lbs. each.)

Again after this boom period depression prevailed. Mushroom concerns failed. More amalgamations took place. Due to increase of many other concerns money market was tight. Value of several industrial shares declined. However the spinning and weaving industry, on the whole, did not suffer so much. Curtailment in production was adopted. The condition of spinning and weaving mills at this period was far better than that of previous periods of depression. The huge profits earned during the last boom enabled the industry to write off large amounts for depreciation and to create sound reserves, which were made use of in bad years. From 1912 things began to improve. The last Great World War was a blessing from the heaven for the Japanese industries in general and cotton industry in particular. The wealth accumulated during this period put the Japanese economic activities on sound basis. Describing the importance of this situation Mr. Arno Pearce rightly observes that Japan entered in earnest the world's market at a most opportune time, when the great war suddenly opened up to her markets which would have taken years to conquer under normal conditions.

It was a great opportunity for the development of industries. Japan took full advantage of it. Mr. Cunningham says that not only did Japanese manufacturers find themselves freed from competition in their main market, China, but owing to the incapacity of England and other regular suppliers to meet the demand they were enabled to build up a great trade in substitute goods with markets such as India, Netherland Indies, South America, Africa, and other countries to which they had not previously found entry. Mr. J. Orchard tracing the importance of all the previous wars along with the great war

says that wars and the fear of wars have played an important part in bringing Japanese manufacturing industries to their present state of development. Industrialisation was begun as a weapon against possible aggression from a foreign nation, and each of the three wars in which Japan was engaged in modern period, the war with China in 1894-95, Russo-Japanese war in 1904-5 and the World War, was a powerful stimulus to industrial expansion. The following figures will enable to have an idea of the steady development in the cotton industry till the post-war period.

| Years | Cotton spinning | Mills | Total spindles | Daily average working spindles | Imported raw cotton con- sumption Y. |
|-------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1913 | 42 | 157 | 2,657,174 | 2,369,800 | 220,496,000 |
| 1915 | 41 | 161 | 2,807,514 | 2,463,376 | 218,502,000 |
| 1916 | 40 | 161 | 2,875,904 | 2,757,299 | 277,572,000 |
| 1917 | 43 | 170 | 3,060,478 | 2,850,637 | 334,679,000 |
| 1918 | 43 | 177 | 3,227,678 | 2,936,495 | 522,632,000 |
| 1919 | 54 | 190 | 3,488,262 | 3,179,568 | 674,562,000 |
| 1920 | 56 | 198 | 3,813,580 | 3,191,753 | 727,365,000 |

The position of yarn production and trade was follows :

| Years | Production | Imports | Total | Exports | Used in Japan |
|-------|------------|---------|-----------|---------|------------------|
| 1914 | 1,666,181 | 607 | 1,666,788 | 569,990 | 1,096,798 |
| 1915 | 1,720,264 | 588 | 1,720,852 | 575,891 | 1,144,961 |
| 1916 | 1,925,579 | 660 | 1,926,239 | 547,147 | 1,379,092 |
| 1917 | 1,923,841 | 904 | 1,924,745 | 470,852 | 1,453,893 |
| 1918 | 1,803,866 | 1,088 | 1,804,954 | 421,512 | 1,383,442 |
| 1919 | 1,920,782 | 8,907 | 1,929,689 | 230,333 | 1,699,356 |
| 1920 | 1,816,976 | 5,121 | 1,822,097 | 304,925 | 1,517,172 |

(in bale of 400 lbs. each.)

There was a remarkable development in the exports of piecegoods particularly in war years as can be seen from the following figures :

| | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------|------|----|----------------|
| 1903 | .. | Y. 6,874,947 | 1917 | .. | Y. 148,108,352 |
| 1907 | .. | Y. 16,344,097 | 1918 | .. | Y. 268,640,465 |
| 1914 | .. | Y. 43,403,410 | 1919 | .. | Y. 351,195,333 |
| 1915 | .. | Y. 47,899,898 | 1920 | .. | Y. 352,173,295 |
| 1916 | .. | Y. 73,173,460 | | | — |

The condition of the weaving side of the members of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association, which constitutes a major portion of Japan's cotton industry, for the same period was as follows :

| Years | Average working looms | Male | Female | Total workers |
|-------|-----------------------------|--------|--------|------------------|
| 1903 | .. | 4,963 | 657 | 4,253 |
| 1907 | .. | 9,225 | 1,525 | 8,727 |
| 1914 | .. | 24,911 | 3,569 | 22,459 |
| 1915 | .. | 27,687 | 3,547 | 22,930 |
| 1916 | .. | 30,110 | 3,737 | 23,245 |
| 1917 | .. | 31,920 | 4,333 | 24,434 |
| 1918 | .. | 38,073 | 5,735 | 30,997 |
| 1919 | .. | 41,469 | 7,635 | 37,040 |
| 1920 | .. | 44,635 | 8,005 | 39,048 |

Even today one curious aspect of Japan's cotton industry is that all the spinning is carried on by big members of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association. However, that is not the case with weaving. It is considered that about half the cotton fabrics are woven in small weaving sheds and by handlooms. Due to their small unit and scattered nature it is very difficult to get their exact statistics. The above figures give only a partial idea about the looms owned by the spinning mills and labour engaged for the purpose of weaving. I have just given the figures to show as to how the influence of the great war was also felt by the weaving side of the big spinning mills. There was considerable increase among the operatives in the big spinning side also.

| Years | Male | Female | Total |
|-------|--------|---------|---------|
| 1903 | 14,314 | 59,365 | 73,679 |
| 1907 | 15,242 | 64,377 | 79,619 |
| 1914 | 22,163 | 92,251 | 114,414 |
| 1915 | 22,674 | 92,500 | 115,174 |
| 1916 | 23,845 | 97,279 | 121,124 |
| 1917 | 25,518 | 97,648 | 123,166 |
| 1918 | 26,790 | 95,069 | 121,859 |
| 1919 | 30,935 | 101,399 | 132,334 |
| 1920 | 33,966 | 109,782 | 143,748 |

After the restoration of peace Japan's cotton industry suffered with those of other countries from the post-war depression. The export of Japan's cotton goods to the war time markets fell off a great deal. However this depression was not keenly felt by the industry as a whole as sufficient provisions were made for the bad years. The fact is well proved that in spite of the terrible disaster of earthquake in 1923, in which cotton industry suffered a great deal, marked progress was witnessed in 1925. In this year record figures were reached in the production of cotton textiles, which, considering the difficulties faced by the cotton industry of other nations of the world must be regarded as real achievement. From this year till 1930 there was a sort of a lull in the progress of the industry. On the other hand depression was experienced till 1931. Various means were tried to get over the situation. Rationalisation was adopted and it was thoroughly practised in all the branches of the industry. Gold embargo and the subsequent exchange depreciation helped to recover its position. The Manchurian incident and Japan's success therein created a vast market. Once more steady progress was maintained since 1932 which is continuing even today.

| Years | Companies | Mills | Total spindles | Looms | Daily average working spindle | Average work- ing looms |
|-------|-----------|-------|-------------------|--------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1925 | 54 | 230 | 5,185,632 | 68,160 | 4,669,753 | 62,976 |
| 1930 | 62 | 251 | 7,045,029 | 75,657 | 5,897,894 | 65,169 |
| 1931 | 61 | 252 | 7,375,978 | 74,138 | 5,904,343 | 64,392 |
| 1932 | 63 | 257 | 7,848,494 | 76,591 | 6,307,884 | 68,028 |
| 1933 | 61 | 260 | 8,525,222 | 83,687 | 6,737,621 | 73,966 |
| 1934 | 62 | 264 | 9,325,594 | 87,033 | 7,502,504 | 79,630 |
| 1935 | 60 | 263 | 10,330,452 | 89,664 | 8,197,422 | 82,397 |
| 1936 | 71 | 276 | 11,975,584 | 95,813 | 8,392,024 | 85,974 |

The position of yarn and the consumption of imported raw cotton for the same period was as follows :

| Years | Production | Imports | Total | Exports | Used in Japan | Imported raw cotton in Y. |
|-------|------------|---------|-----------|---------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 1925 | 2,436,783 | 3,641 | 2,440,424 | 310,801 | 2,129,623 | 923,355,000 |
| 1930 | 2,524,699 | 9,052 | 2,533,751 | 59,616 | 2,474,135 | 362,047,000 |
| 1931 | 2,567,133 | 115,533 | 2,682,666 | 31,724 | 2,650,942 | 296,273,000 |
| 1932 | 2,810,437 | 28,586 | 2,839,023 | 89,604 | 2,749,419 | 447,401,000 |
| 1933 | 3,099,856 | 58,966 | 3,158,822 | 48,307 | 3,110,515 | 604,847,000 |
| 1934 | 3,472,442 | 54,518 | 3,526,960 | 64,844 | 3,462,116 | 731,425,000 |
| 1935 | 3,560,832 | 17,938 | 3,578,770 | 96,582 | 3,482,188 | 714,262,000 |
| 1936 | 3,607,458 | 14,449 | 3,621,907 | 110,524 | 3,511,383 | 850,451,000 |

The position of exports of cotton piece-goods was as follows:

| | | | |
|------|---------------|------|---------------|
| 1925 | Y.432,850,421 | 1933 | Y.383,215,392 |
| 1930 | Y.272,116,781 | 1934 | Y.492,351,023 |
| 1931 | Y.198,731,572 | 1935 | Y.496,097,082 |
| 1932 | Y.288,712,833 | 1936 | Y.483,591,246 |

The increase in average working looms and operatives constituted as follows :

| Years | Average work- ing looms | Male | Female | Total workers |
|-------|----------------------------|-------|--------|---------------|
| 1925 | 62,976 | 8,703 | 47,023 | 55,726 |
| 1930 | 65,169 | 7,396 | 27,956 | 35,352 |
| 1931 | 64,392 | 5,812 | 23,024 | 28,836 |
| 1932 | 68,028 | 5,379 | 25,015 | 30,394 |
| 1933 | 73,966 | 5,296 | 29,013 | 34,309 |
| 1934 | 79,630 | 5,245 | 30,709 | 35,954 |
| 1935 | 82,397 | 5,025 | 32,163 | 37,188 |
| 1936 | 85,974 | 4,788 | 33,671 | 38,459 |

The changes in the operatives of spinning industry were:

| Years | Male | Female | Total workers |
|-------|--------|---------|---------------|
| 1925 | 39,221 | 134,383 | 173,604 |
| 1930 | 30,202 | 108,981 | 139,183 |
| 1931 | 23,661 | 98,008 | 121,669 |
| 1932 | 21,154 | 105,651 | 126,805 |
| 1933 | 19,295 | 110,128 | 129,423 |
| 1934 | 18,747 | 122,661 | 141,408 |
| 1935 | 18,640 | 133,899 | 152,539 |
| 1936 | 17,950 | 132,917 | 150,867 |

The present Sino-Japanese conflict has decidedly opened possibilities of a bright future for the industry. Due to the present war conditions and application of war time measures such as control of imports and exports and exchange the industry may be temporarily suffering from shortage of raw materials, etc. However the situation will be changed for the better when peace prevails. The picture of the phenomenal rise of the cotton industry will not be complete unless figures of investment in the industry and its further development are given. (See table below).

The total spindles at the end of 1937 were 13,474,102 and looms of the big spinning companies, who were members of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, were 104,666. The estimate of the total looms of the country at the end of the year 1934 were 376,704, as per returns of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Thus the rise of Japan's cotton industry from primitivism to the acme of the modernism fills one with awe and admiration. From the position of an obscurity it has attained a position of foremost importance among the cotton industry of the world.

| Years | Authorised capital | Paid up capital (in Yens) | Reserves | Fixed capital | Average rate of dividend |
|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1889 | | 7,499,525 | — | — | — |
| 1903 | 38,555,400 | 34,029,216 | 5,123,892 | — | — |
| 1907 | 90,036,300 | 57,731,125 | 20,883,730 | 44,478,855 | 20.6% |
| 1914 | 109,676,400 | 85,820,424 | 36,639,349 | 113,107,937 | 14.8% |
| 1920 | 394,327,650 | 276,535,896 | 165,697,053 | 187,263,695 | 37.4% |
| 1925 | 509,212,500 | 351,804,817 | 221,777,742 | 425,050,550 | 16.6% |
| 1931 | 509,364,750 | 380,555,292 | 240,686,976 | 563,380,826 | 8.9% |
| 1936 | 670,302,600 | 476,592,095 | 289,359,293 | 699,381,972 | 11.3% |
| 1937 (June 30) | 702,477,600 | 524,138,071 | 299,116,323 | 732,392,033 | 12.4% |

(The figures of fixed capital in latter years are seen more than the paid up capital, they are naturally met out of debentures and debts.)



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ENGLISH

PRISON ANTHOLOGY: Edited by A. G. Stock and Reginald Reynolds. With 9 illustrations. Jarrolds Publishers (London) Ltd., Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, E. C. 4. Price 12s. 6d. net. Demy Octavo, Pp. 292.

This singularly interesting and thought-provoking book has an introduction of 20 pages, and the prose pieces and poems included in it, written in prison, are divided into eleven sections, namely, On Prisoners and Prisons, General Criticism, Fact, Fiction, Defiance, Dock and Scaffold, Domestic, Religion, The Consolations of Philosophy, Complaint, and Miscellany; and are 176 in number. Their writers are almost as many. There are only three Indian among them, one being Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His paper on "The Mind of a Judge," which is reproduced in the book, originally appeared in *The Modern Review*.

The "Who's Who" section tells the reader who the prisoners were whose writings make this volume so human. Many of them were or are eminent men and women. "It is natural that in every generation the most independent spirits should have clashed with the authority of the State. Hence great writers, religious and political leaders have often been among the jailbirds of their time; and from these and other prisoners, less famous but no less spirited, we might expect original and varied talent. The anthology does not disappoint this hope."

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND: A Commentary. By Harold J. Laski. George Allen and Unwin, London. Demy 8vo. Pp. 453. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Among the living publicists of Britain Professor Laski perhaps is unsurpassed in his knowledge of the English parliamentary system. No man is better fitted to write a book on the British constitution than he. Readers will, therefore, be glad that he has produced this book, which is an up-to-date successor to Walter Bagehot's *English Constitution*. The author emphasizes in his preface that this book is not a formal description of the working of the parliamentary system in England, but, essentially, as its sub-title states, a commentary limited to certain aspects of its working. He has tried to deal with those aspects of its working which are most relevant to the pressing problems of our time. The problems are those which confront Great Britain as a parliamentary democracy and discusses the chances of their satisfactory solution.

The introduction, which occupies 58 pages, is very important. It begins by discussing why Great Britain's system of representative government has been more conti-

nuous and successful than any other elsewhere. He considers it unsatisfactory to attribute it to some special British genius for the difficult art of self-government.

The body of the book deals with the Party System, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Cabinet, the Civil Service, Parliament and the Judiciary and the Monarchy.

The provincial governments in India are at present run on the model of the British parliamentary system. If and when Federated India becomes an actuality, the Federation also will most probably be worked on the British parliamentary model. If *Purna Swaraj* is attained, that is, if India becomes fully independent and ceases to be a part of the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations, there will be no monarchy. But even then substantially the British parliamentary system is likely to be followed. Hence Indian publicists and students should become acquainted with the merits and defects of that system as pointed out in Professor Laski's judiciously and impartially written book.

THE LETTER OF AN OLD BOLSHEVIK: A Key to the Moscow Trials. George Allen & Unwin, London. Price 2s. net.

The title of this book is self-explanatory.

"What mystifies the world is the manner in which the Old Bolshevik guard has been disposed of, their conduct and 'confessions' at the Moscow trials, and the nature of the new phase in the Communist dictatorship which the executions have symbolized." It is claimed for this book that it will help the reader to understand not only the trials themselves, but the entire character of the present phase in Russia, the conduct of the accused and Stalin's objectives.

THE LITTLE CLAY CART: Translated anew from the Sanskrit with Introduction and Notes. By Revilo Pendleton Oliver. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana Illinois, U. S. A., 1938. Price \$2.50. Super-royal 8vo. Pp. 250. Printed very clearly on thick and fine antique paper.

This new translation of *Mrichchhakatika*, a Sanskrit drama in ten acts attributed to King Sudraka, is prefaced by a long and scholarly introduction. The work contains an Appendix comprising seventeen sections.

In the Introduction the translator gives the reader much recondite information relating to the Author, the poet Bhasa, the date of Sudraka, the text, the commentaries, translations, this particular translation, and transliteration and pronunciation. He says that he has tried to restrict the notes to a minimum and to include in them nothing that is not necessary to an accurate understanding of the text.

In the Appendix he treats of The Gods of Brahmanism, The Orthodox Philosophies, The Heretical Philosophies, The Caste System, The Four Stages of Life, The *asvamedha* Sacrifice, Suicide, Charudatta's Social Status, Gambling, The "Gambler's Circle," Ordeals, Erotology, The Hetaerae, The Prakrits, Authenticity of the Plays attributed to Bhasa, Bhasa's Play, and Aryaka. It is not possible in a brief notice like the present one to comment on the translator's observations in the Appendix. They are interesting and thought-provoking.

He holds that *The Little Clay Cart* is apparently a *refacimento* of an earlier drama by Bhasa, of which four acts are now extant.

The translation reads well and is easily understood.

The translator points out some differences between this drama and the dramas of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti:

1. Four of the six plays of the latter are frankly based on preternatural forces. The superhuman does not appear in *The Little Clay Cart*.

2. In the former's works human characters are of exalted rank. In them we see nothing of the ruined gentlemen, courtesans, gamblers, inhabitants of the demi-monde, and outcasts who are responsible for much of the realism of *The Little Clay Cart*.

3. The plays of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti are primarily poetic, rather than dramatic. *The Little Clay Cart* is written in a style that is simple and direct, so that, in comparison, it seems attenuated and pedestrian.

4. In the former the emphasis on poetry, rather than dramaturgy, led to a corresponding weakness in plot. Although poetic ornament is used in *The Little Clay Cart* quite freely, this element is always subordinated and made to conform to the dramatic structure of the play.

5. This drama does not present *dramatis personae* familiar to Indian audiences; the characters are drawn from strata of society, seldom represented in serious drama, and each character has a definite personality of his own.

6. It does not conform to some of the rules laid down in the treatises on dramatic theory; e.g., the hero does not appear in every act, and neither his name, nor that of the heroine appears in the title of the play.

D.

SARDESAI COMMEMORATION VOLUME:

Edited by S. R. Tikekar. Published by Keshav Bhujaji Dhawadi Girgaon. Bombay, 1933. Pages 318. Price Rs. 6.

Rao Bahadur Govinda Sakharam Sardesai is universally acknowledged as the *foremost* authority on Maratha history. His *Marathi Riyasat* in nine volumes embodying a complete history of the rise, expansion and fall of the Maratha power and the editing by him of 45 volumes of "Selections from the Peshwa Daftar," from out of 27,000 bundles of Maratha MSS. justly entitle him to the honour and gratitude of his countrymen. A prophet, however, says the adage, is not honoured in his own country; we are therefore all the more glad to find that the services of G. S. Sardesai to the cause of Maratha history were appreciated by the people of his own province.

The volume under review embodies contributions by scholars from all parts of India and is also enriched by the writings of a few English scholars too, e.g., H. G. Rawlinson, Charles A. Kincaid and Edward Thompson. The dissertations contained in this volume relate mainly to Indian History, but treat of other subjects too, such as the Rasthapala Nataka of Aswaghosh, the caste-name Gavita, etc.

Amongst the contributions, mention may be made first of Sir Jadunath's (1) Mahadji Sindhia's Lalot Campaign. (2) the Earliest Persian Account of the Panipat Campaign, 1761, both of which are of unsurpassed interest. On Panipat Campaign, there are two other interesting papers--(1) fragments of a Bhao-ballad in Hindi, which make a few incidents of war alive before our eyes by the charm and vigour of the bold narrative and (2) the other entitled, the Maratha-Afghan diplomatic tussle on the eve of Panipat, gives many illuminating details of the pourparlers that were carried on by the Durrani Chief and the Maratha Chin-G Sadasi Rao Bhau, to win over Shujaudullah, the Nawab of Oudh. The statements, however, that the Oudh Chief looked upon Najib and not the Marathas as his rivals, and the contention made that Shujaudullah was not alienated by the Maratha policy of "loot, enslavement and horror" and was induced to join the Durrani Chief "by Najib's tact, diplomacy, and personal influence" are not at all convincing. The writer seems to have lent undue weight to Najib's tact, particularly on his pan-Islamic appeal, but it is clear that though the appeal provoked a blunt outburst from the Oudh Chief he did not immediately espouse "the cause of Islam" but bided some time, and "deliberated over the pros and cons for two or three days." It would, therefore, be more reasonable to hold that the graver and weightier consideration of self-interest (described on page 275, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II) and not the cry of "Islam in danger" nor Najib's suavity of speech and melo-dramatic action (by placing his neck under the Nawab's dagger), induced the wavering Nawab to cast in his lot with the Durrani Chief.

Among other articles, incorporated in this volume, particular interest attaches to Rev. H. Heras' "The plastic representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians." This paper is a very erudite attempt to establish the worship of An, the supreme Lord, by the people of Mahenjodaro, but his reading of the pictograph writing and identification of images on the seals with An may be easily questioned. Space does not permit us to make comments separately on each of the articles, but we have no hesitation in stating that almost all the articles are well-written, and throw new light on the topics they deal with. There is, however, one contribution, "Indian Theory of the Universal State" which leaves much to be desired. The statements made herein are not only grotesque, but betray a curious form of historical sense, e.g., "the Empires of Ram and Ravana are greater than the Roman empire," p. 179, "such a great hero of India (Udayan) deserves a place in World History" p. 185. "A federation of the Asiatic world . . . was established by Yudhistira," . . . p. 186, etc. One or two dark spots however do not diminish in any way the merit of the volume which, we are sure, will be prized by all lovers of history. The volume fittingly concludes with a charming sketch of Sardesai's life and work by Sir Jadunath which will be read with intense interest by all from start to finish.

We commend this volume to all serious students of history, and though there are a few misprints here and there (pp. 72, and 255), we heartily congratulate the editor Shripada R. Tikekar in bringing out this commemoration volume.

N. B. RAY

GREAT TRADE ROUTE—A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY: By Ford Madox Ford. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.

Mr. Madox Ford is a well-known writer. I have, therefore, given some time to the understanding of his

book. I took it up with the hope that it would allow me an easy glide like the other sentimental journey, its Eighteenth Century predecessor, but unfortunately I could not get any sense before I attacked it for the third time and this time I began the assault backwards. Obviously it is the story of a voyage from the East to the West, from Europe to America and from New York down in to the deep south of America and back from there to Europe *via* Gibraltar. But in reality it is a humorous description of the experiences and emotions of the author—his own reactions to the world he has found himself in; the travel is merely a peg on which to hang them. He touches upon amusing anecdotes and incidents in the right Shandean fashion. I cannot speak for his English and American readers, but to the average Indian he will seem rather obscure. There are lots of intimate things, not familiar to us, on which much of his humour turns, and therefore, they are as good as lost on us. Though discursive in treatment, the central theme of the book can be guessed from the author's antipathy to the machine age and dictatorship. He does not liquidate them however by lining them up against the wall and turning the machine gun on them, but by showing them up. It is doubtful however if the world will listen to him in the present state of circumstances.

THOUGHT AND IMAGINATION IN ART AND LIFE: By Katherine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab). George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This is a book of essays in which the author approaches her questions from the standpoint of a modern mystic, relying on no authorities of the past, but finding reasons for the forms of art, moral laws and religious beliefs in our commonsense observations and nature. There are altogether fifteen essays, of which three are definitely literary. Discussing the question of Shelley's imagination, the author makes the startling remark that Shelley has little imagination but a gigantic fancy. For this she relies upon Coleridge's well-known distinction between imagination as the shaping and modifying power and fancy as the aggregative and associative power. The two other literary essays are (1) "The Lasting Quality in Tennyson's Poetry" and "The Finite Emerson." The abstract treatment of her subjects and a tendency towards sententiousness frequently reminded me of the essays of Lord Avebury. The essays are well worth the study of students preparing for examinations in English Literature.

S. N. RAY

THE TIMES OF INDIA: (Centenary) Annual 1939.

This sumptuous annual publication has again come out in its usual excellence. Latterly this annual has become more and more Indian in its character. Apart from its beautiful get-up and richness in illustrations, good fare is presented for the reader's consumption. Amongst other articles, "India one hundred years ago" by S. T. Sheppard and "The Fighting Patwardhans" by Sir Patrick Cadell are worthy of special mention, as is the reproduction of Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon's "The return from the Well" amongst coloured illustrations.

K. N. C.

SEPARATE STAR: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: By Francis Foster. Published by Victor Gollancz Ltd. London. 1938. Pp. 320. Price 12sh. 6d.

The author is a young man of about fortyfour, has had a life of wonderfully varied and rich experiences and the book, which is mostly a record of these, reads like a novel. Beginning life as a precocious child, who is the editor and principal contributor of a printed school

magazine he becomes by turns, a newspaper reporter, and a student in an Anglican Theological Seminary. When the great war breaks out, he enlists in the Artists' Rifles and is wounded when leading a very daring raid on the enemy's trenches. Upon the signing of the Armistice, he secures a permanent commission in the Indian army and is sent out almost immediately afterwards to Palestine and from there to Egypt. Returning to India after a couple of years, he takes an active part in the Waziristan campaign of 1921-22, with which his army career ends. He now begins to take a serious interest in institutional religion and eventually enters the Third Franciscan Order, though he was born and brought up as a Protestant. Finally, although he retains his sympathies for Romanism as the only authoritative form of popular Christianity, he leaves the Order, marries and becomes a free-lance priest after having been ordained by a bishop of the Nestorian Church. As a priest, he does not accept money for any religious service and earns his living through literary pursuits.

Although even as a child the author develops an interest in religion and the ultimate meaning of life, he does not for some years go out deliberately in search of truth so much—as truths, both spiritual and otherwise, are thrust on him by his experiences. The most interesting event in his life, we think, is his chance meeting with a Hindu Mystic, named Ananda and it cannot be denied that the author's philosophy of life, which is startlingly original in many respects, is based ultimately on the Indian mystical belief which recognises the oneness of the universe with God and considers the world of senses as merely a picture in His mind. The author goes in for a lot of original thinking when he sets out to find a basis of unity for this philosophy with what he considers to be the fundamentals of the Christian Doctrine. In some places the conclusions he arrives at in his efforts to effect a compromise may appear to some to be rather forced but his sincerity of purpose cannot for a moment be doubted.

To the Indian reader the book will doubly commend itself because the author does not make a secret of his admiration for India and the Indians. The accident of his being attached for some considerable time with a regiment of Dogras, one of the finest and manliest of Indian races, must have had something to do, with this attitude of mind, which is so unusual in the average Englishman.

S. K. C.

THE LIGHT OF VIRTUE: By Newman. Part I. Published by Manager, Thiruvalluvarnilayam, Tuticorin. 1933. Pp. 36. Price Re. 1. 2as.

This is a translation in English verse of some passages from the Tamil work, *Dharmadheepikai* by Kaviraja Jagaveerapandian. It consists of a number of moral precepts, more or less of the hackneyed kind. The translation is not at all happy and in most places is neither English nor poetry.

CHILDREN OF AN IDLE BRAIN: By Nagendra N. Mukerjee. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 15.

This is a lovely little volume of humorous poems. Although its bulk is small its contents are of exquisite quality, all the pieces being genuine poetry with elegant diction, faultless metre and delicious wit.

THE SWAN MESSENGER: By G. K. Pillai, B.A. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 48.

This is a dramatic poem giving a beautiful poetic version in English of the fascinating Indian legend of Nala and Damayanti. It is a remarkable performance and shows all through a dramatic sense, verbal elegance and

metrical melody of a high order. The work deserves a wide circulation and is sure to meet with warm appreciation wherever it is read.

P. K. GUHA

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL. PART 1. (HOWRAH) : By Bejoy Krishna Bhattacharjee, Published by the Book Agency. Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2-8.

With the growing consciousness in the country, the civic administration has slowly but steadily come to be dominated by advanced public opinion. Consequently the civic problems have come to loom large in public eye ever than before. Any attempt to study the problems in their proper perspective must be viewed with a sense of satisfaction. Mr. B. K. Bhattacharjee, the author of the present book under review, deals with the problems of the Municipal Administration of Howrah, and hopes to deal with the other Municipal Towns in a separate book. Municipal problems in most of the towns are more or less identical and the problems dealt with in the case of Howrah, gives a rough idea as to the civic problems of Bengal in general. In the circumstances the usefulness of the present volume cannot be overestimated. Education, health and sanitation are the main problems of the cities and towns, which call for more serious attention of the Municipal authorities, and the author has made a critical analysis of the subjects.

With the growing populations in the urban areas, the question of improving and expanding the cities and towns, has added to the complexities of the problem. Referring to the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the author regrets the influx of foreign population, displacement of original inhabitants and abnormal rise in the land values in Calcutta. This is no doubt a deplorable situation, but how far that is due to the operations of the Improvement Trust alone, it is difficult to assess. This cannot be viewed as an isolated factor. In fact, it is the failure of the villages to maintain the growing number of population that hastened this influx to the cities and towns, and no satisfactory solution of the problem is possible unless the countryside, are made habitable and attractive for the people to live in and the exodus is stopped. This is the crux of the economic problem of the country, urban, and rural, and is a tragedy of our economic life.

Mr. Bhattacharjee is a nationalist, and a freshness of outlook lites up the pages of this thought-provoking book.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

SADHANA OR SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE. Its various forms (Expository and critical) : By Sadhu Santinath. Published by the Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar, Poona 2. Pp. 157+CXIII+XVIII.

The book forms the eighth chapter of the author's bigger work in two volumes "The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion" (published by the Indian Research Institute of Philosophy, Amalner) with many additions as footnotes and appendices mostly from other parts of the latter. Both the former and the latter works are meant for free distribution to interested persons and important libraries.

Sadhu Santinath, the well-known scholar-monk of Upper India, is one of the chief disciples of the late Saint Gambhiranath of Gorakhpur. He has spent twenty-five years in strenuous practice of, first devotional, then Yogic and finally Vedantic Sadhana, as the result of which, he was, as he tells us in the book under review, fortunately able to attain the state of *Samadhi* (trance). The severe austerities he had undergone in course of his prolonged *Tapasya*, produced serious brain-troubles. For

relief, he had to divert his attention to the study of Philosophy and has occupied himself with the same for over a decade.

He had the rare fortune of studying difficult philosophical Texts, mostly in Sanskrit with some of the celebrated scholar-monks of India and going through all the available printed works on the Advaita School of Vedanta. Afterwards he turned his attention to the perusal of the unpublished manuscripts on Vedanta and studied more than six hundred of them from different libraries at Bombay, Poona, Baroda, Madras, Tanjore, Srirangam, Mysore, Sringeri, Brouch, Naik and Calcutta. Then he issued a series of publications in Hindi, Bengali, Sanskrit and English, embodying his Religio-Philosophical views formed from life-long study and meditation; of which the one under review is the latest and, we hope, not the last.

Sadhu Santinath, to our bewilderment, says that in the trance, he has attained after so many years of intense Sadhana, he has not been, however, blessed with the vision of Truth and hence jump to the hasty conclusion that direct awareness of Truth in *Samadhi* is impossible. Sadhana, he says, has no metaphysical or ethical end and no metaphysical truth can be rationally established nor can it be intuited. He frankly confessed that he started his spiritual journey as a staunch believer but had unluckily to end it as an inveterate agnostic. His remarks about after-life which are no less astonishing, are as follows: "What next? I can't answer. I confess, the whence, the whither and the why of man, I do not know." So in this book, he plays the role of an "uncompromising critic," and attempts to prove the futility of all kinds of Sadhana advocated by various religious and philosophical systems of the East and the West, such as Buddhism, Jainism, Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Sankhya and Yoga, Purva-Mimamsa, Vaisnavism and Vedanta as well as non-Indian Theistic Schools of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Muhammedanism.

With due respect for the holy life of the author, the present reviewer feels constrained to opine that the author himself stands condemned by his scathing condemnation of all Sadhanas. The readers, I am sure, will agree with me in questioning the genuineness of the author's trance; for *Samadhi* that does not give one the vision of Truth is not the real *Samadhi*. Such a trance is no better than a swoon or an unconscious condition something like that under chloroform. The Gita clearly states that many practise Sadhana, but only a handful can realize Truth. The Upanishads also in the same strain declare that Truth reveals its real nature to those it listeth. It seems to be the very height of folly on the part of the author to challenge the validity of the spiritual realizations of Buddha, Shankar, Christ, Mohammed and such other world teachers, all of whom have proclaimed in no uncertain words their realization of truth as ultimate Reality.

The author however spares no pains to bring out some corollaries of his main conclusion, as stated above. He is of opinion that there is no necessity in Sadhana, of accepting a Gurm (Spiritual Master) and he goes to the length of observing that there is "nothing new about the art of concentration to be learnt from an expert." Moreover he has questioned the authority of the religious scriptures of the world. The arguments he has advanced in this connection are too frail to require refutation.

Next the target of his attack is Ramkrishna Paramahansa-dev, whose synthesis of religions, in his opinion, is based only on an assumption and it is nothing more than a particular view among other existing views. The Rig-Veda proclaims in unmistakable terms that Truth is one, and seers describe it variously. In our opinion, Sri Ramkrishna's message may be, as our author says,

one of many systems of Spiritual Sadhana, but it is none-the-less directed to that supreme realization of Truth, and are as comprehensive and thorough in that regard as have not yet been evolved by any Teacher.

The book has, however, descriptive contents at the outset and an elaborate index at the end. The language of the book is lucid but loose, simple but shallow, clear but not convincing. It is an erratic and blasphemous work and hardly repays serious perusal.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

RAMALINGA SWAMIJI: By T. V. G. Chetty. Published by the author c/o Messrs. C. H. Ashe & Co., 22, Richmond Road, Bangalore, S. India. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.

This book is an account of the life and writings of a *Swami* or saint of southern India. There are two Forewords to the book, and one Preface by the author. There is an index covering 15 pages, three appendices, and a long list of *errata*. The text contains plenty of Sanskrit words and references to Sanskrit authorities, which are explained, sometimes wrongly, in foot-notes. The foot-notes thus cover almost a third of the entire volume of the book.

Of the writers of the Forewords, one is a retired Dewan of Travancore, and the other is a Lieutenant-Colonel, whether military or medical, is not clear. But this latter gentleman writes from France and is apparently a European. He, therefore, as might be expected, is not inclined to believe in the miracles which must be there in the life of a *Swami*. "It is not to be expected," says he, "that the accounts of the miracles will prove acceptable to all reader." Another of his adverse remarks has produced the 3rd appendix of the author.

A feature of the book is the wrong transliteration of some Sanskrit words; the Sanskrit a almost invariably becomes *e*; thus, for *nakshatra*, we have *nakshetra* (p. 6 & 34); for *dakshina*, we have *dekshana* (p. 6), &c.

Some of the foot-notes make interesting reading, but it would have been prudent for the author to withhold them from the readers. In a foot-note on Dharma (religion), the author says that "it is co-extensive with God" (p. 1). In another, he displays his etymological skill by deriving the word *guru* in four different ways—all meaning 'God Almighty' (p. 16). Sometimes a Sanskrit word is introduced in the text just for the pleasure of writing a foot-note on it (cf. p. 9).

The book has been written in English obviously for a larger circulation. But the *Swami* whose life we read here does not appear to have much following outside the Madras Presidency; and the book might well have been in one of the many vernaculars of southern India. Whatever else it may be, it is not a scientific biography. Perhaps the subject itself does not admit of such treatment.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

REVOLUTIONARY PORTUGAL (1910-1936): By V. de Braganca-Cunha. Published by James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 5 Wardrobe Place, Carter Lane, London, E.C. 4, 1938. Pp. 282. Price 7s. 6d. net.

In the Iberian Peninsula, Spain has been in the limelight for the last two years and more, on account of the war still raging on its own soil, a unique war, more international than civil. Portugal like Spain has a glorious past, and the author successfully conveys to the reader an impression of its past greatness. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the process of disorganization or disintegration has been at work; the King and the Crown Prince were put out of the way, and the forces of revolt proclaimed a republic in October

1910. But what has been the achievement of the republic? The ancient monarchy was insulted, the press was not made free, the nefarious Acts were still in the Statute book, the workers were not satisfied, the carbonarios were continuing their work of espionage and revenge; even the gentle Queen Amelia, devoted to humanitarian work, was not suffered to be proof against slanders and the government did not refrain from attacking the Church. The Revolutionaries, in course of more than a quarter of a century, have shown themselves thoroughly unfit for their task, by reason of their fascist mentality, imperfect political education, want of an alert intellect, and the maladministration that has followed has been inevitable under the circumstances.

The writer feels sick of the insecurity that reigns, and voices his protest against the powers that have usurped the authority in the State. He has weighed "the new State" in the balance and found it wanting. The book thus amounts to a censure on the present government of Portugal, which is helplessly weak in foreign relations, in the economic organization and in the enforcement of law and order. Mr. Braganca-Cunha prophetically declares: "The political complications which accumulate on Europe's head might re-ult among other things in endangering the position of Portugal as the third colonial power in the world." Signs are not wanting to indicate that he may, in this, prove a true prophet.

It is not necessary to dilate here on the comparative excellence of republics or monarchies, and to pronounce a judgment at this time of the day on one form of government at the expense of the other, but one cannot help feeling sometimes that the writer is pressing for changes that cannot come about—all government, till the world is made *fundamentally* better, has to depend upon efficient espionage, press censorship, etc., only these must not lend a handle to popular discontent, and such work should be done on the responsibility of the trusted and chosen leaders of the people.

Mastery of detail and a vivid imagination, love of Portugal and faith in its people, are evident in the book, and the treatment of events and causes is not that of a cold, lifeless treatise, but it is instinct with the author's hopes and fears, emotions and impulses, and that makes the book all the more enjoyable in the reading.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

INDIAN FEDERATION: By Bool Chand, Ph.D. (London.), Lecturer on History and Political Science, Hindu College, University of Delhi. Published by the Fabian Society, London, Fabian Tract, No. 245.

The fundamental defects of the proposed Indian federal scheme are more effectively brought out in this tract in most of the publications on the subject. Dr. Bool Chand questions the very basis of the new constitution. In his view federalism is quite unsuitable as a form of Government for any progressively industrializing country, for "the basis of all political and economic development today is scientific planning, and scientific planning is impossible unless it is operated upon a uniform, general and national scale." Prof. Bool Chand's objection is not directed to a further division of administrative control in purely social and cultural matters. He is primarily concerned with the division of directing power in economic matters, which is a sure concomitant of the federal scheme of organization, but which in his view can cause "nothing but an obstacle in the way of social and economic adjustment." He points out in support of his view that "even in America, rightly thought of as the traditional home of federalism, the defects of the federal structure are receiving far more attention today than its virtues have ever done."

The author is, of course, not blind to the "prospect of completely united India offered by the Government of India Act," his objection is to the way that union is to be affected and the intentions behind the whole scheme. The angry reception of the Simon Commission Report in India, the author thinks, convinced the British Government that India would not accept any constitution which did not concede at least partial responsibility at the Centre; but the British Government had no desire to accord responsible government to British India without ensuring that Government's conservative character, and this could be done only by bringing the autocratic Indian States into the Federation.

The author regards as invalid and wholly biased the findings of the Indian States Committee of 1928-29 that although the Indian States were fully sovereign as against the Government of India they could not claim either external or even internal sovereignty against the Paramount Power, which means the British Crown in isolation from the British Government of India. "Once these two propositions were established, it was naturally to the interest of the British Indian Government to seek to accomplish a union of the whole country by taking in Indian States as a part of All-India Federation on almost any terms. At the same time, the Indian States would be only anxious to join such a Federation, if possible on their own terms, for joining such a federation would ensure (1) a voice in the affairs of the Indian Government such as they have not possessed so far and (2) a comparatively larger measure of freedom from interference from the Paramount Power than had so far been the case."

The Tract then proceeds to discuss the various main anomalies and complexities in the organization of the legislative and executive authority of the federal scheme. For instance, it notices that "in any federation, there is a double citizenship, Federal and Provincial; the Federal Government acts not only for the associated Provinces but also directly for their citizens. But in the Indian Federation, the subjects of the Native States, although these States may accede to the federal scheme, would not be citizens of the federation; they would not be in the enjoyment of the same civic rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the British Indian Provinces."

In the end, the author analyses at length, with great acuteness the attitudes of the people of British India and Indian States' Rulers towards the proposed federation. To British Indian opinion generally the scheme is wholly unacceptable, for it offers the possibility of an almost continuous control of the Federal Executive by the States representatives either by themselves or in coalition with some other small group. The attitude of the Indian Princes is still uncertain and unmade; the trouble is that the advantages which accrue to the Indian States from the federal scheme are in reality no advantages to them, although they certainly are a serious loss to British India. "The truth is that the Rulers are quite conscious that in a progressively industrialising State their position is very weak. As the State becomes more and more positivistic, the existence of feudal territorial autonomies becomes more and more anomalous. In the face of growing economic and political necessities, neither law nor rights, however well-founded and however well-reorganized by the Paramount Power, do really avail."

Dr. Bool Chand's argument is convincing throughout and strikes a new hope inasmuch as the author objects to the very idea of Federation. Life in the modern world has become and is tending still further to become so increasingly technical and complicated that the running of the State is bound to become more and more difficult

unless there is a greater concentration of authority. This line of thought, the author thinks, seems completely to have escaped the constitutional advisers of the Indian National Congress, as is revealed by the adherence of the Congress Resolution to the idea of the federation in principle.

Prof. Bool Chand's is the first tract written by an Indian to have been published by the Fabian Society.

PRAM NARAIN NIGUM

SANSKRIT

HAIMAPRAKASA MAHA-VYAKARANA of *Vinayavijaya-gani*, Part I (*Purvardha*). Edited with Notes and Indices by Upadhyaya Ksemavijaya-gani. *Sri-Ami-Sama Jaina-granthamala*, No. 1. 57-59, Old Modi Street, Fort Bombay. 1937. Pp. 472+separate pp. of Introduction, Indices, etc. Price Rs. 8.

An industrious and prolific writer of versatile talents, the great Jaina teacher Hemachandra occupies an important place in the history and literature of mediæval Jainism. Of his many useful compilations, his grammatical compendium, the *Siddha-Hemachandra*, which devotes its first seven chapters to Sanskrit grammar and the last to Prakrit, is a well-known and widely used work. Although it reshapes older materials, its practical arrangement and convenient terminology earned from Kielhorn the praise of its being "the best grammar of the Indian middle ages," and made it a popular work in Western India, necessitating a number of commentaries in later times.

The present commentary on the Sanskrit portion of Hemachandra's grammar, rearranged in the Prakriya form, was composed in the third decade of the 17th century by Vinayavijaya-gani, pupil of Kirtivijaya-gani. To his credit there is also a work called *Loka-prakasa* (published in the Devchand Lalbhai Jaina-pustakoddhara Series) and a learned commentary on the *Kalpa-sutra*. The present work is not only a commentary but also a detailed and exhaustive grammatical study in itself. The first part, which has so far been published, contains Samjña, Samdhi, Sabda-rupa, Avyaya, Sri-pratyaya, Karaka, Samasa and Taddhita, and thus covers some of the most important topics. It has been edited with great care, knowledge and industry by a learned Jaina scholar; and the typographical and other resources of the famous Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay have left nothing to be desired by way of neat printing and general get-up. It is unfortunate, however, that the list of misprints, corrected in the Errata, should run into double columns of four quarto pages. There is an introduction written in Gujarati, but in the interest of a wider public it would have been better if it had been presented in Sanskrit or English. The work augurs well for the new Jaina Series which it opens, and we hope that the rest of the work will be soon in the hands of interested Sanskritists.

S. K. De

BADARAYANA-SAMMATA-BRAHMA SUTRA BHASYA-NIRNAYA: By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh, *Vedantabhusana*, Pada I, Pp. 90. Published by Sj. Kshetrapal Ghosh of 6, Parsibagan Lane. Price Re. 1.

This is a work of a novel kind—a comparative exegesis of the Vedanta Sutras of Vyasa, with a view to the determination of the position of the Sutrakara himself, amidst the various commentaries, with which the text of the sage, is encrusted over. Pandit Vedantabhusana, whose labours in the field of popularisation of Vedantic thought among the Bengali-reading public have been varied and spread over many years, attempts here a systematic application of certain canons of interpretations well-known and time-

honoured, but not employed before with the same degree of thoroughness or with a comparative view to the bhāṣyas of Shankara, Bhaskara, Ramanuja, Nimarka, Madhva, Shreekantha, Sreekantha, Vallabha, Vijnanabikshu and Baladeva, and by examining and tabulating the deviations to suit the doctrine of his own school, that each has been forced to arrive at the conclusion, that Shankara the exponent of Absolute monism comes nearest to the import of the author of the aphorisms. The treatise is written in Sanskrit, still the lingua franca of the world of Indian indigenous scholar-ship, as an invitation to the adherents of the different schools to peruse it and to verify where the works of the ten great masters stand under this examination. Pandit Vedantabhusana has been under the necessity of making the classical language a vehicle of modern historical spirit and methods of investigation and it is to be hoped that the adapted medium will commend itself to those accustomed to the classic idiom and manner of exposition. The learned writer proposes to examine the entire text of the Brahma-sūtras numbering 555 and in Shankara's treatment divided into 191 adhikāraṇas or sections, which will make his work a considerable Volume. For the wider public interested in Indian philosophy the presentation of the work in an English garb is desirable and may be expected from the Pandit, whose industry equals the close method and thoroughness of his treatment of absolute topics.

BATUK NATH BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI-ENGLISH

BANKIM-PRATIBHĀ : ("Genius of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee"). Edited by Bimal Chandra Sinha. Price Rs. 3. To be had at Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mahan Bagun Row, Calcutta. Pages 84+86 of the size of *The Modern Review*, with a portrait of Bankim Chandra.

The Bengali section of this well got-up and neatly printed volume contains the papers read at the Bankim Chandra Centenary celebration at the Paikpara Raj Palace, Calcutta, together with some other material. Among the contributors are Rabindranath Tagore, Praphulla Chandra Ray, Hirendranath Datta, Jadunath Sarkar, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Brajendranath Banerji, Mankumari Basu, and Bimal Chandra Sinha. Some of the papers have a permanent value.

The English section contains Bankim Chandra's hitherto unpublished Letters on Hinduism and an English translation of parts of his novel *Devī Chaudhurani*. The editor says in his introduction that the Letters on Hinduism and the translation of *Devī Chaudhurani* have been printed as they are in the manuscripts, which the author left unfinished and unrevised. His Letters on Hinduism nevertheless are deserving of serious study. They evince powers of clear and deep thinking and lucid and forcible expression, and also show how well-read he was. He does not stand up for Hinduism as it is, as the following sentences will show :

"It is precisely popular delusions of this sort that have encrusted Hinduism with the rubbish of ages—with superstitions and absurdities which subvert its higher purposes; and which it is the duty of every true Hindu actively to assail and destroy. The noxious parasitic growth must be exterminated before Hinduism can hope further to carry on the education of the human race. Hinduism is in need of a reformation;—not an unprecedented necessity for an ancient religion. But reformed and purified, it may yet stand forth before the world as the noblest system of individual and social culture available to the Hindu even in this age of progress."

D.

BENGALI

CHANDIDAS-CHARIT : Edited by Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray, Vidyānidhi: Published from Prabasi Press, 120/2 Upper Circular Road Calcutta. 1344. B. S. Price Rs. 2/8. Pp. 235 of the size of *The Modern Review*.

It is a long narrative poem, describing the life of the great Bengali poet Chandidas, who lived about a hundred years before the birth of Chaitanya Deb. The poem was composed by Krishnaprasad Sen, on the basis of a Sanskrit poem by his great-grandfather Udaynarayan Sen, and the Editor puts down the date of this Bengali work at somewhere near 1815 A.D. about 125 years ago. The manuscript on which the present publication is based is dated at about 1867. It is a remarkable production, not only in regard to its length, which is considerable, but also on account of the variety of material which is woven together round the life of its hero. Love, war, adventure, religious controversy—all are here, and the march of events as well as of the verses is vigorous. Judged by the amount of miscellaneous information on the many topics with which it deals, it is almost encyclopaedic in its scope, and in that it conforms to the general principle and practice of most Bengali poems of length.

I have said, it is a unique poem in many respects. It has a tendency to synthesise the different forms of religion—the Tantric, the Vaishnav, Islam, all faiths come to understand each other. Chandidas, the great figure in Bengali Vaishnav poetry, is here much more than a mere shadowy figure or literary convention; he is a great transmuting agency in real life. Even in the customary description of the world the book differs from the common run. The indications given regarding the dates also show a sort of recondite learning; the learned editor has been baffled in explaining or restoring the *Sivastaka*—the group of eight stanzas in praise of Siva which here appears in a corrupt form. There are many allusions to different episodes, and all of them have not yet been explained, e.g., on p. 150 a form of austerities is described which makes for kingship. We refer to the minister of Karnat, jealous of the King's power, expressing his surprise at this item of information.

But it is not proper to confine one's attention merely to the reconditeness of the work. There are many passages of poetic excellence; they are not purple patches, nor is the vein cloying in its continuity. The episode of Kalyani, beautiful, brave and skilled in fighting, by itself is sufficient to establish the author of the book as a poet of rare merit. It is of a piece with the rest of the work, and, as I have said, the metre and the rhythm keep pace with the content. It may be expected that the reading public will come to appreciate *Chandidas-Charit* as a work of poetry, apart from its value in the examination of the basis of Chandidas's life.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

KURU-PANDAB : By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price Re. 1-8.

From its very origin Bengali literature has been intimately connected with Sanskrit. Hence the older Bengali style was specially influenced by the Sanskrit language, from which Bengali borrowed a large vocabulary without any change. Students and others cannot fully master Bengali without mastering Sanskritized Bengali. The book under notice, narrating the Kuru-kshetra war, as described in the Mahabharata, was, therefore, written in the kind of Bengali which has a large proportion of Sanskrit words. It is used as a text-book in the upper classes of the school at Santiniketan. It

is suitable for similar use in other Bengali schools. All, including non-Bengalis, who wish to master Bengali may with advantage study this book.

BANGLAR RISHI (OR RISHIS OF BENGAL): By Anil Chandra Ghosh, M.A. Presidency Library, Dacca. Price Re. 1-4.

This book contains biographical sketches, with portraits, of "Rajarshi Rammohun Roy," "Maharshi Devendranath Tagore," "Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen," "Mahatma Bijayakrishna Goswami," and "Swami Vivekananda." These sketches are fit to serve as introductions to the larger biographies of these worthies.

BYAYAME BANGALI (OR BENGALIS IN ATHLETICS): By Anil Chandra Ghosh, M.A. Presidency Library, Dacca. Price Re. 1.

This book gives an account of some two dozen Bengali athletes and 'strong men,' with portraits. The list includes those who have won renown in wrestling, or ordinary athletics and gymnastics, or as bowmen, or in fencing and boxing, or in *lathi-play*. It has chapters devoted to physical culture for both men and women, and to drill and parade. It is a good handbook for physical culturists.

MAHAKABI-KRITTIBAS-BIRACHITA RAMAYAN, ADI-KANDA: Edited by Sri Nalinikanta Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. Published by P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. Secretary, Oriental Text Publication Committee, University of Dacca. Price Rs. 2-8.

The story of the Ramayan has been told in verse in extenso by many old Bengali poets. Among them Krittibas is the most widely known and his work is the most extensively read. But the book which has been printed again and again by various publishers as the Ramayan of Krittibas is in great part not his work but that of others. The work under notice is an attempt at giving the public a re-constructed version of one of the first canto of his Ramayan. Dr. Bhatta-ali has very extensive knowledge of old manuscripts. He has attempted the re-construction of the first canto of this Ramayan with the help of ten manuscripts of the Ramayan of Krittibas and of other versions of the Ramayan. He has done his work with scrupulous care and great industry. His learned introduction alone covers 64 pages of the size of *The Modern Review*. He devoted more than two years to this task. The book was published more than two years ago, though it reached *The Modern Review* office only last month. It is stated in the introduction, written more than two years ago, that the editor has almost finished editing two more cantos of the work. It is to be hoped, he has by now approached the end of his labours, and the public may expect to see at no distant day a complete edition of the authentic Ramayan of Krittibas, as far as it is possible to re-tore it now. For the poet wrote his work about 520 years ago, but the oldest manuscript available at present is some three centuries old.

Both scholars and the general readers will find Dr. Bhattasali's edition profitable and pleasant reading.

KASHIRAM DAS—MAHABHARAT: Edited by Sri Purna Chandra De, Kabibhusan, Kabyaratna, Udbhat-sagar, B.A. Indian Publishing House, 22/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. In two volumes. Price of the complete work Rs. 7. Pp. 1576+68. With 101 illustrations in colours and 2 in monochrome, and a map of India of the age of the Mahabharat.

The editor says in the introduction that he has devoted nine years of his life to the preparation of this work, which was composed some three centuries ago. He has had access to more than 900 manuscripts, but did his

work with the help of some 50 or 60. He has given a biographical sketch of the poet Kashiram Das, and also a biographical sketch of the late Babu Chintamani Ghosh, founder and proprietor of the Indian Press.

This edition of the Bengali Mahabharat by Kashiram Das differs from the editions previously published in numerous readings and in that it contains 35 hitherto unpublished episodes. Difficult and rare words have been explained throughout at the bottom of the page. Where necessary for elucidation, verses from the original San-krit Mahabharat have been quoted. The editor has pointed out the differences, where they occur, between the narrations of events in the Sanskrit and this Bengali Mahabharat.

The type used is big, and the printing and paper excellent. The pictures, which do not claim to be works of art by well-known artists, have been neatly printed.

D.

ITALIAN

LA POLITICA FINANZIARIA BRITANNICA IN INDIA: By Monindra M. Mouluk, Nicola Zanichelli Editore, Bologna, 1938. Price 25/10.

The present volume, which is a study of the financial condition of India under the British rule, was prepared by the author as a thesis for the Doctor's degree in political science of the University of Rome. Within the scope of the 238 pages of the book, the author has covered most of the important aspects of the British management of Indian finances and he comes to the conclusion, supported by facts and figures as well as by quotations from various well-known writers on India, that the many economic ills from which the country is suffering is due to the control of its destiny by the British Parliament and not on account of over population, primitive type of agriculture, frequency of famine and other causes as is asserted by interested parties. There are altogether nine chapters in the book. The first chapter is an effort to place the British responsibility for the poverty of India. Then follow chapters on statutory guarantees and commercial safeguards, home charges, military and administrative expenses, public debt, customs and industries, railways, land revenue and agriculture, money and exchange. In the concluding chapter the author throws out certain suggestions for the development of Indian finance in the future. We congratulate the author for his clear and comprehensive, though succinct, survey of the economic condition of the Indian people, which he has done not only with emotion but also with enthusiasm.

P. N. Roy

BOOKS RECEIVED:

SAINT APPAR, HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: By M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Published by The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works, Publishing Society, Tinnevely and Madras. Pages 96 and a portrait of Saint Appar. Price annas twelve.

SAINT MANICKAVASAKAR: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: By Prof. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Published by The Bibliotheca, Munnirpallam P.O. Tinnevely District, South India. Pages 95.

ASHRAMS, ANCIENT AND MODERN, THEIR AIMS AND IDEALS: By Dr. Savarirayan Jesudason, F.R.C.S.E. Pages 58 and 12 plates. Price annas eight.

UNPASSED UNTOUCHABILITY: By P. Venkayya. Pages 60. An exhortation to abolish examinations and detentions of school-going children in India and to make attendance and study at a public school a sufficient qualification for promotion to next class automatically.

BRITISH POLITICS TODAY

By PROF. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

WHEN early in the present year Mr. Eden resigned his office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and explained his position in the House of Commons and the country, a distinct section of the people and a conservative section at that was found inclined to support him. An opinion seemed to gain ground that Mr. Chamberlain was showing too much of deference to the dictators and lowering thereby the independent tradition of the country. The trend of speeches on different public platforms and the comments in the columns of the newspapers misled unwary people to think that the days of Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister were numbered. In India at that time it was taken for granted by many people that the existing government was on its last legs and Mr. Chamberlain's leadership of the Conservative Party and the National Government would soon be challenged both from within and without. For long of course nothing very spectacular happened. Mr. Eden continued to be in the wilderness and the National Government continued to sit tight in office. It is true for months before September its prestige was not very high. The policy of Mr. Chamberlain was also not spectacularly successful. An agreement with Italy was mooted but it could not be operated for long because of Italy's continued participation in the Spanish Civil War. But while the National Government could boast of no distinct success in the realm of foreign policy which alone loomed large before the public, it still held its own in the country. It even seemed to make good the setback which had been administered to it by the resignation of so popular a Minister as Mr. Eden.

Then in September was raised the issue of the Sudetan Germans in Czecho-Slovakia and along with it was, as a matter of fact, raised the question of the future of this country as a sovereign state in Central Europe. The way in which this subject was handled by the Government of Mr. Chamberlain was interpreted in India as definitely reflecting not only discredit but also shame upon this Government. Great Britain first of all appeared upon the Czecho-Slovak scene as a candid friend and a benevolent mediator but then suddenly it changed its role

and became associated with its despoiler. This was a change of front which appeared to most people in India as amounting to a moral bankruptcy on the part of the Government, which it was rather glibly assumed, would never be tolerated by the British people. Secondly, the reduction of Czecho-Slovakia to a position of virtual vassalage to Germany increased the strength and augmented the strategic position of the latter country to a degree which must be disquieting to the Western Powers. From this standpoint also it was thought in India that Mr. Chamberlain's policy was an abject failure and he would be held accountable to the bar of public opinion on this account. But none of these speculations so seriously indulged in India have come true in Great Britain. As a result of the great betrayal of September last Mr. Chamberlain instead of losing one iota of his former influence has rather gained considerably in prestige and today he may be said to be securely entrenched in power.

Recently two bye-elections were held—one in Oxford and the other in Darford. The Government retained the first seat and lost the second to labour. The fact that the second seat was lost should not be regarded as a symptom of the general decline of prestige on the part of Mr. Chamberlain and his Government. It should be remembered that the general election was held as far back as 1935 and the Government is now in the fourth year of its life. This is an important fact to be reckoned with. A Government so long in office and power cannot but create a revulsion of feeling in some quarters. That has been a natural and inevitable concomitant of party government in Great Britain. Secondly, the constituency which has just elected Mrs. Adamson as a labour member to the House of Commons has never been reputed for its loyalty to any particular party affiliation. During the last one decade and a half it has wavered between different parties and has divided its attachment between labour and conservatism with strict impartiality. So although the election of Mrs. Adamson may be interpreted in some circles as the desertion of Mr. Chamberlain's Government by this constituency, its significance is not very far-reaching.

The Oxford election however has a moral of its own. The city of Oxford has been, it is true, a conservative stronghold. So the return of Mr. Chamberlain's candidate by this city may be taken as inevitable and may be regarded as having no special significance of its own. But the circumstances of the election have given rather a special importance to this election and its result. The candidate of the National Government was Mr. Quinton Hogg, the son of Lord Hailsham who has just retired from the Cabinet. He is a young man without much of an influence of his own in the constituency. His strength lay only in his candidature on behalf of the National Government. His opponent on the other hand was no other than Mr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and an ex-Vice-Chancellor of this University. Mr. Lindsay has an academic reputation which is almost unrivalled in modern England. As the Master of Balliol, he has a prestige which not only extends over the whole country but has travelled beyond it as well. Some years back he paid a visit to India as a member of the Commission which enquired into the condition of the Christian Colleges in that country. He was invited also by the University of Calcutta to deliver a series of Readership Lectures on Plato, which by the way were very largely attended and created a very considerable interest in all intellectual circles. For long he has been a keen student of Karl Marx and has interpreted him in a well-known book. His sympathy for socialism has been well marked for years and for long he has also taken an enthusiastic interest in the labour party. His term as the Vice-Chancellor, which has just completed, has testified to the great business ability which he possesses and has won for him friendships in all circles and groups. Mr. Lindsay is in other words a great national figure. He also fought this election not as the candidate of the Labour Party but as an independent. This he did in order that he might secure for himself the support not only of the Labour Party but also of the Liberals and those Conservatives who have been alienated by the foreign policy of Mr. Chamberlain. It is significant that both the official labour and liberal candidates withdrew in his favour and there was a straight fight between the candidate whom Mr. Chamberlain set up and Mr. Lindsay who had the support of the labourites, the liberals and the conservative malcontents. What is more, the issue on which the candidates fought was a straight and clear one—more straight and clear than it ever is in an election. The question at

issue was whether the foreign policy of Mr. Chamberlain should be condemned or supported. The verdict of the electors was unmistakably in favour of Mr. Chamberlain.

And the verdict declared by the Oxford electors will be the verdict of the nation when some time later there will be a general election. Mr. Chamberlain's majority may not be as great in the next Parliament as it is today. Some of the seats he will certainly lose but there can be no two opinions about this that he will still have a sufficient majority in the House to carry on the Government in his own lines.

How could we account for this confidence which Mr. Chamberlain still inspires in the country? This we can do only by studying several factors. First, it is important to remember that the policy which the National Government has pursued during the last few years is the only policy which any other Government would have followed in the circumstances. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the British Government is not militarily prepared for any war on a large scale. It has been the verdict of competent experts that German preparations have gone far enough to make it equal and possibly more than equal to Britain and France combined. So in case of a war it would have been out of the question to calculate the damage which would have been done to English interests as a result of German attacks. Now it may be asked if the National Government itself is not responsible for this state of unpreparedness. The general opinion in the country is that it may be partly responsible for this undesirable state of things but mostly not so. It has never been in the tradition of this country to support in peace time any large army. The people here had in all their history a soft corner only for their navy. But they have been uniformly unwilling to maintain a large army in peace time in all ages. Since the conclusion of the World War, this tradition was further strengthened by a new ideal which came to dominate the men's mind in a rather increasing manner. This was the ideal of peace at all hazards and in all circumstances. This ideal was engendered first by the horrors of the last war, secondly through the efforts of a large body of internationally-minded people who pinned their faith to the League of Nations and the Hague Court and lastly by the activities of the labour politicians who gave it out perhaps justly and always vigorously that all wars had their origin only in capitalistic greed and had therefore no interest for the labouring population. The English Governments had, in view

of this attitude on the part of a large section of the people, to cut down their expenditure on the fighting services and keep them thereby in a state of hopeless inefficiency. It is true since 1935 a new policy has been in operation in this respect. But Germany had already gained an advance in this field which it is difficult if not impossible to overtake in the course of three years of efforts. The National Government is responsible for the sorry state of things only to the extent that it has tolerated slackness in the operation of the policy of rearmament during these three years. But beyond this the responsibility does not attach to it but to the whole country. It is only the members in the opposition in the House of Commons who lay the blame at the door of the Government in power. But all others including those who are very well informed as regards the foreign policy of this country and can speak with authority on this subject are inclined to exonerate the Government of Mr. Chamberlain from this responsibility. Dr. G. P. Gooch is a reputed historian and an experienced publicist with liberal inclinations. His knowledge of the foreign policy of this country and the circumstances in which it has been carried on during the last fifty years and more is unrivalled in these islands. He has in his many addresses brought home to audiences not convinced before that there was no alternative to the policy which the National Government has pursued of late regarding foreign affairs. When a great historian and publicist like Dr. Gooch makes an assertion like this, it is accepted without much demur by the general people. More so as Dr. Gooch has no party affiliations and is held in high esteem for his impartial treatment of public affairs.

Secondly, there is a definite school of thought in England--and this school has now the ear of the public--which regards the rise of Germany from the position of humiliation to which it had been condemned by the Treaty of Versailles, as inevitable. A great country and a great people, this school holds, may be defeated in a war and for the time being may be in a condition of helplessness but that is not the fate to which it can remain reconciled for long. It must try to rise and assert itself. It must make an effort and succeed in its effort to gain back its old position of influence and authority. Germany was occupying a position of leadership in Central Europe before the War and the Germans of today must efface the memories of the years since Versailles and get back this position. It is not only futile but unwise as

well to do anything to stop this progress. It is not only not humiliating but it is actually statesmanlike to allow Germany to have a free hand in Central Europe. This is the point of view of men like Lord Lothian under whose inspiration the *Times* early in September suggested the cession of Sudeten German area to Germany. For the time being this suggestion was greeted with a howl of execration no doubt. But gradually it was brought home to the people that if injustice was now being done to Czechoslovakia, far greater injustice had been done to Germany during one decade and a half after the Great War. What now looked like an injustice to Czechoslovakia was really a belated recompense, and that too on a very small scale, for the grievous wrongs done to Germany. As a result of the hammering of this point of view, the people of England in general do not speak any longer of the betrayal of the Czechs. They simply speak today of the justice that is being rendered to Germany. So in the eyes of the general people of this country Mr. Chamberlain has done nothing by his visits to Herr Hitler in September last, of which he or his country need be ashamed. On the contrary the agreement which he signed at Munich only tears up an unjust provision of the Treaty of Versailles and thereby prepares the ground for European appeasement.

Thirdly, it should not be ever forgotten in India that although the principle of leadership has been for some time past associated with the existing system of government and administration in Germany, it has been an effective force in British politics as well. The British people are not required to choose their leaders in the way that Americans choose their Presidents. English leaders are not chosen by that hazardous method of the ballot box. They come of themselves to the front as a result of the winnowing process of parliamentary life. Members are returned to the House of Commons. It is on its floor that leaders make their appearance and are automatically and spontaneously acclaimed as such by their fellows. None of the members are ever recognised as leaders until they have passed through years of hard work in that chamber and acquired long and varied experience of its life. It is not again by good speeches and by effective rejoinders alone that a member may acquire an ascendancy over his colleagues in the House. Capacity for ready speech and ability to meet the opponents squarely in the face are a part of the equipment of the future leaders no doubt. But more than that is necessary. Judgment and character are

equally the requisites of leadership. True loyalty to party principles, clear appreciation of the needs of the nation are also the qualities which future leaders must be reputed to possess. It is only few of the parliamentarians who may combine in them these virtues. Some may show early promise, may acquire a transitory fame by making a few beautiful and attractive speeches or by making some effective replies to the opponents. But very soon they may turn out to be erratic and unreliable on important occasions. They may develop themes which may not be consistent with true party principles, or may make criticisms which may be wholly irresponsible. In spite of their brilliance therefore they are winnowed out of the front rank. They may continue to be effective gladiators in their individual capacity, but they cannot be the captains of their teams and the leaders of the nation.

Mr. Chamberlain entered Parliament rather late in life. He turned fifty when he first entered the portals of the House of Commons. But even at that comparatively late age he gradually made his mark not only as an effective speaker and a clear enunciator of complex problems of administration and finance but also as a man of cool judgment and mature opinion. He had the advantage also of being the son of Joseph and the half-brother of Austen Chamberlain. He did not require therefore much introduction to the public. But this was not his only capital. He added to it as years rolled on by faithful services to his party in the House and by the exhibition of real character on all critical and important occasions. During the five years of Conservative Government from 1925 to 1929, he was occupying the important but by no means a spectacular office of the Minister of Health. This office was regarded by many as the grave of even established reputation. But Mr. Chamberlain succeeded in making that office as well a footstool to higher reputation as a parliamentarian. The way he enunciated the Local Government Bill of 1929 and piloted it through the House elicited admiration and praise from all quarters. It was but inevitable that a man of so much ability and so much loyalty would rise to the highest position in the party and the Government which that party would form.

It is true that the leaders of the different parties have been for some time past formally elected in the party meetings. But this is, except on a few occasions, only a formal affair. Actually the leader is chosen as it has been pointed out in the House by the only sure

method of the general recognition of his character and ability. Now Mr. Neville Chamberlain is the accredited leader of the Conservative Party. It is in the blood of the British nation to remain faithful to a leader once he is accepted as such by his fellows. The British mind moves slowly. The British people may not be really enthusiastic about a person only after a short experience of his activities. But once after a long experience of a man they accept him as their leader they are unwilling to throw him overboard. It is in their tradition and habit to listen to him, to act up to his advice and follow him in his movements. In this respect the British people differ fundamentally from the democrats of ancient Athens or the democrats of modern France. In ancient Athens, people might today laud up a leader to the seventh heaven but tomorrow they might take offence at one or two of his activities and immediately hurl him down to the lowest depth. In France also there is much of Celtic fickleness noticeable in parliamentary life. But far otherwise is the tenor of life of the English people. Their mind being rather stolid, they are not given either to any paroxysm of enthusiasm or to that of sudden condemnation. They do not think much for themselves and even if they form any opinion on any subject, they either conceal it or change it at their leader's behest.

This being the attitude of the British people it may be easily understood why the conservatives in this country would continue to support Mr. Chamberlain in the foreign policy which he has chalked out for the Government to follow. There may be here and there some dissentients. There may be even some resignations from the Government as there have been resignations of Mr. Eden and Duff Cooper. There may also be consistent denunciations of this policy from some quarters within the camp as there have been denunciations from Mr. Winston Churchill. But all these notwithstanding there can be no gainsaying the fact that Mr. Chamberlain has behind his back the support of over 95 per cent of the conservatives in the country.

It may however be said that the conservatives alone do not constitute the British nation. There are the liberal and the labourite voters who may now be more organised and in conjunction with the conservative malcontents may defeat the nominees of Mr. Chamberlain in the next general election. But such a hope is only a delusion. A contingency like this is unlikely to happen. It is true that the liberal and the labourite voters may together exceed the

strength of conservatives in the electorate. But there is little chance of the two groups working together. The Liberal party has for the last few years been broken into two. The Simonites are all but in name conservatives. They are in the same position today as the Unionist Liberals were forty years back. In one or two respects they may have maintained their identity still but it is only a question of time when they will be merged more completely in the conservative party. As for the independent liberals who in fact are making a desperate effort to keep flying the old banner of liberalism in this country, it may be safely said that their strength is not appreciable in the electorate. Theirs is in fact a dwindling number. It is true that recently Mr. Ramsay Muir, the old Liberal guard, has renewed the offer of liberal co-operation if the Labourites want to organise a popular front in conjunction with the independent liberals. But so far this offer has fallen flat. There has been no response from the labour headquarters. This indifference to liberal appeal on the part of the labour leaders may be explained and even justified by the fact that the co-operation with the Liberals will mean the abandonment of the socialist programme of the labour party. The Liberals may co-operate with the Labourites against the Conservatives but this on their own terms. They are as opposed to the complete labour programme as the conservatives. In fact today opposition to socialism is the battle cry as much of the conservatives as of the liberals of both shades. Recently in the local elections the liberals were found in the anti-socialist camp and if stray liberals supported

the candidature of socialists immediately they were put down as black sheep in the otherwise uncorrupted fold. Even among many voters who before 1931 would have unhesitatingly supported the socialist candidates there is now considerable hesitation. They are in an undecided mood. They have not completely got over the anti-socialist contagion which coloured their views in 1931. There is no knowing if they will declare in favour of socialism or will still vote for the conservative candidates.

When the predominant opinion in the country is anti-socialist, the socialist cause could have any chance of triumph only if the leader of the party had the personality and magnetism of a Gladstone or even of a Lloyd George. If the socialists had a leader who could enthuse and inspire the electorate as Mr. Gladstone did in his Midlothian campaign, there was of course now an opportunity for Labour success, which may not recur in the immediate future. Such a leader could have exploited the pitfalls of Mr. Chamberlain's policy and could have revived the old moral fervour of the nation in a way that would have swept off the conservatives from the electoral stage. But neither Mr. Attlee nor for the matter of that any other stalwart of the Labour Party has that personality and that magnetism which alone could have carried it to electoral triumph. On the contrary it may be said that Mr. Chamberlain has greater weight as a leader of men than the accredited leader of the Labour Party. This is unfortunate but it is a fact. So the conservatives remain enthroned.

LONDON,
November 11, 1938



HASTE

In great literature in general and Shakespeare in particular

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

MONTAIGNE, whose Essays show him up as the hastiest of all writers, wrote: 'Authors have no excuse for haste—who hastens them?' In the many autobiographical notices of himself, scattered through his pages, he confesses to haste. But it is this very element of haste that gives to his Essays their peculiar excellence, which they would never have possessed, had he been continually revising and polishing his periods. 'Who compels an author to write?' is a question that might be answered in various ways. But the query—'who hastens them?'—is more intriguing. For then you are up against Horace's—

Nonumque prematur in annum

Hor. Art. Poet. 338.

and

Definet in piscem mulier formosa superne

Ibid. 4.

And the Jesuit Father Sirmond advised a young friend not to publish anything till he reached the age of fifty.

But apart from the question whether authors have any good excuse for haste, it is certain that many of the greatest works of literature bear the most unmistakable signs of it. *Tristram Shandy* has it on almost every page; but haste is here transmuted to art; and Sterne might plead the excuse that, with a handicap of about thirty years, he had need of haste to catch up with Time. Gibbon said he could not abridge Tacitus, whose works, some critics say, are brief hasty notes. Burton's *Anatomy*, which Johnson and Lamb loved to read, is full of haste; and so the purist Macaulay condemned it (wrongly) as being little more than a mere off-scouring of the Bodleian. Pope generally wrote in haste, on stray bits of paper; but spent much time in polishing. And then there is the greatest of all—Shakespeare—the greatest intellect that has left a record of itself. Shakespeare cannot escape the charge of haste, though, in most of the instances, that apparent haste is dramatically correct. Much of his work seems to have been done as if he were writing against time; except *Hamlet*, of which, there is clear proof that he revised it, and made the most

daring alterations, in respect both of matter and form. He is the one author of whom it may be said, 'Language was made for man, and not man for language.' He has broken every rule of grammar, syntax, and English usage (of his day). He has coined words for himself, and made his coinage pass muster as the current coin of the realm. He is something more than a mere writer of books. This master-intellect, and also craftsman so dominated, and domineered over language that he was able to turn and twist it whichever way he pleased; he fingered all the stops of the spirit; and language, in the use of which, lesser men find themselves tied down to rules and usages, in his hands became a mere vehicle of thought, and plastic as clay in the potter's hand. King of the realm of thought, no ordinary rules of grammar are applicable to him—there are no rules for rulers. No writer may dare to imitate him, save at his peril. He has made all the 'parts of speech' interchangeable. He has ridden rough-shod over all rules and usages. Yet, strange to say, it is those very passages, where he has asserted this royal prerogative, that read the best. As *Hamlet* says of Ophelia: 'Hell itself she turns to prettiness.' Wherever he breaks a rule, that breakage itself becomes a rule. His handling of language is not more different from all other writers than it is different from that of his own contemporaries. No ordinary rules are applicable to a writer, who, in the plenitude of his power, abrogated the whole lot of them, whenever he thought fit. Milton, his equal as a master of thought and language, was the first to remark this (*Vide* his lines in *Illegro*, and his studied Sonnet 'On Shakespeare 1630.').

How did Shakespeare achieve this? The only answer seems to be this: He first thought out all things for himself, more deeply than other men, and meditated long and intensely on every presentation of his environment, so that his soul, in silent communion with Nature, became a part of Nature herself, and the vehicle he employed for the expression of his Art, partook also of the qualities of Nature, in whose manifestations we see many apparent irregularities

and deformities, but not one of them, if closely considered, mar her work, or detract from her universally acknowledged perfection of workmanship. Helmholtz, as a scientist, said some rash things about the human eye being a bad specimen of workmanship, from an optician's point of view. He was certainly wrong. For the human eye is so skilfully adapted to its circumstances, that no camera-maker could ever make the like. And to Shakespeare alone it was given to so completely identify himself with each one of the multitudinous characters of his dramas, in each particular situation in which that character was placed (or rather, in which he chose to place him) that he set down exactly what each one of them, so situated, would naturally speak. In short, he fused Nature and Art into one harmonious whole. In this respect his works are not like those of other men. They are something more than merely great works of Art. Sure of this god-like faculty, he coined his own words, made all the 'parts of speech' interchangeable, without detriment to his rhythm, began sentences without ending them, and broke every rule of grammar—the grammar of words—whenever it suited his purpose, or the exigencies of drama. His thought, and the emotions engendered by his thought moved with such rapidity, that not only his pen, but language itself lagged behind. Hence the peculiarities of his 'style'; if that tame word 'style' can be applied to the work of so consummate a master of thought and language. Hence also what often appear to be 'lapses,' irregularities, and haste in the swift movement, and wide compass of his thought. In none of the works of any other writer—except Milton—does there appear so vast a conception of plan. And, as if in deliberate confirmation of these remarks, it is to be noted that none of these apparent indications of haste are to be found in his non-dramatic works—his *Sonnets*, his *Venus and Adonis*, and *The Rape of Lucrece*. In his works ugly and repellant things appear, just as they do in the works of Nature—ugly hairy insects and crawling things, and crooked trees—side by side with the terrible, and devastating, as in *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, and the soft and beautiful, as in *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—all of these also often in the same piece.

Viewed in this light there are no lapses, or halting passages in Shakespeare, except the most obvious ones, which might at once be set down to the copyist, or the printer. Had he lived longer, or had he cared to revise his

works, and publish an authentic edition under his own hand, it is very doubtful whether he would have altered a line, except to make it more *dramatically true*, as distinguished from the argot of the grammarians. Speech and writing existed long before the grammarians. Herbert Spencer boasted that he did not know a single rule of grammar; and defied the grammarians to point out any flaw in his writings.

This paper would not be complete without a few quotations taken almost at random, bearing, however, in mind, when viewing his works in the *bulk*, as they now appear in the best editions, Shakespeare cannot wholly escape the charge of haste.

Rashly—

And praised be rashness for it, let us know
Our indiscretions sometimes serve us well,
When our deep plots do pall.

Hamlet. V. II. 6.

'Rashly' is here left standing high and dry. The sentence is not carried on; but yet nothing could be more dramatically forcible, and also correct.

Few words, but, to effect, more than all yet;
That when we have found the King—in which your pain—
That way, I'll this—he that first lights on him
Holla the other.

Kent. In *Lear*. III. II. 52.

No, you unnatural hags,
I'll have such revenges on you both,
That all the world shall—I'll do such things—
What they are yet I know not—but they shall be
The terrors of the earth.

Ibid. II. IV. 278.

Here whole sentences are massed together, and left incomplete; but nothing could be more expressive of the thoughts and emotions of the speakers, in the circumstances in which they found themselves.

As a daring instance of a noun used as a verb, take this:

My face I'll grime with filth,
Blanket my loins, *elf* my hair in knots.

Ibid. II. III. 10.

Stranger still, but none the less correct, for the sudden breaking off, is:

Me, poor man—my library
Was dukedom large enough: of temporal royalties
He thinks me now incapable.

The Tempest. I. II. 109.

The whole dialogue between Prospero and Miranda is full of these sudden turns of thought and expression, the main ideas, however, being unerringly carried on to their com-

pletion. Grammar and syntax are thrown to the winds in the following:

The dead man's knell
Is there scarce asked for who!

Macbeth. IV. III. 120.

Equally domineering is his coining of words like 'laggardise', 'recordation', and hundreds more, his double negatives, double comparatives, and double superlatives—too numerous to be quoted.

But it is only in the bulk and viewed in large masses that his works give, sometimes, the impression of haste. In single passages it may always be put down to dramatic propriety. His grammar, in his highest moods, was not the grammar of the schools, but the grammar of thought and the ideas. Hence his frequent use of 'singular' verbs as predicates to apparently 'plural' subjects, but 'singular' in idea. All these curious constructions and grammatical 'irregularities' cannot be put down to haste. In his works, haste, as above stated, appears only 'in the bulk', and not in 'single passages.' In confirmation of this view might be quoted Professor Dowden's remarks on *The Taming of the Shrew*:

'The question of authorship is difficult, but there can be little doubt that here we have an instance of the hasty revision by Shakespeare of an older play, with certain additions which are characteristically his own.'

These remarks may be applied to other plays also, or to certain parts of them. For Shakespeare too, being human, is not *always* at his best.

But his handling of language remains one of the wonders of literature. No other writer has dared to attempt the like. Was he careless of verbal accuracy? How much of it is haste? How much is 'lapsos'? It is dangerous for the mere grammarian of words and sentences to point the finger at any of the passages in the

works of a genius so consummate, a master-mind so comprehensive, that could project itself into all ages, into all countries, into every variety of circumstance, and feel itself at home, alike in the old world of Greek and Roman History and myth, and the magic world of the creative imagination, as in the familiar scenes of England and English history—and yet there is no evidence that he ever travelled out of England: Stratford-on-Avon to London, and back, is, perhaps, the whole extent of his travels.

In his handling of language, and the material he commandeered from every quarter of the globe, he is like Prospero, in the last Act of *The Tempest*, in those remarkable lines, which, not unlikely, he meant to be a self-portraiture of himself, in the evolution of his Art:

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;

* * * * *

You demi-puppets, that

By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make
Whereof the ewe not bites;

* * * * *

By whose aid -

Weak masters though ye be - I have bedimmed
The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azure vault
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: * * *

* * * * *

King of the realm of thought, he asserted his dominion over language, and wherever, as he deemed fit, he departed from its ordinary forms, he majestically conferred upon it the sanction of established usage. His vocabulary of 17,000 words is itself a phenomenon. But the use he made of this colossal vocabulary is one of the chief wonders of the world—the Works of Shakespeare.



INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SRIMATI PRAMILA BASU, five years after her marriage, had passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in the First Division as a private candidate in 1932. Then she passed the I.Sc. and B.Sc. Examination with Distinction. This year she has come out successful with a Second Class in Botany in the M.Sc. Examination of the Calcutta University. She is the first Bengalee lady student of the Calcutta University to pass the Degree

operative Bank, Limited. She took a prominent part in the last Civil Disobedience movement and underwent six months' rigorous imprisonment as the first Dictator in 1932. She is also



Srimati Pramila Basu

Examination in the Master of Science with such high distinction in Botany. As a married lady she had to struggle hard to prosecute her studies after looking to her household duties.

SRIMATI LILABATI DESAI has been elected as the President of the Ahmedabad People's Co-



Srimati Lilavati Desai

connected with various institutions for the upliftment of women.

Srimati Bindubasini Devi, B.A., B.T., obtained a first class first in Bengali in the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University in 1938. Srimati Sati Gupta stood sixth in the first class. Srimati Himani Gupta, Srimati Kamala Das, Srimati Chitra Sen and Srimati Bharati Mukerjee passed in the second class.

A Muhammedan lady Rezia Sultana Ahmed obtained a first class first in Persian.

Srimati Jyotirmoyee Basu also obtained a first class first in Ancient Indian History and



Srimati Supriti Majumdar

Srimati Aloka Banerjee passed the same examination in the second class. In English, Srimati Saraju Roy, Srimati Hemaprova Sen, Srimati Lina Sen and Miss Laila Khan passed in the second division and Srimati Ena Ghosh in the third division. Srimati Juthika Pain and Srimati Renuka Sen passed in the second division and Srimati Ena Ghosh in the third division in Philosophy.

Four ladies passed the M.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University this year: Srimati Asima Mukerjee got a first class in Chemistry; Srimati Ava Mitra and Suhasini Dutt passed in the second division in Mathematics, and Pramila Basu in the second division in Botany.

SRIMATI SUPRITI MAJUMDAR, daughter of the late Professor Abhoykumar Majumdar, obtained the M.A. degree in Bengali literature and language from the Calcutta University, this year.

SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS



The Student building where the plenary sessions of the Congress were held



Main building of Vassar college, the venue of the Congress

SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

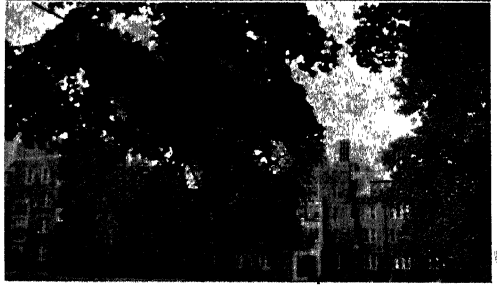
A comprehensive account of the Second World Youth Congress was published in *The Modern Review* for November, 1938. The Congress, which was held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, from August 16 to August 24, was attended by five hundred delegates and observers from fifty-three countries of the world. The Indian delegation was composed of eight members, Mr. M. Iftikar, Mr. Ysuf Meherally, Mr. Arun Bose, Miss Renu Roy, Mr. Tarapada Basu, Mr. A. K. Abbas, Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani and Mr. Satya N. Mukerji. Mr. Ysuf Meherally presented India's report.



A group of delegates representing different countries of the East and the West



Delegates to the Second World Youth Conference
Left to right: Margaritta Robles (Spain),
Tarapada Basu and Renu Roy



Vassar college, where the Second World
Youth Conference was held

COMMENT & CRITICISM

MAHOMEDANS AND THE ARMY

Mr. Jinnah in justifying his support to the Army Recruitment Bill in the Council of State, said that he did it in the interest of the Mahomedans, who form 60 to 70 per cent of the Indian army. One is surprised as to how the president of the Muslim League arrived at these figures. The percentage of men according to religion in the Indian army is as follows:—

| | Infantry | Cavalry |
|---|----------|---------|
| Hindus (Including Sikhs and Gurkhas) .. | 66.954 | 61.92 |
| Mahomedans .. | 29.974 | 38.08 |
| Burmans .. | 3.072 | .. |

At the sitting of the Council of State on the 13th September, Mr. Syed Husain said, "Muslim is a soldier not because he belongs to a certain blood, but because of his religion. Every Muslim whatever his sect acts in the same manner."

Now if one looks into the facts and figures of the Indian army the accuracy of Mr. Syed Husain's statement could be easily challenged. As regards the Mahomedans in the army, they are practically all recruited from Northern India and especially from the Punjab. Before the last great war there used to be companies of Madras Mahomedans in the Carnatic regiments, and Deccani Mahomedans in the Mahratta regiments. After the war enlistment of Mahomedans to these regiments was stopped, the Carnatic regiments being disbanded, and only Hindu Marathas from Konkan and Deccan are now enlisted in the Mahratta regiments.

As regards the Mahomedans that are recruited from Northern India, the vast majority of them come from the Punjab, and the rest from the Delhi province, Rajputana and the N.W. Frontier. Other provinces do not provide any Mahomedan soldiers for the Indian army.

I am afraid the army authorities who know something of the fighting qualities of the different classes in India, do not fully agree with Mr. Syed's dictum. The Mahomedans that are recruited from the Punjab, are practically all from the following classes only: Awans, Tiwanas, Ghakkars, Janjuas, and Chibs, who proudly call themselves Rajput and Jais, magnificent men, styled "P.M." by the army officer. I remember sepoy Rahm Dad, a Chib from Jammu, saving with a feeling of pride, "Sah, Kashmiria Maharajah sadi komda hai," "The Maharajah of Kashmir belongs to my caste." No other class of Mahomedans in the Punjab is recruited for the army.

The Mahomedans from the Delhi province and Rajputana who are enlisted in the army are either Ranghar or Kaimkhanis, who would feel insulted if the denomination Mussalman Rajput is not used in their case. The Pathans recruited from the N.W. F. are also selected from particular classes only, viz., Afridis, Orakzais, Bangash, and Khattaks.

Thus the army authorities hold a different view from that held by Mr. Syed. Although the Hindus are recruited to the army from the provinces of the Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar, Delhi, Rajputana, Bombay, Madras and Nepal, recruitment of Mahomedans is confined to the Punjab, Delhi province, Rajputana and N.W. F. Province. Under these circumstances one wonders what

Mr. Syed Mahomed Husain, actually meant by saying "... we are more competent than you are, etc. ... " in his reply to the statement of Mr. Kumar Shankar Ray Chowdhury.

V. M. KAIKINI

CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES—A NOTE

[*The Modern Review*, October 1938, Page 473.] The Remedies suggested for eradicating corruption only touch the fringe of the problem. Sufficient contact between the officials and the people can be obtained by raising the standard of self-respect among the governed and by reducing the emoluments of the Public services. In the mofussil, the public servant in a town is the person with the highest income. There is tendency in such cases on the part of officials to become inaccessible and look down upon the people. Paying surprise visits, formation of agencies to detect corruption will help little unless there is in the background honest, self-respecting, economically independent people who will stand upright. The repellent reserve of superior officers can only be shaken off among the governed consisting of people of the same intellectual, economic, political status as the officials. The disparity in pay among officials also must be reduced. Otherwise it is impossible to eradicate the insidious form of corruption among the superior class of public servants who refuse to shoulder or who passively resist shouldering the gentlemanly obligations due from them to their inferiors in relation to their dealings with them. This can be said to be a silent incentive to corruption among the lower officials.

In Russia, where there is greater equality, where the officials are drawn from the people, the officials are subjected to two cleansing processes or Chistka. These are referred to by Sidney & Beatrice Webb in their book *Soviet Communism—a new civilization*, pages 475 and 509, 1st volume.

The workers can be present and the technical and administrative staffs have to be present during this process. Every questionable act, which the officials may have done, any indiscreet conversation and any part of his public life may be hauled up into the light of publicity. Any one can be present and ask questions.

This institution gives a sense of power to every citizen. It lessens the tendency on the part of the personnel to be corrupt or tyrannical.

This is only possible in a society where all persons, officials or non-officials, are of equal status. In India racial and other considerations have weight, and such a cleansing process may not be possible. Subjecting a member of the I.C.S. to this cleansing process may be a sight for the gods. If corruption has to be eradicated, some modified method will have to be adopted.

Relaxation of the rules of evidence, admission of hearsay in departmental enquiries, a stern punishment for screening offenders by brother officials, punishment for persistent suspicious behaviour, refusal to prosecute new papers, relaxation of laws of libel, etc. with regard to such publication may go a long way to eradicate corruption, if backed by a vigilant public opinion.

K. L. KUDVA



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Plight of Modern Cities

Twenty-two years ago Rabindranath Tagore visited Japan. The travel-diary which was written in 1916, is now translated from the original Bengali by Indira Devi Chowdhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The following is Tagore's reflections on modern and commercialised cities, specially with reference to Calcutta :

The goddess of commerce is hard, and the lotus of beauty that springs from man's idealism does not bloom beneath her feet. She does not look at men, she wants only things, and the machine is her own special mount. When our boat was coming up the Ganges, signs of her shameless cruelty were evident on both banks of the river. It is because her heart knows no tenderness that she has been able so lightly to deface the lovely banks of the Ganges in Bengal.

I consider it to be an inestimable privilege to have been born before the iron flood of ugliness hastened to drown both sides of the river near Calcutta, from Garden Reach to Hooghly. Then the landing places of the Ganges, like cool arms of the village, still used to hold the river to their breast in a familiar embrace; and the factory ferry-boats still used to go from one landing to another, carrying each one back to his home in the evening. No hard and ugly barrier had yet been built between the flow of the country's heart on the one side, and the flow of this country river on the other.

In those days there was nothing yet to prevent one from seeing the real aspect of Bengal round about Calcutta. Hence, though Calcutta is a modern city, it had not, like a young *koil*, occupied the whole of its foster-mother's nest to the exclusion of everything else. But in course of time, the appearance of the country gradually became hidden beneath the growth of commercial civilization. Now Calcutta is banishing the real Bengal from its outskirts; in the struggle between time and place it is the green loveliness of the place that was defaced by the fierce figure of time that spread out its iron nails and claws, and belched forth its black breath.

Once upon a time men used to say that the goddess Lakshmi dwells in trade. Then they saw the goddess revealed not only in her splendour, but also in her beauty. Because in those days man was not yet separated from trade, there was a communion of spirit between the weaver and his loom, the smith's hand and the smith's hammer, the artisan and his work of art. So the heart of man used to express itself through trade in varied forms of richness and beauty. How else could Lakshmi have got her lotus-throne ?

But ever since the machine became its vehicle, trade has become godless. If one compares modern Manchester with ancient Venice, the difference will become apparent. In the splendour and beauty of Venice, man had revealed

himself; in Manchester man has stultified himself on all sides and revealed his machine. Therefore, wherever this machine-ridden trade has gone, it has spread a pestilence of greed throughout the world with its soot and ugliness and cruelty. It has given rise to no end of struggling and fighting. It has polluted society with falsehood, and made the earth slippery with bloodshed. The goddess of plenty has changed into the dread goddess Kali; her serving ladle has now become a scimitar for drawing blood, and her sweet smile has turned into wild laughter.

The Future of Religion

In the course of his article on the future of religion J. D. Beresford observes—
Aryan Path:

The first "sign of the times" is provided by Mr. Aldous Huxley's recent book *Ends and Means*, which has a very special significance for our present purpose. Mr. Huxley represents a type of mind that is characteristic of many thinkers in the world today. The type, as such, is that of a man of very wide reading who has sufficient imagination and power of reason to save him from any form of specialisation, whether in philosophy or science. These gifts give such a man the ability for that detachment which is absolutely essential for those whose aim is the search for truth; a detachment that has always been clearly evident in Mr. Huxley's writing. Now, in *Ends and Means*, he has reached a stage at which he finds in this "non-attachment" one of the paths to wisdom. It is a path that corresponds to meditation in the East. Both lead to a realization of the evanescence and unreality of the phenomenal world regarded objectively, and thence to the recognition of the animating principle responsible for the objective appearance. This is a stage that will infallibly be reached by any thinker who has the courage and independence of mind to refuse the adoption of any specific formalised belief.

Another exemplar of this type is Mr. Gerald Heard who in his last book, *The Third Morality*, arrives at the same position as that of Mr. Huxley. In the first half of this book, he gives a scientific and historical, as opposed to philosophical, account of the way he has come, tracing the development of worldthought through the stages of anthropomorphism and mechanomorphism to the uneasy conditions, political and religious, of the present day. The difference of training, experience and natural tendency between these two thinkers is very marked, yet we find them arriving at that conclusion which is, I maintain, the only possible one for any thinker who strives to keep his mind as nearly as may be, free from prejudice. This conclusion is that all matter as we know it through the senses is a presentation of something other than matter, a conclusion that is the beginning of wisdom.

The All-India Language

Is it necessary for the building up of a nation that there should be an uniformity of language? According to Prof. Madhav T. Patwardhan, this national unity appears to be of the same kind as the German unity which the German Imperial Government tried to force upon Poland and upon Alsace-Lorraine. He writes in the *Triveni* :

The question of a *lingua franca* for India is no longer one of mere academic interest. The Congress has made up its mind about it; and an attempt is being made in the non-Hindustani-speaking Provinces, on the strength of the Congress majority in the Council, to force its decision down the throats of the people. This move to impose Hindustani on all students at the secondary stage is being stoutly opposed in the South, particularly in the Tamil district. One Editor of *Triveni*, Mr. K. Ramakoti-wara Rao, who is not a non-Congressman, admits that there are people "who are genuinely apprehensive that a new language like Hindustani is likely to affect adversely the growth of their mother-tongue." If these apprehensions are genuine, they ought to be sympathetically considered and removed, with arguments and authoritative assurances. But when Mahatma Gandhi thinks otherwise why should his followers adopt a conciliatory policy towards Hindu doubters in particular? In the *Harizon* for September 10, 1938, Mahatma Gandhi says, "The cry of 'mother-tongue in danger' is either ignorant or hypocritical. And where it is sincere, it speaks little for the patriotism of those who will grudge our children an hour per day for Hindustani." But Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who, I trust, is neither ignorant, nor hypocritical, nor unpatriotic, in his editorial note (p. 284 of the September number of *The Modern Review*) remarks "that the logical and natural outcome of making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule would or should be to make it the cultural language too, of those Universities in India of which English is at present the cultural language." "If what we have said be correct," he proceeds to observe, "the development of the Hindustani language would receive a very great impetus, and at the same time the development of other provincial languages would be arrested, for no language, no literature can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture."

That is how some public-spirited men are genuinely apprehensive about the language policy of the Congress. The Editor of *The Modern Review* thinks that the Congress has not yet placed all its 'linguistic' cards on the table. While on one hand an attempt is being made to teach Hindustani compulsorily at the secondary stage, there is, on the other, no authoritative ministerial statement of policy as to what is to be the position of the regional language in administration and in education. It is often said that Hindustani is to occupy the place now held by English, and it is argued that under the domination of Hindustani Indian languages and literatures will continue to grow just as they have grown under the domination of English! But if Indian languages and literatures have grown during the last eighty or ninety years, the spread of education and contact with Western thought—cause other than that of the political ascendancy of English—have contributed to this growth, which would have been considerably greater if there had not been this domination by English. And then, if English has to a certain extent affected adversely the growth of

Indian languages and literatures, the rise of Hindustani to the same position is much more likely to affect similarly all the other Indian languages. English has never been looked upon as the national language; and opposition to it and preference for a provincial language could never be construed as want of patriotism. But with the recognition of Hindustani as the *Rashtrabhasha*, who can take objection to a person like Mr. Jinnah, for instance, if he refuses to speak publicly the language of the Province in which he has made his home? I have heard of a Maharashtra member of the Hindi-Prachara Sangha who addresses Marathi-speaking audiences in Hindi, and confesses without any qualm of conscience that he cannot speak his mother-tongue! He who for such conduct under the regime of English would certainly be cried down as a traitor may now be hailed as a nationalist.

The Co-operative Movement in India

Economists are of opinion that co-operation to be successful must be started not in isolated toy-organisations, but comprehensively, covering the whole field of economic activities. *The National Reconstruction* writes editorially :

The Co-operative Movement in India has not been a full success; this is frankly admitted by many now. The word Movement is really a misnomer when applied to it. A movement is that which is live, and through its own life can bring in a new order of things.

The Co-operative Movement, so called, was started in India in 1904 with the passing of the Co-operative Societies Act. That Act was the outcome of the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1901, and as the Royal Agricultural Commission observes, was not 'the outcome of a popular demand, but was essentially the act of a Government . . . to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to give it effect, a government department had to be established.' This Act was strictly limited to credit. In 1912, a second Act was passed, which permitted the extension of Co-operation to non-credit activities also. But it has always been, until now, a department of the Government. It has grown in number during the 34 years of its life. It has grown in volume also, both in membership as well as in working capital. But it has not grown into the life of the people; it does not shape or control, by even a small measure, the economic life of the Indian people. It is no movement in any real sense of the term.

As regards the question of developing the habit of thrift the same journal observes :

Co-operation has helped to develop the habit of thrift in the people. This claim perhaps is true, but only so far as it goes. For one thing, Co-operation has not touched in many provinces more than a small fraction of the people. The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee found that co-operative societies were formed only "in one village out of five in the province, while the proportion of agriculturalist families benefited is only about 1 in 15." Secondly, while thrift is a good quality helping contented sufficiency, it is not the main problem of our economic life. The income of our rural ryot leaves very little surplus to save. It is absolutely inadequate (according to the Banking Enquiry Committee) to make possible any improvement in his standard of living. "In the estimation of the Committee (the Bengal report said) there is very little room for improve-

ment in the standard of living *unless means are devised to improve the productiveness of the soil and to bring to the producer a greater share of the value of the crops than the harvest price that he now commands.*" The portion italicised by us puts the economic problem in a nutshell. And Co-operation has failed to do practically anything to substantially improve the income of our agriculturist. A few production and sale societies were started, in insignificant proportion to the credit societies, which, except in rare instances, were never allowed to thrive. As a result, in spite of co-operative credit societies rural indebtedness has been increasing, reaching a figure almost beyond redemption.

Economic Planning for India

Industries Ministers from the Congress-administered provinces met in conference in Delhi, early in October last, under the presidency of Subhas Chandra Bose, to discuss economic planning on a nation-wide scale and also development and co-ordination of industrial resources in India. The following extract is made from a synopsis of his speech appearing in the *Financial Times*:

Rastrapati Subhas Chandra Bose, who presided, in his opening speech indicated the lines on which constructive effort could be directed, like the establishment of a national planning commission, regional distribution, technical research and training and starting of "mother" industries.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, emphasized that Congressmen today had not only to strive for liberty but had also to devote a portion of their thought and energy to problems of national reconstruction.

National reconstruction would be possible only with the aid of science and scientists. There was at present a lot of loose talk about schemes for bringing about industrial recovery in the country, but to his mind the principal problem was not industrial recovery but industrialization.

India was still in a pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement was possible until they had passed through the throes of an industrial revolution.

"I am afraid," said Mr. Bose after a pause, "that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition."

Detailing the problems the conference had to consider he made the following points: arrangement for a proper economic survey of each Province; co-ordination between cottage industries and large scale industries, to prevent overlapping: the advisability of having a regional distribution of industries; rules regarding technical training in India and abroad for Indian students; provision for technical research and the advisability of appointing a committee of experts to give further advice on the problems of industrialization.

"It is our aim to see that every man, woman and child is better clothed, better housed, better educated and has sufficient leisure for recreation and for cultural activity. If this aim is to be realized the quantity of industrial products has to be increased considerably, necessary works have to be organized and a large proportion of the village population has to be diverted to industrial occupation."

India had similar resources to those of the United

States or Russia. What was wanted was a systematic and organized exploitation of the resources in the interests of the nation.

There was no conflict between cottage industries and large scale industries. Such a conflict, if any, arose out of misunderstanding. He was a firm believer in the need for developing India's cottage industries, though he held that they had also to reconcile themselves to industrialization.

George Russell and Indian Thought

George William Russell, better known as AE, was greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy. Swami Jagadishwarananda writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

George William Russell, popularly known to the world by his pen-name, AE, was the greatest poet of Ireland. He was also a good artist, a great patriot and, above all, a dynamic mystic of rare calibre. A many-sided personality though he was, the mystic in him was the dominant note of his character. What characterizes his mysticism most is its surprising similarity to Indian thought and, as such, a study of his views is made in the following paragraphs in the light of Vedanta.

George Russell was born in April, 1867, at Largan and educated at Rathmines school, Dublin. He studied art for some time in a school but his academic education did not proceed far like that of Tagore and other celebrities of our time. When his student career was cut short, he entered an accountant's office, but in 1897 he joined the Irish Agricultural Movement and became a successful organizer of Agricultural Societies. From 1904 to 1923 he was the worthy editor of *The Irish Homestead*, an organ of the Agricultural Co-operative Movement. In 1923, he became the able editor of *The Irish Statesman*, in which capacity his mighty pen did much to direct the new literature on national lines. In Celtic Renaissance and in the Revival of Gaelic language and literature he has left a permanent mark in Ireland. In the last decade of his life he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from the Dublin University in 1929 and passed away in July, 1935.

As a mystic AE has much in common with Hindu thinkers and shares many of their ideas and conceptions of soul, God and universe. "In thought, ideas and visions," writes Mr. Mahesh Chandra, M.A. in his *Study of Modern Irish Literature*, "AE is so like a Hindu seer that it is difficult to keep in mind the fact while studying his works that he is an Irishman. Even there are poems which use Sanskrit words and phrases and the impression created is that of reading splendid transcriptions of Hindu philosophical books or hymns."

George Russell had deep love and longing for the Orient and Oriental wisdom. He had a soft corner in his heart particularly for India and her spiritual wealth. Mr. Frank O'Connor, the Irish author, who delivered the grave-side oration at the funeral of his departed friend, struck a true note when he said that AE saw the light in the East and longed for the East. AE believed firmly like Tindall and Rolland, Emerson and Keyserling and a host of other Western savants that spiritual light has always come from the East and will again come from the East. In a letter written on the 17th October, 1922, he pays his loving tribute to India as follows: "I have watched with interest so far as I could, the economic and spiritual movements in India, a country which I regard as a kind of spiritual Fatherland and whose influence on the thought of the world must, I think,

grow greater because in no literature there is such a reservoir of divine truth as in the Indian."

Improvement of Cattle

The Indian Veterinary Journal writes editorially:

It is a well-known fact that our country has got a number of excellent indigenous breeds of cattle which had been evolved solely with an eye to their utility. It is also an equally well-known fact that these breeds of cattle have been gradually deteriorating, chiefly from want of care and attention to their *breeding and feeding*. It is further agreed that there is bound to be definite and rapid all round improvement when once these two defects are removed. This aspect of the matter has been forcibly brought out by experiments which were recently conducted and which have been recorded by Col. Olver, till lately the Animal Husbandry Expert with the Government of India, in the following words:-

"Within the last 20 years, simply by proper feeding and management, combined with *strictly controlled breeding* (Italics ours), the average milk-yield of several herds of pure-bred indigenous cows in India has been raised from 5.3 lbs. to 16.8 lbs. per diem. With more forcing methods such as special hand-feeding, very frequent milking, and very high feeding, which are commonly employed by pedigree breeders of dairy cattle in other countries to obtain records, there is little doubt that still higher yields could have been obtained."

The real remedy for the improvement of the live-stock is to be looked for in better feeding and more careful management of our own live-stock.

This object cannot possibly be achieved by the opening of a couple of breeding farms in a presidency and trying to evolve a pure strain of cattle under conditions greatly foreign to their native habitat. There are a number of breeders in the various parts of the country whose knowledge of things pertaining to Animal Husbandry is not negligible. They may not be well versed in the three R's and they may not be educated according to the modern concepts. But their knowledge of practical cattle-breeding is something extraordinary. It is the accumulated experience of generations of practical farming and practical Animal Husbandry. They know exactly what the ryots need; they study the conditions of the market very accurately and they try to meet those requirements in their own limited way. If latterly they have become apathetic to their profession of cattle-breeding and indifferent to their occupation of cattle-rearing, it is not because they have no interest in their work. It is because of the grinding poverty in the country-side, of the encroachment on pasture lands, and of the absence of patronage and encouragement from the Government. And, therefore, unless these causes are remedied, there is very little chance of our inducing these people to take a live interest in their work.

The Government must arrange for taking a comprehensive census of the real cattle-breeders in the various parts of the country. These people must be approached by the Government and induced to take an active interest in their work by the grant of liberal subsidies either in cash or in kind, as, for instance, by the offer of Grantee farms solely intended for cattle-breeding on the lines of what is being done in the Punjab, or by the grant of free pasturage in the forest areas. Simultaneously, better facilities for the transport

of fodder and cattle from place to place should be provided. If the above plans be adopted, we are quite confident that the whole country-side will all at the same time be electrified into action with a comparatively less cost to the Government than the maintenance of a number of farms at an enormous expenditure.

An International University

The following is an extract from the editorial notes of *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

The football party from the Student Hostel in Calcutta who made their pilgrimage to Santiniketan, and there had an interview with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, were able to see for themselves the fruition of a dream which the Poet described to another student audience of the Y. M. C. A. in 1920. It was in London at the old Shakespeare Hut, the original home of the Indian Students' Hostel, that Dr. Tagore made his appeal for the creation of a centre of indigenous culture in India. The chair was occupied by the Minister of Education, Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, and there were notable people in the audience. But for one of the least of these what remains in the memory after all these years is a striking simile used by the Poet when speaking of the languages of India. There was a time, he reminded us, when European culture, still in the bud, was concentrated, so to speak, in a point—the Latin language; only when the petals of its distinct vernaculars unfolded was the beauty of the flower revealed. And so it would be with India, he said, when her vernacular literature and her characteristic art revived.

But more lasting than any "flower of perfect speech" was the seed the Poet planted of a great idea. He appealed for the establishment of a new type of Indian university, "which should revive the splendid memories of Taxila and Nalanda, where students flocked from the four corners of Asia—a university which should be racy of the soil, which should be self-supporting in the sense that it maintained its own life by the work of its own hands; students and teachers sharing in a common life, contributing to the life of the surrounding villages and to the solution of India's problems as they present themselves in the neighbourhood, building their spiritual life on the foundation of India's great past, and welcoming, as on the white carpet of Akbar, the spiritual contributions of every culture in the world."

That was in 1920, and the idea has borne fruit in Visva-Bharati, the international university founded by Dr. Tagore which our footballers saw at Santiniketan.

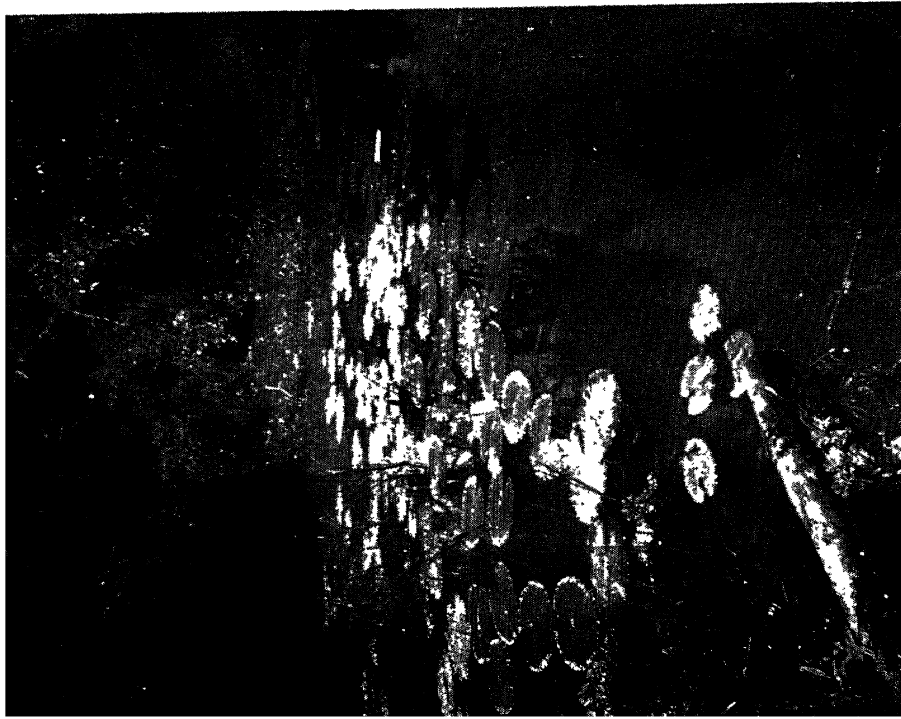
A POEM

Early winter spreads her filmy veil
over midnight stars,
and the call comes from the deep,
"Man, bring out your lamp."
The forests are bare of flowers,
the birds have ceased to sing,
the riverside grass has shed its blossoms.
Come, Dipali, waken hidden flames
out of the desolate dark,
and offer symphony of praise to eternal light.
The stars are dimmed,
the night is disconsolate,
and the call comes from the deep,
"Man, bring out your lamp."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the *Visva-Bharati News*



The statue and monument of Kemal Ataturk in Angora



The lake of lotus



The Dawn

Photographs By Kamakshiprasad Chatterjee

FOREIGN PERIODICALS



China Stronger than Ever ?

Has China any chance in her conflict with Japan? Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Randall Gould says that from now on the Chinese will have things far more their own way. Extracts from the article are made here from a condensed version published in the *News Review*.

The Japanese army conveniently prefers not to know that from now on China is a great bog into which the Japanese wade at their peril.

They recognize that the next phase of war must be fought on China's terms, not Japan's; for while Japan could operate with reasonable ease and efficiency along the coasts with aid of her navy and with heavily mechanised units utilising China's new communications media (chiefly highways and railroads together with the ancient canals), the hinterland is a different story.

China is in this new phase merely falling back on her own essentially agrarian structure; what has happened thus far has deprived her only of the coastal industries, which were rather luxuries than necessities in any event. At no time did China ever have single points which meant to her what such cities as Osaka mean to Japan, or Manchester to England. That has been one of the most exasperating phases of the campaign, to the Japanese the great sprawling Chinese monster was nowhere vulnerable for a death blow.

What is more, the Chinese actually appear to have gathered fresh strength under stress. New armies have been built up, a system developed for supplying fresh men in ever-increasing numbers, inland industries are starting, which means less need to import, while many small munitions plants are turning out the true sinews of Chinese military resistance, even though China must still look abroad for big guns and airplanes.

Some of the hitherto neglected interior provinces are experiencing a boom and undergoing rapid development of communications and natural resources such as never would have occurred within many years under other circumstances. What is more, China is fighting "on the cheap"—throwing into action a man power five or six times that of Japan and making Japan spend from three to five dollars for every one China lays out.

A Mad New World

Our civilisation is in a curious predicament; peace, prosperity and plenty are in our grasp, yet we seem bent on destruction—writes C. E. M. Joad in *The Living Age*. Thanks to science, he observes, all the age-old enemies of man have been conquered—all except one, the enemy which is human nature itself. Human power has increased but human wisdom has stood still, so that while science has given us powers fit for

the gods we bring to their use the mentality of savages, of madmen.

Look at that airplane humming across the summer sky. The knowledge of mathematics, of dynamics and mechanics, of electricity and internal combustion, the ingenuity in the application of that knowledge, the skill in the working of woods and metals that have gone into its making are such as to suggest that its inventors were supermen; the intrepidity and courage which were shown by the early flying men were the qualities of heroes.

Think now of the benefits which the airplane might have conferred upon mankind; of how it might have brought all the countries of the world to John Smith's back door and made Bagdad as accessible as Balham.

Now think of the purposes for which the airplane has been and seems increasingly likely again to be used. To drop bombs that shatter and choke and burn and poison and dismember defenseless people, so that modern war has become, in the words of a lady novelist, 'a running away with one's children and a not being able to run fast enough.' In a word, the supermen made the airplane and the savage has got hold of it.

Consider the case of machines. Machines were invented in order to relieve mankind of dull and drudging work. The ordinary citizen nourishes a dream wherein after three or four hours' machine-minding a day he will have produced enough and to spare, after which he will, presumably, have nothing to do but enjoy himself. But two things have combined to prevent the realization of this dream.

In the first place, the new leisure which the inventor of machinery has made available for men, instead of being distributed evenly among us all, is concentrated in the form of unemployment upon a certain number who do not want it, while the rest of us work as hard or nearly as hard as we worked before.

In the second place, instead of using machines as our servants, we have grown so dependent upon them that they have become our masters. We cannot now perform the simplest operation of life without their assistance.

Potentially we are masters of the world, yet we are on the verge of committing mass suicide through sheer inability to control the powers that science has given us.

Mind, I am not saying that we are any worse than we ever were; merely that we have a need to be very much better—much better because we are so much more powerful.

Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R.

The following extracts are made from a report on Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R., 1933-1937, published in the *International Labour Review*:

SCOPE

The new Soviet Constitution of 5 December 1936 includes among the basic rights of the citizen "the right

to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work." This right, according to Article 120 of the Constitution, "is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State, free medical aid, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the toilers."

The class of insured persons coincides to all intents and purposes with that of wage-earners. The increase in the insured population during the years 1929-1937 merely reflects the extremely rapid rise in the number of employed persons in the Soviet Union during the first two quinquennial stages of the industrialisation of the country.

The size of the insured population from 1929 to 1936 is shown below:

| | Thousands | | Thousands |
|------|-----------|------|-----------|
| 1929 | .. 10,932 | 1933 | .. 22,156 |
| 1930 | .. 13,659 | 1934 | .. 23,935 |
| 1931 | .. 17,658 | 1935 | .. 21,949 |
| 1932 | .. 22,385 | 1936 | .. 25,633 |

In 1937 the number of insured persons again rose by over a million to about 26,700,000.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES

The financial resources of the insurance scheme are derived from contributions in proportion to wages. These contributions are paid by the undertakings, institutions, businesses, or individuals, employing workers, and no part of the contribution may be charged to the worker or deducted from his wages. As all undertakings, institutions, and businesses, employing paid labour are State property, the Soviet scheme is described in the Constitution of 1936 as "social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State."

The right to benefit does not depend on payment of the contribution. Section 179 of the Labour Code expressly states that failure to pay the contribution may in no case deprive a worker of insurance benefit.

Another important feature of the Soviet scheme is the inclusive nature of the contribution. The undertaking pays a single inclusive contribution for its workers which covers all the risks mentioned in the legislation. Until 1937 these risks were the following: temporary incapacity resulting from an accident, an occupational disease, or illness other than an occupational disease, or pregnancy or confinement, together with permanent incapacity, old age, and death.

BENEFITS

The transfer of the administration of social insurance to the trade unions made it possible to inaugurate a new benefit policy increasingly adapted to the economic plans of the Government.

The most important of the insurance benefits provided directly by the trade union organizations are undoubtedly those granted in connection with *temporary incapacity*. The rates of these benefits depend on a number of factors: the nature of the work performed, membership of a trade union, period of service, and membership of a shock brigade. Thus, for example, a worker who is a trade unionist and employed in a State undertaking, and who has completed at least three years' work including an unbroken period of two years in the same undertaking, is entitled to benefit equal to full wages from the first day of incapacity. If the worker has been employed without interruption in the same undertaking between one to two years, he receives two-thirds of his wages during the first twenty days of incapacity, and full wages from the twenty-first day of

absence. A non-trade-unionist worker receives only half his wages during the first thirty days of incapacity and two-thirds of his wages during the rest of his absence.

Expenditure on *pregnancy and confinement benefits*, which are assessed in the same way as benefits for temporary incapacity, shows both an absolute and a relative increase. Between 1933 and 1936 this expenditure increased progressively; in 1933 it was 5.8 per cent. of the insurance expenditure met directly by the trade unions, and in 1936 it was 9.8 per cent. In the 1937 budget, these benefits were estimated at 16.3 per cent of the total, and in the 1938 budget at 16.8 per cent. *Benefits for children of insured persons* underwent a similar increase. These benefits include layette and nursing allowances, maintenance in pioneer camps and sanatoria for children, assistance outside school, and relief for parents who are momentarily in need. Between 1933 and 1936, expenditure for such purposes varied between 6 and 7 per cent of the insurance benefits paid directly by the trade unions. In the 1937 budget, it amounted to 10.5 per cent, and in the 1938 budget to 11.1 per cent.

Trotsky Judges Russia

Josef Tejkal discusses the economy of Soviet Russia in the *Krestanska Revue* (Prague), basing his criticism on Trotsky's "Revolution Betrayed".

The new economic development has increased the production and permits of a higher standard of life, but this amelioration, which is clearly in evidence among the leading classes, is completely absent in the lowest strata. They build little and badly for the workers, but money is spent lavishly over Soviet palaces, grand theatres, and such other structures, which are there only to dazzle the eyes. A similar state of affairs is obtained in regard to industries of transport, provisions, clothing, etc.

In order to raise the economic level and increase production, the ordinary methods of improving wages, e.g. piece-work wages, have been introduced. Whoever earns more rubles can, therefore, obtain better commodities of life. This leads to the social stratification of the workers. The Stakhanov workers, who succeed so well in their execution and economy of material by means of their more economic methods of work, form, as it were, the aristocracy among the workers. Among them there are, of course, some who accomplish more work through socialistic motives, but most of them only care for more earnings. There are workers who earn more than 2,000 rubles, while workers of a lower category scarcely get 100 rubles a month. According to Trotsky this type of production excludes real equality and the present Soviet system has widely overstepped the permissible measure of inequality. . . . The workers defend themselves, by means of acts of sabotage, against the Stakhanov movement and one has often the impression of a small civil war.

This social stratification is found also in agriculture. Ninety per cent of the agricultural concerns are collective farms, the rest are Soviet farms. But the most of the collective farms draw their income from a private 'supplementary' landed property and not from the common economy. . . . Again, a part of the soil is allowed by them to be worked on leases, which reminds one of the old serfdom. The bureaucracy is afraid of removing these injustices.

To a small extent, there exists also private economy, which is allowed or tolerated in the cases of intellectual

workers, specialists and the privileged classes of labour. It can be said, in brief, that property is acquired by the state, but its income is distributed according to a bourgeois standard. This gives rise to a new social structure and a privileged class.

If the Soviet Union represents the realisation of Socialism and the most developed form of Communism, as it is constantly emphasised, why are there, then, if there is a society devoid of all classes, all the organisations of such an energetic political power, a dictatorship and persecutions? Stalin, of course, does not speak of a bureaucracy or of a ruling class, but of socialistic 'cells.' He asserts that they are so strong as not be swept away even by a new civil war. But this cult of 'cells' is in reality only a cult of bureaucracy, of stewardship and of the technical aristocracy.

The Marxian theorists may assert that it is a transition period, but the question is how to prevent the authorities in the society from becoming the masters. . . And yet Lenin presumes that a proletarian dictatorship is a dictatorship of the majority for the suppression of a privileged minority!

TRS. DR. V. V. GOKHALE

Good out of Communism

Vincent McNabb observes in *Blackfriars* :

The good that can come, yet may not come, from Communism is the conviction that "if any man will not work, neither let him eat."

A second great good which may come of Communism is a lively sense of each individual's duty towards the groups of which he is an individual, e.g., to the family, the city, the mother-land, the Brotherhood of Mankind.

We cannot give to Bolsheviks the credit of discovering this fundamental social principle. It was already known to the Greek philosophers and mediæval Scholastics as the principle of General Justice.

But this science of the Greek pagan philosophers, and of the mediæval Christian philosophers was little better than a science. In other words, it was a thought if not a conviction when it ought to have been a life.

Communists are determined that this social science which gives us the doctrine of General Justice shall be a life.

But it can never be sufficiently emphasized that "heresy is a truth in isolation," and the greater the principle from which the truth is isolated the greater the heresy. Communism as we see it in practice, if not in programme or principle, by denying God has isolated the two truths from their fundamental principle.

D'Annunzio, the Real Inventor of Fascism

Gabriele D'Annunzio, the eminent soldier-poet of Italy who died early this year, was the real inventor of Fascism, according to an article published in the *Parade*.

The war of 1914-1918 left in its wake, to a certain extent everywhere, and especially in Italy and Germany, a new category of white-collar proletarians, who were an exceedingly troubled wreckage in a society in which capitalism and the world of the working man seemed equally hostile to them.

In Italy the greatness of our Middle Ages, in which all is disorder and life, was necessarily incomprehensible to their limited capacity. By a strange paradox, it was

Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose lyric richness had been so splendid, who became the poet and the prophet of all these pathetic mis-fits. It was he who was the real inventor of fascism.

Literary glory never seemed to D'Annunzio a prey quite worthy of his talon : and that is the secret of his conduct after the war : even before the war, although he was one of the most famous Europeans, he always envied men of action : but, unfortunately, to act meant, to him, not to act for an ideal—as it did to a Mazzini and a Garibaldi. D'Annunzio was a pathological left-over from the Renaissance. 1st in the wave of democracy which swept over Europe from 1890 to 1920. The psychological confusion of the after-war must have seemed to him his great opportunity. Moreover, in the Renaissance itself (his books prove it) he never lifted his eyes to a Michelangelo, nor even to a Machiavelli; his man was Caesar Borgia, but his ferocious individualism.

When in 1919, D'Annunzio seized Fiume, what drove him on was not the idea of preserving the Italian character of the unfortunate Adriatic city (whose occupation by the French immediately after the armistice constitutes the greatest psychological blunder France has been guilty of in her dealings with Italy); what he thought of, and immediately, was a coup aimed at the whole of Italy; for him, Fiume was to be merely a springboard.

D'Annunzio was too intelligent and too subtle to believe in this adulterated wine of the heritage of Rome. But he took advantage of all these springs of action, because he felt that they were more within the imaginative grasp of the *petite bourgeoisie*, embittered by the after-war, and it was from this class that he recruited his volunteers. It was he who, at Fiume, invented that "Roman salute," which has now become also the "German salute," and which he, overlooking its implications, copied from some statue or fresco, forgetting that, in Rome, the *cives* greeted each other by shaking hands, and that only slaves made the sign which has been adopted by the subjects of Mussolini and Hitler.

It was D'Annunzio who invented those dialogues with the crowd, which fascism later on found so useful at the *Piazza di Venezia* at Rome.

"To whom shall Fiume belong?" D'Annunzio called down from the capitol balcony.

And the mob of volunteers who had invaded Fiume thundered from below :

"To us !"

And the poet-dictator :

"And Italy ?"

And the mob, once more :

"A noi !" (To us !)

This "to us" gave the key to the real love of D'Annunzio for the fatherland, a love of possession, not a love of devotion and sacrifice.

The fascist conquest of Italy, which came three years later, was nothing, after all, but a gigantic repetition of the mad and romantic enterprise of Fiume—the same following up of D'Annunzio's brilliant pioneering.

Spain under Franco

The following account of Nationalist Spain is reproduced here from *The Living Age*.

In a comparatively short time a totalitarian structure of surprising completeness has been evolved. The distinctions between Legislature and Executive, between Government and Party, and between military and civilian have been blurred.

Nationalist Spain is a dictatorship. General Franco, the dictator, is head of the State, head of the Government, head of the only political party and Commander-in-Chief of the land, air and sea forces. He is responsible for the conduct of policy, administration and war. This accumulation of powers in his hands insures that the relations between Government, Party and armed forces shall be harmonious, and that no troublesome problems shall be allowed to arise until the war has been won. The Generalissimo is the corner-stone of the new State.

Since February, General Franco has presided over a Cabinet on the European pattern, consisting of eleven Ministers, each of whom is responsible for a State Department. The Junta Técnica, the pioneer body of law-givers that laid the foundations of the State, has gone forever. The vast sum of its empirical legislation is at the disposal of the new Ministry; and it is to be expected that any further changes will take place without affecting the basic structure of government as it exists today. The new Cabinet was formed after careful consideration of the varied elements that have given their support to the Nationalist movement.

The Cabinet follows its course without any direct consultation of the people. There is only one channel for the expression of public opinion, and that lies through the *Falanga Española Tradicionalista*. The F.E.T. was formed nearly a year ago by the fusion of the Falange and the Reguete, the Fascists and Traditionalists of pre-war days.

Any body of opinion which lies outside the F.E.T. has no means of public expression. There is little possibility of disagreement between the Government and the F.E.T., since the same men are at the head of both. The supreme authority in the Party is the National Council. General Franco is its President, Senor Cuesta its General Secretary. The Council meets to pronounce on the fundamental bases of the movement and on any question submitted to it by the head of the State. It has no power for effective opposition, because the fifty Councillors are appointed by General Franco and can be removed by him at will.

Modern German Art

The following review of Modern German Art appears in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.

For centuries Munich under the care of the Wittelsbachs was a home for artists of all kinds and from all countries. Its renown as an artistic world-centre was founded by the astute and highly gifted King of Bavaria, Ludwig I, who developed his capital into the "Athens on the Iar" during his reign, 1825-48. He filled the city with art museums and buildings of high architectural merit, and gave every encouragement to artists to reside and work there. The results exceeded all expectations, and for nearly a century Munich stood at the summit of its artistic glory. An eminent band of artists, including noted painters and sculptors, collected here. Among them were Lenbach, Kaulbach, Leibl, von Polotz, Ramberg and Diez—to mention a few. Each had his school, his followers and his pupils. *Colorismus* and *Naturalismus* were terms for friendly argument and discussion, not only among the artists themselves but by the whole popula-

tion, which gradually developed artistic tastes and knowledge to a remarkable degree. Joyous picnics in the surrounding mountains, river parties on the rafts of timber being floated down the river in summer, and in winter the highly artistic carnival balls—arranged and decorated by leading artists and always patronized by the Royal Family without the slightest formality—these were harmless recreations in which they indulged. Their influence gradually percolated throughout the entire population, and instead of this artistic community being influenced by its surroundings, it transmitted to the city that peculiar, indefinable atmosphere which was its great charm. At the annual Salon held at the "Glass Palace," the leading artists of Europe exhibited—among them Rousseau, Dupre, Daubigny, Millet, Corot, Stevens and Courbet.

Then came the War followed by revolution. The artistic edifice, so carefully constructed and jealously guarded by the dynasty, crumbled as the latter disappeared from the scene. Years of degeneration followed, but a chosen few still remained and the atmosphere still slumbered amongst the old-fashioned "Burghers," who had little sympathy with the new ideas and cults. The political upheaval followed; sternly combating all traditions, discounting all individuality and emphasising new principles in its laudable but too violent procedure to rid Art of all the evil influences and excrescences which had established themselves during this era of depression. The little good remaining perished with the bad or hid itself as far away as possible from the turmoil. Having completed the cure, the new Government began the reconstruction of the country's art edifice, applying the same methods which it had adapted in other directions. A large and imposing building—"The House of German Art"—was erected, in which the first exhibition was opened last year. Simplicity and lack of inspiration and initiative ruled throughout. It was obvious that the exhibitors were either wanting in enterprise or had failed to grasp what was expected of them. The tone was throughout sombre, even depressing, and the remaining nucleus of well-known and influential artists held rigidly aloof. It was clearly demonstrated that the very rigid precepts and attempts to formulate artistic production by hard and fast rules were not likely to be a success and that a considerable relaxation was urgently necessary. This has taken place to some extent in this year's Exhibition, marking a considerable improvement on the last. Several artists of note have again submitted their works; here and there bright colours and careful execution show that the more venturesome spirits have emerged from their retirement, and that the original plans for education have been considerably altered. The Art Pageant, also a yearly event costing several million marks, has been instituted with the intention of re-awakening amongst the Munich populace their love for all things artistic, and of advertising the city as the centre of Art in Germany. But whilst admitting that it was both beautiful and effective as propaganda, it was more generally regarded as an imposing and interesting spectacle than as a return of those more simple processions of other days which relied entirely on their artistic merit to appeal. These two years of experiment and attempts to revive the old traditions or to create a new school of art conforming to the principles upon which the Government is based, would appear to indicate that the initial steps are not likely to produce the desired results.

JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS INSTITUTE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN by some fortunate chance I came into an intimate contact with Sir Jagadish he was in the prime of his youth and I was very nearly of his age. At that moment his mind seemed entranced with a vision of the living creatures' fundamental kinship with the world of the unconscious. He was busy in employing his marvellous inventiveness in coaxing mute Nature to yield her hidden language. The response which he received through skilful questionings revealed to him glimpses of the mystery of an existence that concealed its meaning underneath a contradiction of its appearance. I had the rare privilege of sharing the daily delight of his constant surprises. I believe, poets inherit the primeval age in their temperament when things in their infant simplicity revealed a common feature. Somehow these lovers of *Maya* feel the joy of their being spread all over the creation which makes them indulge in seeking the analogy of the living in things that appear lifeless. Such an attitude of mind may not in all cases be based upon any definite belief, animistic or pantheistic, it may be merely a makebelieve, as we notice in children's play which owes its origin to the lurking tendency in our sub-conscious mind to ascribe life-energy to all activities in the natural world. I was made familiar from my boyhood with the Upanishad which in its primitive intuition proclaims that whatever there is in this world vibrates with life, the life that is one in the infinite.

This might have been the reason of the eager enthusiasm with which I expected that the idea of the boundless community of life in the world was on the verge of a final sanction from the logic of scientific verification. Being allowed to follow the Master's footsteps in the privacy of his pursuit, even though as a mere picker of his casual hints, I had my daily feast of wonders. At this early stage of his adventure when obstacles were powerfully numerous and jealousy largely predominated over appreciation, friendly companionship and sympathy must have had some needful value for him even from one who to maintain intellectual communion with him lacked special competency. Yet I can proudly claim to have helped him in some of his immediate needs and occasional

hours of despondency in those days of an inadequate recognition and feeble support that he received from the public.

In the background of that distant memory of mine I find not the slightest gleam of a vision of the enormous success that could before long combine scientific renown with a vast material means adequate enough to build this Institute, one of the very few richly endowed mediums in India for bestowing the benediction of science upon his countrymen. In fact, it makes me laugh at myself today to read in some of my old letters my effort to encourage him with the likelihood of filling the gaps in his funds when my own resources were precariously limited to persuading friends who were foolish enough to have faith in me. Still it is comically sweet to think of the proud magnificence in my assurance fitfully accompanied by contribution absurdly poor compared to the ceaseless flow of tribute that later on he could attract by his own magnetic personality and also by the general confidence he widely aroused in his genius. But I repeat again, it was sweet to have dreamed impracticable dreams and to have done however little it was possible, as it proves a courage of joy in the faith in greatness which itself is a bounteous gift to one's own mind.

However, ill equipped as I was by the deficiency in my training and by the poet's idiosyncrasy to be a fit companion to a man of science at a luminous period of his self-revelation, I was still accepted as his close friend, and possibly because of the contrariety in our natural vocations, I was able to offer some stimulation to his urge of fulfilment. Not having the necessary amount of vanity in my constitution, it had been the subject of constant wonder in my mind.

Since then time passed quickly, maturing the fruits of our expectation. During this period of his fast growing triumph I was modest enough to feel less and less the urgency of my comradeship in his journey towards the goal, which was no longer arduous or beset with uncertainty. And yet I can rightfully claim the credit for strengthening in some measure his trust in his own destiny by adding to it my own unwavering faith, at that painfully hesitant moment of fortune during the dubious:

dawn of his career when even persons of meagre resources might have some important use.

Victory is the inalienable claim of all genuine power having the might of attraction that naturally exploits all kindred elements on its path and moulds them into an image of glory. And such an image is this Institute, which represents the Master's lifelong endeavour taking a permanent shape in the form of a centre for the inspiration of similar endeavours.

However, the early association of mine with the Master's first great challenge of genius to his fate whose path at that time did not run smooth, belongs for me to a remote period of a history in which I feel myself hazily indistinct. And this made me seriously waver to accept the invitation for taking an honoured seat at a ceremonial meeting in this institution. The presumptuousness of youth made me absurdly proud to imagine that my companionship was growing into an organic part in the history that was being evolved before my eyes and in that belief I did try to hearten the hero, which was a part of my vanity. But foolish youth does not last for ever and I have had time to come to realise my limitation. Anyhow it is quite obvious that I am a mere poet carrying

on my *sadhana* in the temple of language, the most capricious deity, who is apt to ignore her responsibility to logic, often losing herself in the nebulous region of fantasy. Our oriental custom is to bring proper gifts to sacred shrines, but my gift of words for this occasion cannot but be out of place among the records of memorable proceedings of a learned society.

Fortunately there are some few men among us who can claim fellowship with the aristocracy in the realm of science, and can be expected to make splendid this ceremony with the wealth of their thoughts. I can only bless this institution from that obscure distance where the multitude of the uncared-for generations of this country have helplessly drifted to the pitiless toil of primitive land-tilling. I offer my salutation to the illustrious founder of this Institute, humbly sitting by those who are deprived of a sufficiency of that knowledge which only can save them from the desolating menace of scientific devilry and from the continual drainage of the resources of life, and I appeal to this Institute to bring our call to Science herself to rescue the world from the clutches of the marauders who betray her noble mission into an unmitigated savagery.

WORLD AFFAIRS

THE PASSING away of Kemal Ataturk is a tragic event of first magnitude to all people in the East. Turkey had just but celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic on the 1st of November last and its creator had been spared, it appeared, only to witness the celebration. The shadow of death was already on him, and on the 10th of November he departed. The whole of the East mourns his death and recalls with pride and gratitude his achievements. Seldom it is given to a man to lead a country to revolt and to lead it from rebellion to revolution. Still more seldom does it fall to a man to lead the country on from that revolution to reconstruction. And Kemal must have been a darling of fortune to be marked for the two great roles. But he must have been a genius as well to fulfil this great destiny with such daring and success. A King like Amanullah lost his kingdom in attempting to follow only a fraction of the Gazi's example;

and there is real truth in the words of the Turkish youths in mourning who declare the dead to be the 'most loved ruler of all time.' For, he was a ruler—a ruler of men in spite of his most sincere republicanism and endeavours to steer Turkey clear of the dictatorship, he himself embodied, into the safer and calmer waters of democracy and parliamentarism. To force out the puppet Ottoman Sultans from the Turkish throne, to abolish the Khilafate to substitute a code of civil law, on the model of Code Napoleon, for the sacred law of Islam, to suppress the religious orders and disestablish the church, to prohibit by law polygamy, to emancipate women from the harem, to forbid the wearing of the *fez* and turban, to set up a drastic system of taxation, to compel to read the Islamic prayer, including the call to prayer to the mosque, in Turkish, to banish the Arab words from Turkish language and from the Turkish names so that Ghazi Mustafa Kemal

becomes Kemal Ataturk, Ismet Pasha, his collaborator and now successor, becomes Ismet Inonu, and lastly, to introduce the Roman alphabet for the Arabic script in the Turkish language—these required the driving power of a masterful man, a Dictator in the truest sense, and Kemal had to accept the responsibilities thereof. This meant a suppression of inelastic forces, at times by a method of terror which the soldier statesman would not shrink from, as in July 1925, when a conspiracy against his life was unearthed, or, a little later, when the Kurds were put down, or in 1930 when an agitation for the revival of the Khilafate was smashed by the arrest of about a thousand religious leaders. His iron hand wiped out all trace of obscurantism; but the people looked so much to the hand to guide them and drive them, that an Opposition which he attempted to create, would not actually take shape and Turkey was ruled by one-party with the President of the Republic as the dictator. The trial of a dictatorship arrives when death removes the strong man from the arena, and that trial the departed great is standing now, as his successor Ismet Inonu, who fought by his side in the Anatolian days, acted as the leader of the Turkish Delegation through the fateful days of the Lausanne treaty, and later parted company with his chief on political grounds, is now called on to occupy the Presidential seat at Ankara. His will be a great mission to carry on—a great tradition to continue. For, as has been aptly pointed out by an Indian Muslim, the character of a people was the object of Ataturk's experiment. He discarded things and ideas which had gone to make up the very tone and temper of the Turkish people. And this revolutionary experiment has been now handed over to his successor.

BALKAN STATES

It is a critical period in the life of Turkey and other peoples of the Near East and Balkan Europe Nations are passing through times which will test them hard and break them cruelly if they are found wanting. "The one thing I want to emphasize is," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his arrival in Bombay on November 17, "that the world today is witnessing a revolutionary change. The map of the world is being written and rewritten." In this remaking of the maps the Mediterranean world and the Balkan and Danubian states are vitally interested. The position of Turkey is not for the moment jeopardised. Kemal by a wise method of friendliness with neighbours, Russia,

France and Italy in particular in the early days, and latter with Britain as well, kept his country out of the European tangle. Ably the Turk secured for it its right of fortifications at the Dardanelles, and control the Bosphorous gate of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. All this was gained by peaceful negotiations a year back, and set the only instance of its kind in the method of revision of peace treaties. He again was instrumental in bringing back Bulgaria into the friendly orbit of the Balkan peoples some months ago and thus ending a chapter of silent hostility that the last war left as a legacy. Alive again to the danger that threatened nations, Turkey inaugurated a Ten-Year Plan of economic reconstruction which is designed to place the rather backward Anatolian land in the map of the modern world. While in this undertaking Kemal had to look for loans from Britain—of course the foreign loan would not any more mean foreign interference in the affairs of the state,—a trade agreement with Germany on barter principle was entered—and no one was estranged. This was particularly a delicate task in view of the Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean, in the Dodacanese islands particularly, and the German and British economic advance in the Balkan states as also because of the British anxiety in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Palestine.

A wise foresight has drawn the Balkan peoples nearer, and Turkey and Greece are friends and the Balkan states are trying generally to move together. "The little states are scurrying to put themselves on the right side of Germany," concludes 'Spotlight' in a survey of their position after Munich in the November issue of the *World Review*. "They have been forced to." Hungary, for example, tried to suppress National Socialism, and even as the Regent Admiral Horthy paid a visit to the home of Nazi doctrine on the eve of the great crisis, Bela de Imredy, the Premier (the Government is about to fall?) co-operated with others in welcoming Bulgaria to the Little Entente fold and repeating the Entente assurances to Czechoslovakia. Yet there was the claim again put forward for the return of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to Hungary. The bargain was delayed and partially gained this month (November) through of course the friendly help of the Italian and German dictators, and as Kassa and the other towns are entered by the Hungarians the Regent gratefully thanked the benefactors for this. Of course Hungary has not been allowed to gain all, so as to effect a

junction with Poland that the two desired. It would bar Berlin's road, now newly opened, through Prague to the East, and Hitler cannot allow Hungary to be posted there.

In Yugoslavia, it is known, the people were in sympathy with the Czecho-Slovaks; but the Prince Regent Paul and the Prime Minister Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, a democrat who suppressed all opposition criticism in the press, successfully piloted his country through all troubles by the simple device of cultivating the friendliness of the dictators who were set on destroying democracies. The Little Entente was continued, Hungarian and Bulgarian jealousies were counteracted when the neighbour on the other side, Italy, in the anxious days of the Abyssinian sanctions, was set on wooing the Yugoslav to friendliness. 'Italy had to call off her hounds in Bulgaria and Hungary' at that time, and Yugoslavia's stock went up in the Balkan circle and Little Entente. As the Nazi triumph began, Stoyadinovitch as well as Prince Paul knew the game that was to be played though their people bitterly disliked this. The policy has, however, been vindicated now and the Premier goes to the poll as a democrat so strong that he can proudly and triumphantly declare that he was not going to yield an inch of Yugoslavia's territory to any power. The best security for a democrat, Stoyadinovitch proves, today is not to put your trust in democracies. That is his policy too. "It is based on the conviction, born at the time of the Rhineland seizure, that France and England, at the decisive moment, would retreat before Germany, that small states would be left in the lurch, as was Abyssinia. Therefore, make friends with Germany and Italy, while keeping the line open to Paris and London."

And now that the London-Paris line may prove only another extension of the Rome-Berlin 'axis', naturally the Balkan and Danubian powers are anxious to know if their independent growth and existence can be guaranteed by any powers in Europe. For, the Nazi hegemony in trade and commerce is bound to be transformed and consolidated into a political 'sphere of influence' as France and Britain go more and more pro-Fascist. King Boris of Bulgaria went back to Sofia after he had visited France and Britain before the crisis, Germany, in the midst of it, and Yugoslavia later. He is keeping his counsels to himself. Carol of Rumania, a King and Dictator himself, could not suffer long the pro-Nazi, pro-Fascist and anti-Jewish policy of Goga; and he even is said to have promised passage to Soviet in case of a Nazi

attack on Czecho-Slovakia. Carol, after Munich, is now in Britain and France anxious to gain support for Rumanian industry and commerce, 'capable of forming a counterbalance against the excessive German ambitions for economic advance' as *Le Petit Parisien* puts it. Rumanian oil and Ukrainian corn are, it is known, the two necessities for the Great Germany of Hitler, and as practically Czechoslovakia is liquidated and the Magyars fall in a line with Germany, Rumania and Ukraina know they are open to the danger. Carol would be at Berlin too before his return. Inevitably, the little states of south-eastern Europe are veering away from France, which had practically been their centre of diplomatic gravity in the post-war period of European history. Poland, the former pivot of French diplomacy, was the first to leave and act most unscrupulously with all—the Baltic States, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and now again with Germany in that they it is reviving its Soviet friendship. They feel that domination of Berlin would mean a German *Mitteuropa*—a virtual end of their independent role; and unless they gather round Soviet Russia in a democratic front they must look to Britain and France, which too are likely to disappoint them at the final hour. In fact, they will disappoint even now. For, they are already anxious to accommodate themselves to the Nazi ambitions.

FRANCE AFTER MUNICH

M. Daladier and the Radicals in France are definitely moving to the right, and the Socialists will only refuse to fall in with them against the Communists. The *Front Populaire* is shrunk into a shadow if it is still alive. M. Daladier and M. Reynaud's policy is centred on rearmament and finance. The French Naval Commission proposes to build up a navy equal to that of any other Continental European power. (Apparently Italy is meant). But this is an ambitious project. For, already France realises the necessity of being put on a better footing as regards the air-arm of her defences. But all this requires a reorganisation of finance over which for the last few years many French ministers have made shipwreck of their political ambition and career. This has been put down by the press to the *Front Populaire's* 'extravagant' social programme. But now that the *Front* is weakened and, reaction is in saddle, a recovery drive is being attempted by M. Reynaud, the French Minister. Aided by a plenary power for the future, limited to

November 30, not less than 33 decrees were announced by the Cabinet recently.

One of them provides for the revaluation of the gold stock of the Bank of France at the rate of 170 francs to the pound. Gold at present is valued at about 110 francs to the pound.

Another decree provides for the credit of £570,000 in aid of French agriculture by appropriation to special accounts of a hundred million francs repayable in ten years to be devoted to agriculture at home and in the colonies by way of bonuses, subsidies or loans.

The decree stipulates that agricultural production should be rationalized by agreements to be reached between parties concerned.

The revaluation of the Bank of France's gold reserve at 170 francs will yield a profit of about £170,000,000.

The Government contemplate a three-year-plan of financial and economic recovery.

Decrees provide that the principle of a forty-hour week shall be retained but for a period of three years a 5½ day week shall be worked and each employer is entitled to employ workers up to a 54 hour week while further extensions of hours will be subject to the approval of the Ministry of Labour.

INCREASED WAGES

Increased wages will be paid for extra hours and a special ten per cent tax will be imposed on extra profits to the employers.

Workers refusing to work extra hours in national defence works will be dismissed immediately and will be debarred for six months from receiving unemployment pay.

Other decrees impose a special emergency national contribution of two per cent on all professional incomes and an increase by an unstated amount in the rates of income-tax and taxes on securities and stamp duties. The wages tax is also raised from 7.56 to 8 per cent.

The French National Lottery has been abolished as from January 1, 1940.

Inland letter postal rates have been raised from 65 to 90 centimes and telephone calls from 65 to 85 centimes.

Certain indirect taxes including those on coffee, petrol, sugar, tobacco and wine are to be readjusted.

Total taxes to be paid by any tax-payer will in no case exceed 40 per cent of his income.

A more strict watch is to be kept on foreigners in France. Restrictions are to be imposed on the acquisition of French nationality and the watch on the frontiers is to be tightened.

Criticism from the Socialist side and Trade Unionist quarters were mainly directed against the virtual giving up of the 40 hours week. It was one of their hard earned gains in social legislation, and 26,000 of the Engineering workers have gone on a strike at Valenciennes. (Which threatens to develop into a one day national strike; requiring semi-military requisitions against it—a foretaste of French Fascism possibly?) But longer working hours may make it easier for M. Daladier to defend the franc, and 'Back to Work' is the formula of his recovery plan. France must work, work more and more, increase industrial production, if the budget is

to be balanced (this would call for an economy of 2,000 to 3,000 million francs), monetary stability attained and re-armament for security proceeded with. Meanwhile, in obedience to the spirit of Munich, Spanish Republicans are no longer objects of sympathy, they are abandoned to 'non-intervention.' And though the Saarbrücken speech of the Fuehrer showed no recognition of France's 'change of front', patiently the country waits behind Britain for an hour when the great dictators will be pleased to admit her into a Four Power Agreement as foreshadowed in the Munich settlement. Much expectation is centred on Mr. Chamberlain's visit to be followed by that of Herr von Ribbentrop.

BRITISH PACTS

The chances for a Four Power pact are, however, at the moment not very bright. The Anglo-Italian agreement has, after the delay of months, come into effect—much to the relief of Mr. Chamberlain. This of course means that the question of Italian volunteers in Spain is not to be raised. For, while there has been withdrawal of some by Il Duce, fresh volunteers have been poured in. Evidently, withdrawal in the dictatorial dictionary means nothing more than replacement, just as non-intervention means to keep out others from intervention. While, therefore, British approach to Fascism is appreciated by Mussolini, Hitler and his party are not yet prepared to accept their bona fide. They consider that Mr. Churchill's broadcast against dictators must cease. If the British people resent this as intrusion into the internal affairs of their state, Mr. Chamberlain must see how best he can disabuse or disillusion their mind of all these conceptions when Nazism is out to rid Europe—and necessarily Britain too—of those degenerating doctrines of democracy or Bolshevism.

The way to Anglo-German understanding is further blocked if after the Munich entente Britain still busies herself with the armament programme that, according to the Nazi argument, is the right and monopoly of the Germans who alone know their use and know the value of war as a great civilizing process. Great Britain has further forfeited the goodwill of Germany by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's authorised assurance that the colonies were not to be handed over. "We do not beg but we demand," reminded the Nazis. And when Hitler demands Chamberlain cannot refuse.

ANGLO-GERMAN TRADE PACT

Objection from Germany originated with the Anglo-American Trade Agreement. Negotiations for it went on for a long time and it has been hailed as a great success of diplomacy and as a new opening for co-operation, long desired for, between the two English-speaking people.

Not only does it greatly strengthen the commercial ties between the contracting parties but in a lesser degree it effects economic arrangements throughout the Empire.

The agreement is based on the most favoured nation treatment and will run for three years from January 1, 1939 after which it will be subject to 6 months' notice. Stripped of diplomatic terminology the agreement shows that the United States is Britain's largest foreign customer, British exports to America reaching £40,000,000 in 1936, while in the reverse direction British imports were larger than from any other country. Greater part of reductions range between 30 to 40 per cent. Reductions have been secured covering a bulk of the British textiles (cotton, wool and linen). The general level of reductions in the United States manufactured goods will be from 20 to 15 per cent.

While British imports from the United States consists mainly of raw materials, Britain's exports are mainly manufactured goods headed by textiles exceeding £10 millions in value and followed by whisky of which 5 millions pounds worth is filtered in the United States from the British Isles. The remainder consists of a large variety of products of which the chief is machinery worth £900,000, £17,000,000 worth out of the £40,000,000 exports to America are duty free. This will be stabilized on 9½ millions worth, while on dutiable goods—now 23 millions—reductions will be granted on 11 million and the existing duty stabilized on six million. Whisky figures among the most important stabilized existing duties.

TARIFF CONCESSIONS

The United States tariff concessions number 600.

Contrary to general anticipation there will be no reduction in the British duty on motor cars but Britain will not increase the duty on cars of over 25 horsepower. The other British concessions provide that the present preference of about two shillings per lb. on empire tobacco will not be increased. Britain will maintain the existing free entry of raw cotton and maize. Wheat, certain kinds of fruit and soft wood figure among the United Kingdom concessions in regard to the reduction in duty. The general level of reductions in the United States manufactured goods will be from 20 to 15 per cent. Colonies will reap the same general benefits and assume the same general obligations as the United Kingdom. The existing duty—free entry of practically the whole colonial empire exports into the United States will continue. In this connection the British preference of motor cars by certain colonies, principally Malaya, will be reduced from 20 to 15 per cent. Provision has been made for the termination of the agreement, if the pound dollar rate of exchange radically alters and may be modified, should some other country obtain major benefit of any particular concession. Provision has also been made against dumping and export subsidies.

The reduction in British guaranteed preferences range up to 10 per cent and affect the United Kingdom trade to the extent of over two million sterling. The main items are chemicals, tinplate, iron, steel and manufactures.

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The political rather than the economic aspects of the British-American trade pact are stressed in the New York papers. Pointing out that "the real significance" of the pact goes far beyond its probable trade benefits, *The New York Times* says that the treaty marks a closer union between the two most powerful democracies at a particularly decisive moment in the world's history. It increases the hope of more effective co-operation among all democracies in the defence of peace and order.

The paper urges world democracies to form a strong democratic union, while America's trade policy should be the establishment of a vast area of free trade thrown open to those nations, and only to those nations who are ready to show respect to international law and to the dignity of human life.

Such compliments are really now embarrassing to Mr. Chamberlain, nicknamed as he has been by some French journals—Mr. J'aime-Berlin. He has covered so much of the path to Fascism in his dislike of Soviet company and possible accession of strength to the popular side as against the ruling classes that talk of co-operation among all democracies can no longer be to his taste as it is no longer to his advantage. On the contrary, it puts him in a bad light with his real allies, the Nazis and Fascists. They do not favour any trade relation between Britain and America, specially as the Nazis themselves are making headway in South America with their own programme which is likely to meet with resistance from the U. S. A.

JEW-BAITING

British relation with Germany has been further retarded by the wave of indignation that has swept over all civilised country by the recent barbarous persecution of the Jews. A Jewish youth in Paris had foolishly thought of revenging his people by the murder of a German diplomat, Herr Von Rath of the German Embassy. This served as the signal for the most cowardly attack on the Jews throughout Germany and the Reich stepped in only to tighten the last screw when organised hooliganism had done its worst.

Dr. Goebbels, the Nazi Minister for Propaganda, declared that the outbreak was a spontaneous demonstration on the part of the German people. "I could not tell policemen

to shoot at Germans who committed the assaults because I inwardly sympathised with them," he told foreign press correspondents in Berlin. The German Government, he threatened, would reply to the shooting outrage in a "legal but hard way". The 'legal' form which Nazi ruthlessness against Jews in Germany takes is in the shape of an order upon the Jews in Germany to pay a thousand million marks as compensation. A law has been promulgated forbidding Jews to carry any kind of arms including even the most primitive weapons of defence, such as knuckle-dusters, steel-rods, rubber truncheons and pocket knives with fixed blades. This law applies to foreign Jews as well. All Jewish theatres, cinemas, newspapers and schools have been banned and Jews have been prohibited from entering Aryan places of entertainment and, Jewish children from Aryan schools. From the New Year Jews are not to be allowed to engage in retail, export and independent handicraft business and will not be permitted to hold any managerial post whatsoever. All damage "caused through the indignation of the people" in the recent riots is to be made good by Jewish business men. Compensation from Insurance Companies is to be confiscated.

This Aryanism sent a thrill of horror through the degenerate Aryans, the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and U.S.A. and Mr. Roosevelt has recalled his Ambassador from Berlin who is to be absent thus from Germany indefinitely. The Nazis replied by repeating the same method and recalling their Ambassador from Washington. The ghoulish pleasure of Goebbels is responded to by the British press with disgust and abhorrence, and, it is rumoured that Berlin may ask its London ambassador to return as well. Thus is being ruined through an unfortunate crime in Paris the fond dream of Mr.

Chamberlain of effecting the Four Power Agreement and Fascist appeasement. Of course, the British Premier will not be discouraged by this temporary set back. He will bind Britain to Fascism, only he will have to wait more and pay a higher price.

JEWIS AND PALESTINE

The Jews are really in a sad plight. Germany is bent on fleeing those who cannot escape out of that Nazi hell. The refugees by thousands have no place to go to; the dream of a National Home for the Jews is all but shattered. It never took note of the fact that the country is the Arab's now; and that they mean to hold that to the last. The Report of the Woodhead Commission and the Government resolution on it were available this month. At last it is admitted that "partition" is dead. The new proposal is for a Round Table Conference in London in which the Jews and Arabs are to be invited to evolve a scheme. This is foredoomed to failure as Husseini, the rebel Grand Mufti, is barred from attending it. Nor is it welcome to the Arab world, or the Islamic world, who has come to take an interest in the fate of their fellow-brothers in Palestine. On the other hand, Imperialism cannot forget the oil-line that passes through Haifa, the air line to the East across which the land lies, the Suez canal almost at the door of which Palestine can keep watch and the big trade and financial interests that have developed in Palestine, during these years of Mandate.

So the Wandering Jew waits without knowing where to wander to—to British Guiana, Tanganyika, Uganda or Kenya?

G. H.

November 22, 1938

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for December, 1938 (current issue), page 675, col. 2, last line

For June 28, 1930 read June 28, 1938

INDIANS ABROAD

INDIANS IN BURMA

Replying to a question Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai said in the Indian Assembly on November 17, "The Government have no information regarding the condition of Indian refugees who have come back to India from Burma. The number of Indians still left in Burma must be over a million. With the return of conditions to normal, the personal, commercial and agricultural interests of the Indians will be safe as they used to be before the recent riots."

A considerable volume of opinion on the Eastern coast is highly exercised over what has happened in Burma. Most of the sufferers from the anti-Indian riots come from the poorer section; and there is a feeling abroad everywhere that their cause, their life and property, has not received adequate consideration from the Burma Government or their servants. Shiploads of Indians returned during the last two months and a pathetic despair has overwhelmed them. Yet one has to remember that only yesterday Burma was one with us, a partner in the Indian Empire.

The Burma riots call for a bit of self-examination on the part of the Indian emigrants too. Did we do our duty by the Burmans? We all leave our shores for bread; but the shore that offers us this primary need of life—and offers bountifully to some—has certainly first claim on our gratitude and service. A regrettable spirit of exploitation, however, creeps in sometimes, and then the whole atmosphere is poisoned as it has been in the case of Burma.

CEYLON FRANCHISE

Ceylon, our another neighbour, figured in another question in the Assembly on the same day. Indian rural labourers were sought to be shut out from the right of representation. This led to protests, and, a Bill to amend the Ceylon Village Communities Ordinance proposes now, to circumvent the difficulties, to disenfranchise all estate labourers, Indians and Sinhalese. This is not discrimination, but worse; it is negation of all principles of responsible government. The Government of India, Sir G. S. Bajpai informed the Assembly, have addressed His Majesty's Government on the subject of the amended ordinance which has been reserved for His Majesty's assent.

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON

The Annual Report for 1937 of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, published

October 13, gives a resume of the events in regard to the Indian labour and its questions in Ceylon. It is an excellent document, as summed up by the *United Press*, and, extracts from it are presented here as offering best account of the position:

THE NEED FOR INDIAN LABOUR

The year 1937 was one of general economic improvement, both in the planting industries and in the general trade of the island.

On a request being made by the Ceylon Government to the Government of India for immigration labour the latter held that they would not feel justified in permitting the reopening of recruitment to Ceylon unless they received satisfactory assurances in respect of two outstanding questions, namely, (1) the restoration of wages in mid and low country estates to the levels which prevailed between May, 1931, and February, 1932, and (2) the grant of franchise for village committee to Indian estate labourer settled in Ceylon.

No settlement has yet been reached and no licences are being issued to recruit labour from India to Ceylon estates.

The question of the restoration of the cut in wages, it was stated, would be referred to the Regional Wages Boards for determination; and at the end of the year the necessary information was being collected to be placed before the Wages Boards.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES ORDINANCE

The draft of the Village Communities Amendment Ordinance was published in March 1937. The Village Communities Ordinance of 1924 excluded from its operation Europeans and Burghers as well as Indian estate labourers who were deemed to be "excepted persons," the draft Amendment Bill, one of the objects of which was to extend the franchise to all adults of both sexes extended the franchise to Europeans and Burghers, but maintained the exclusion of the Indian estate labourers on the ground that the Indian estate labourers derive little benefit from the activities of village committees.

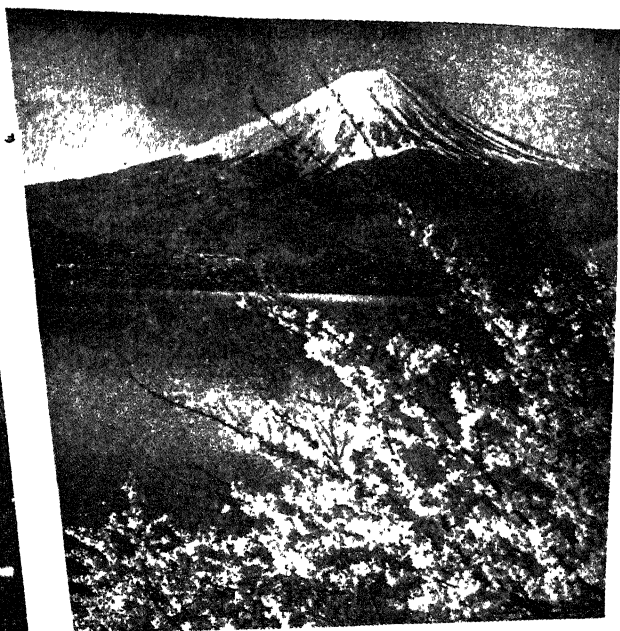
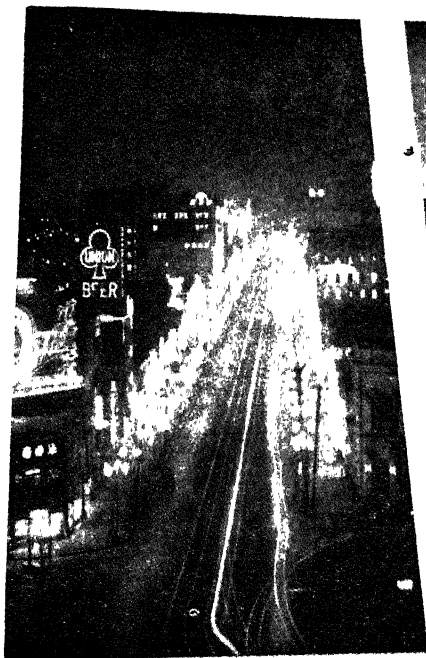
The Indian community was unanimous in demanding that the Indian estate labourers who had a permanent and abiding interest in Ceylon should be granted the village committee vote in common with the adults of other communities in the Island. An amendment to extend the franchise to all "excepted persons" who own not less than 5 acres of land in a village area on which land tax is payable was accepted in the State Council. This did not satisfy the Indian claims because the practical effect of the proposals would be to enfranchise the great majority of Europeans and Burghers and leave almost the entire Indian estate labour population without votes, because few Indian estate labourers, except perhaps a handful of Kanganies, possess 5 acres of land in Ceylon.

The Bill was passed by the State Council by a majority on the 10th December 1937 but has been reserved by His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

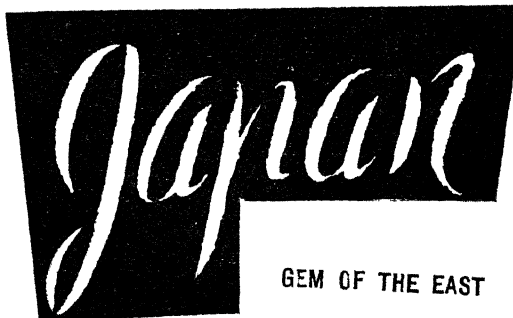
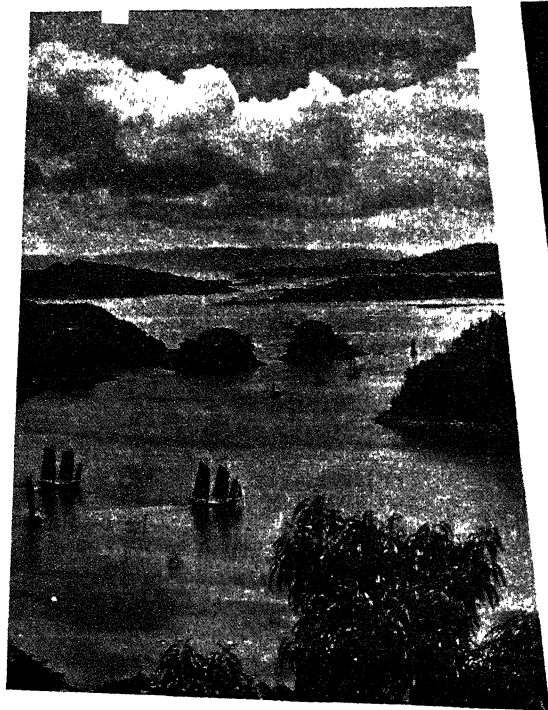
THREATENING OF EJECTION

A matter which exercised the minds of the Indian public in the Ceylon to some extent during the year was the case of certain Indian residents and lessees of the "Portwood Vegetable Gardens," Kandapola, who were served with notices to quit the plots of lands, cultivated by them for a number of years. Representations were





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made to the Minister for Agriculture and matter is still under consideration. The notices on the 31st December 1937, but no action to effect has been taken.

THEIR TOTAL NUMBER

During the year there were 51,427 arrivals and 39,747 departures (besides 10,322 repatriates) of Indian labourers. The total number of Indian estate labourers at the end of 1937 was 677,897 (211,631 men, 204,364 women and 261,902 children).

INDEBTEDNESS PROBLEM

Indebtedness is perhaps the most perplexing problem connected with the life of the Indian labourers in Ceylon.

In almost all cases the Kangany on the bontique-keeper is the creditor and most debts are due to the purchases necessities or perhaps minor luxuries in anticipation of wages.

THE WAY OUT

The only way to put an end to this pernicious system, the Agent suggests, is for the Superintendent of the estate to discourage all the attempts by the Kangany to get the labourer under a financial obligation to him and for the employers to discourage the Kanganies from making advances to labourers.

A hopeful sign is that there was during the year a small increase in the number of co-operative stores and co-operative thrift societies on estates.

As many as 1,371 cases were dealt with the Agency on representations made by labourers—a fact which shows the readiness of the labourers to avail themselves of the assistance rendered by the Agency. In all cases of irregularity in the working of the Labour Ordinance, protests by the Agency set matters right, and there was no instance in which any irregularity once pointed out recurred on the same estate.

IN MALAYA

An official delegation from Malaya is soon to visit Delhi to arrive at a settlement of the question of the Indian emigration: "It has been agreed between the two Governments that a delegation from Malaya should visit India during this cold weather," said Sir G. S. Bajpai in reply to Mr. S. Satyamurthi on the 17th November. "The Government of India are already in touch with the Madras Government"

Question: Will the Government of India send for their Agent from Malaya at the time the delegation is received and will they consult the Emigration Committee of this house?

Answer: That is the intention.

Replying to other questions, Sir G. S. Bajpai said that the Government of India considered that the consultation envisaged with the Government of Madras and the Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature should suffice to bring into focus representative Indian opinion. They would, of course, be willing to examine views that may be communicated to them by other responsible quarters. The exact date of the delegation's arrival was under consideration.

The Central Indian Association of Malaya has addressed a memorandum to the Madras Government in which its minimum demands are outlined. The following, according to the *Statesman* (November, 14.) summary, include the important ones:

(1) A high officer of the Government of Madras should be present at the forthcoming negotiations; (2) there should be controlled emigration from India; (3) purely economic principles should govern the future course of Indian emigration to Malaya; (4) "some form of a written agreement is essential to which both the Governments should be signatories. This agreement may usefully follow the lines of international labour treaties dealing with the recruitment etc. of workers. (5) "The principle of fixation of quotas should form an essential part of the agreement;" (6) "the principle of selection of emigrants to be recruited is to be recognized"; (7) "the principle of having the entire emigration under the immediate control of the Madras Government subject to the directions of the Central Government needs sympathetic examination"; (8) "broadly speaking, there should be a basic wage operating as a minimum throughout Malaya with a small sliding scale which will enable the labourers to share in the prosperity of the industry" concerned; (9) "the entire question of wages to be adjusted by an independent wages board and not by the Indian Immigration Committee which is over-weighted in favour of the employers"; (10) "the ban on assisted immigration should not be lifted pending the conclusion of an agreement between the parties."

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

In addition to the above points of immediate labour interest, the Association suggests that in any settlement arrived at between the Governments of India and Malaya, assurances from the latter must be obtained on other questions affecting the Indian community in that Colony generally. Included in this category are educational facilities for Indian children; recognition of Malayan citizenship for those who have cut off connexions with India; recognition of the principle of nomination to legislative and public bodies of Indians proper but not Sinhalese and Jaffna Tamils as was the case in several recent instances to represent the Indian community; and the non-enforcement of the Banishment Enactment in the Malay States against British Indian subjects.

IN RHODESIA

As a tourist Mr. Roma Nath Das's name is well known in this side of India. Cycling through Rhodesia Mr. Das found himself in hopeless condition very often. Indian settlements are few and far between; writes Mr. Das in the Bengali Press, and, as he would knock at the door of the white settlers he would be sent to the pit—with the apology that he was taken to be Muslim, if he introduced himself as a Hindu, *vice versa*, "I am simply an Indian and, I don't care a damn for your religion" was his national reply. This only meant that "You are a communist." And, the doors were closed—any way Mr. Das was told that the position is worse in South Africa where he was proceeding.

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